

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1992

SEPT. - DEC,

They suffered bitter blows but don't bear grudges

'Amnesty for racists of Right and Left' **SM** 11/9/92

Amnesty for political crimes — yes or no? PETER WELLMAN talks to two people whose lives have been shattered by violence.



Forgiveness for all . . . Gordon Eddy with wife Tracy and son Creaghan (10 months).

IT'S HARD to sympathise with people who refuse to feel sorry for themselves. Gordon Eddy is one of those, so the thing to do is enjoy the jokes, the smile that is really warm, and let him do the talking about losing his left leg in the 1988 Ellis Park bomb blast.

The smile is almost always there, and the lack of bitterness comes from a personality given only to nature's luckiest ones simply a sold-state Cheshire cat.

If he is telling the truth about having no self-pity — and I think he is — he is also hiding the iron he must have used to bash it out of himself, or else he is not normal.

There is iron, too, in the way he got himself together again after the bomb wrecked his life at the age of 31. Watching a handicapped woman haul herself out of the pool in which he was doing physiotherapy, he tried the same thing too early and fell on his stump. It split, delaying the fitting of his artificial leg for three weeks.

It's a snazzy leg, with a "sportsman's knee" giving greater flexibility. No more hockey for Old Johannes, no more soccer for Zoo Lake, no more marathons

But lots of cycling in the gym, some swimming, and limited circuit workouts.

Old Johannes did not forget him, or clubmate Roger Haggerty, who was with Gordon at Ellis Park in 1988, and also lost a leg. Members raised enough money to buy each of them an automatic car.

And slowly Gordon got as close to normal as possible with one leg. A former journalist, he developed a public relations and marketing business.

And he knows that those who look after only themselves are not worth much.

In 1989 he and Tracy Cotter were married, bought a Kensington house two years ago and are stripping the paint off lovingly Oregon pine. They have a 10-month-old son, Creaghan.

Gordon is a white South African who did military service unwillingly, and is grateful that

when his group was shot at in Namibia no one on either side was hit.

Two weeks ago when he was at the Ellis Park test against New Zealand with friends, they all sang "Die Stem", and he sees nothing wrong in that.

But he thinks the ANC missed out. "Here was an opportunity to market our dreams instead of our fears."

"Imagine a mass choir in the middle of the park, singing 'Die Stem', and then introducing white South Africans to the magnificence, and the meaning, of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. It could have been translated in the official programme.

"Our group agreed that we would all be following it out before the end of the decade, just as we did with 'Die Stem'.

"Unfortunately, we always seem to need to approach a bridge several times before we

agree to cross it."

He believes amnesty is one of those bridges, as an incentive to stop the killing.

"It must be exactly the same for the racists of the extreme Right and the racists of the extreme Left.

"It must be applied to those who have killed for our present Government and those who have killed for our future government."

"And to those who gave the orders."

Gordon believes it is time to forget the arguments over who is right or wrong, more guilty or less so.

"It is time to make a new beginning, to say all that has gone before is forgiven."

"We will not have a new South Africa while we keep looking for bruises and scrapes on the corpse of the old South Africa." □

Loss of her son hasn't shattered her spirit **SM** 11/9/92

THERE ARE scars on Phyllis Naidoo's body from a letter bomb, and in her eyes from the assassination of her son by a South African agent.

But if you sit and talk to her, as I have over the years, you also see compassion, and a very simple love of people and justice that has defied apartheid for generations.

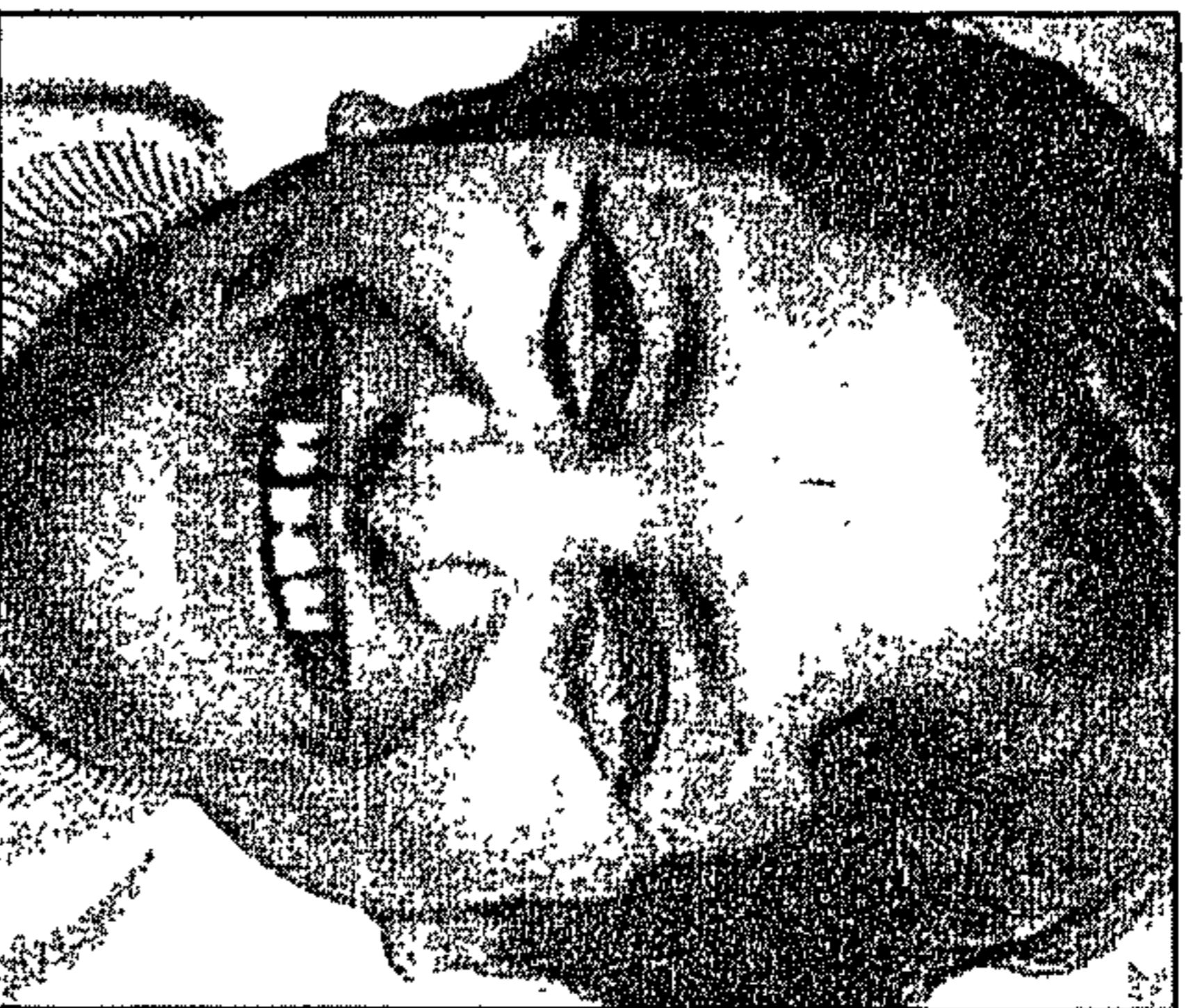
At her home you will certainly get fed — my favourite of hers is sour herbs, a peasant curry made with garden weeds and artfully leaves.

Every ANC member in exile who visited Harare went to Phyllis for food, coffee by the gallon, anecdotes, and debate until after midnight.

Diplomats and other journalists did that, too, and in the years I lived there I hardly ever found her alone. I never caught her putting her feet up.

She did her garden and kept a massive political library, if any-one published anything, even a tiny protest group in Salt River, Cape Town, Phyllis would have it. And she campaigned ceaselessly against the death sentence.

When her son Sadhan was assassinated in Zambia in April 1989, on the ANC farm he managed, she asked President Kenneth Kaunda to spare the life of



Remorse, not vengeance . . . Phyllis Naidoo was scarred by a letter bomb, and her son was assassinated

a man called Tex who shot him.

She showed me that letter before she posted it. I encouraged her, wondering at how she could rise above a mother's grief that came closer to breaking her than anything else they had done to her.

She is a lawyer but she did not write it that way. She spoke of the value of human life, while making arrangements to go to her son's funeral.

Phyllis Naidoo was scarred by a letter bomb, and her son was assassinated

Phyllis Naidoo was scarred by a letter bomb, and her son was assassinated

Phyllis Naidoo was scarred by a letter bomb, and her son was assassinated

Buthelezi to wreck supercop proposal?

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Goldstone Commission's planned "supercop" task force to probe violence was thrown into doubt last night when Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed deep concerns about the proposals.

In a late night statement the KwaZulu Chief Minister said the IFP was concerned that "very far-reaching proposals have been made by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone without proper consultation with the parties whose members, willingly or unwillingly, have been most drawn into the violence".

With the IFP a significant player in the unfolding political drama in the country, its reservations are bound to have a significant effect on the creation of the task force.

To page 2

From page 1

Both the government and the ANC have backed the plan, but last night Chief Buthelezi — without going as far as rejecting it — indicated that he was far from happy.

Stressing that the IFP's comments were "made constructively", he said "the IFP, as a victim of violence, is concerned that its views were not sought prior to the decisions announced by Mr Justice Goldstone".

Commenting on specific proposals by Judge Goldstone, Chief Buthelezi said the IFP was concerned:

- That recommendations made on the basis of UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance's recommendations "were not reached in consultation with parties on the ground in South Africa".
- About whether police officers reporting to Judge Goldstone, "and presumably being directed by him, would be more effective than the same officers pursuing their objectives in the normal manner".
- That the decision to employ attorneys or advocates "has been made without reference to the main political players and, more importantly perhaps, without setting up procedures for the proper multi-party selection process".

New panel on mass action?

Political Staff

A SECOND panel of international experts on mass demonstrations was being considered because of the success of the first panel, Mr Justice R Goldstone said yesterday. (274)

The first panel of experts — from South Africa, the US, Canada, Belgium and the Netherlands — benefited all parties and especially the police, he said.

Mr Goldstone said this in an introduction to a book, "Towards peaceful protest in SA", which was released yesterday.

Anarchy without police — Goldstone

SOUTH AFRICA had only one police force and there would be anarchy without it, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

He also said it was "premature" to disclose further details on how the commission's new task force would operate, but he would issue a statement on the matter within the next 10 days.

Judge Goldstone said in an interview that the police had implemented immoral laws for so many years that they had been alienated, particularly

from black people. It was the only police structure in South Africa with generals, brigadiers and colonels.

"They must become a more democratic organisation and a less arrogant organisation. And I am talking here of structural arrogance. Local policing is also important.

"Naturally, the ANC's attitude must also change, so that the ANC says to its own people that they should become policemen. Before that occurs the police's image will not improve. And this

will not change until a political agreement is reached."

Judge Goldstone said all the criticism directed at the police was dangerous because their self-confidence was being undermined. "And we need them. There is no other police. Without them we will become a second Lebanon.

"But how can you build a person's image of the police if you do not institute inquiries into their actions?" He was very grateful for international involvement and he found UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance "brilliant".

A top Goldstone Commission source said yesterday the commission would soon meet officials from Ukhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's military wing.

This follows an ANC offer made at the weekend to help the commission, but the source said it was highly unlikely the two forces would be co-opted onto the envisaged special investigative force. — Political Staff, Own Correspondent

IFP shuns hearings after blasts

et 21/1/92
DURBAN. — The IFP says the Bruntville hostel committee has resolved to suspend all further voluntary co-operation with the Goldstone Commission hearings following two grenade attacks in the township before yesterday's sitting of the commission in Mooi River.

The commission adjourned yesterday morning to intervene in clashes sparked by the Bruntville attacks.

An IFP information centre spokesman said two grenades were tossed at 6am yesterday at the Bruntville hostel and the old Bruntville community hall, housing at least 20 refugees displaced from their homes. (274) (12)

ANC 'atrocities': Probe on

JOHANNESBURG. — The chairman of an International Freedom Foundation-sponsored commission of inquiry into torture in African National Congress camps abroad said yesterday he would complete and present his findings to the IFF at the end of the year.

"The hearings are going very well, with testimony being presented every day. A lot of people have responded to advertisements placed in various newspapers, while we have also re-

ceived requests from people missing their relatives and want us to help in this regard," advocate Mr R Douglas said.

The commission's hearings in Johannesburg should end by tomorrow, when it will move to Durban.

"I hope to present the report to the IFF by the end of the year, and it will be up to them to distribute it to whoever they feel needs the document."

Evidence had been received

from a wide range of sources, including a document entitled "Mutiny in the ANC" as well as a US Senate inquiry into the alleged torture camps.

Meanwhile, ANC official Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday said the ANC's own inquiry into alleged atrocities in its camps would be presented to the public within a fortnight.

Mr Niehaus said that several people, including senior ANC officials, had testified before the ANC commission. — Sapa

MAJOR disinformation about political violence in SA is being spread worldwide by international organisations and at least one SA monitoring agency. If this intensifying propaganda war continues unchallenged, the beleaguered peace process in the country will suffer further setbacks.

Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) and the SA-based Human Rights Commission (HRC) have recently published reports blaming the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the security forces and the SA government for instigating the current political violence.

It is, of course, beyond doubt that the security forces, the IFP and the government are partly to blame. But in seeking to blame them almost exclusively Amnesty, the ICJ and the HRC distort relevant findings of the Goldstone commission and other judicial proceedings and/or ignore information which suggests other parties also have a hand in the conflict.

For example, in commenting on the Bruntville incident in Natal in December 1991 (in which about 19 ANC supporters were killed by IFP supporters), Amnesty and the ICJ quote selectively from the Goldstone commission findings.

They reproduce Judge Richard Goldstone's criticisms of the police, but ignore key statements exonerating the police from responsibility for the Bruntville violence.

Both Amnesty and the ICJ also distort the issue of lethal weapons. They make much of Goldstone's strictures against the carrying of sticks and spears. They ignore the acknowledgement by his commission that fear of attack may underline the carrying of these weapons.

The implication of their reports, moreover, is that "traditional" weapons are the only ones at issue. These organisations thus ignore the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe

Agencies' biased reports on violence increase tension

B/D/M 2/9/92. ANTHEA JEFFERY

274

and the hidden arms caches retained by the ANC. They also ignore evidence that it is not "traditional" weapons which are used primarily in violence, but rather guns and petrol bombs.

Thus in 1991, for example, the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) found that firearms were used in 36% of incidents — the trend through the year showing a sharp increase in the use of guns. Petrol bombs and other explosives devices were used in 22% of incidents. Sharp pointed weapons were used in 14% of incidents, their use showing a steady decline throughout the year.

Amnesty also reports labour issues in Bophuthatwana from the viewpoint of one side only. The organisation accuses the management of a platinum mine of "clamping down on worker activists to undermine the new-found solidarity among the workforce".

It makes no attempt to canvass management's claim that "ANC marshall's" had taken virtual control of the mine and were committing numerous common law crimes (including murder, arson and assault) in their attempts to increase recruitment to the National Union of Mineworkers.

The HRC, in a recent special report on massacres (incidents in which 10 or more people died) puts the blame primarily on the IFP (69%) and the police (8%). The report is, however, riddled with omissions and inaccuracies.

Thus, the HRC records one Richmond, Natal, massacre in which ANC supporters were killed, but entirely ignores another (noted by the ICJ) in which 29 IFP supporters were killed by ANC comrades, using guns unearthed from a secret arms cache.

The HRC is also inaccurate in its report on two massacres at Sebokeng in September 1990. For instance, it asserts that 11 people were killed by the SADF. According to Judge E. Stafford, in inquest proceedings concluded in March 1991, four people were killed by the SADF.

It follows that this "massacre" does not satisfy the HRC's own definition of an incident involving the deaths of 10 or more people.

In addition, the HRC states that there was collusion between white men and IFP supporters in the other

Sebokeng massacre it reports on. This ignores the express finding to the contrary by Stafford, who was satisfied that the only evidence to this effect was perjured.

The HRC also emphasises the frequency with which allegations have been levelled against the IFP and the security forces. Frequency of repetition is, however, no proof of veracity and may indeed be part of propaganda. John Vorster and P W Botha repeatedly claimed that resistance to apartheid rule stemmed mainly from a "communist conspiracy". The frequency of repetition of this allegation did not prove its truth, but it did help to establish this view among many white people.

In a report on violence in April, the HRC blamed 86% of deaths on "vigilante-related action". It defines vigilante-related action as attacks by, or in defence against, surrogate forces of the state in the form of vigilante "private armies" established by black local authorities and homeland administrations.

This definition is so wide that it enables attacks both by and against the IFP to be labelled as vigilante-related action. Thus the death of 23 IFP supporters at the Crossroads

squatter camp on the East Rand in April is attributed to vigilante-related action — and the blame is laid at the door of the state — even though the attack is alleged to have been made by Xhosa-speaking men from an ANC-supporting area.

The HRC also labels as "vigilante-related action" incidents in which the available evidence does not support this categorisation. For example, when the "body of a man is found with head wounds", this is labelled as vigilante-related action. There is, however, no evidence of the man's identity, the identity of his attackers, or the circumstances of his death. There could be many other possible explanations for his death, including robbery.

It is on the basis of this inordinate wide definition, coupled with a clear disregard of the absence of supporting evidence, that the HRC is able to attribute almost all deaths in April to surrogate forces of the state and effectively to exonerate the ANC.

The HRC does not mince its words in denouncing the IFP and the security forces. In its report on massacres it concludes by stating that there is a "design and purpose (behind the killings) which places them alongside the gas chambers of Nazi Germany in sheer cold-blooded cynicism and brutality". It thus convicts the IFP and the security forces of genocide.

It does so on the basis of unproved allegation, unsubstantiated deduction, deliberate omission, uncertain legal evidence and, in some instances, clear error.

This kind of one-sided assessment — amounting to disinformation — is dangerous. It raises the ire of those falsely accused. It rouses a sense of righteous indignation, albeit without adequate reason, among those exonerated from blame. It sets the scene for heightened confrontation.

Jeffery is a special research consultant to the SAIRR. This article is excerpted from a 60-page report presented yesterday to EC foreign ministers on a peace mission to SA.

Clash averted by committee

MOOI RIVER — A Goldstone commission committee investigating violence at Mooi River adjourned yesterday morning to intervene in renewed political clashes in nearby Bruntville.

The clash began when angry Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers tried to take revenge on township residents after two handgrenade explosions at their quarters.

The Bruntville hostel committee announced later it had suspended all "voluntary" cooperation with the commission because of the handgrenade attacks.

One person was slightly injured in the explosions which Inkatha blamed on the ANC. Bruntville residents and ANC members denied involvement in the attacks.

Goldstone committee chairman Prof Dirk van Zyl Smit said his committee had spoken to the inmates and had urged restraint.

He said he had also addressed Bruntville residents, explaining the commissioner's function, and had told them the committee was "open to their problems".

"We're thankful to both sides for their restraint," he said. "They listened to us and showed reason. We congratulated them on the way they responded to the difficult and tense situation. This can greatly assist our work" — Sapa.

Volunteers to monitor protests and police raids

OPERATIONAL details of 150 business and professional volunteers who will monitor political gatherings, protests and police raids were released by national peace secretariat official Jan Hiemstra yesterday.

He said the volunteers would begin operations from the peace secretariat's 11 regional bases by the end of the month and would work closely with UN, EC and Commonwealth monitors.

Details of how the groups would co-ordinate their activities with international monitors were still being finalised, but it was likely the international observers would be spread among the regions.

They would report directly to national peace accord structures, but could take serious incidents to attorneys-general, Hiemstra said.

The group would be trained in police procedures and monitoring skills. Flags and a special uniform were being developed to clearly identify the monitors.

Hiemstra said a meeting of regional chairmen of peace struc-

tures last week gave the monitors the go-ahead. All individual volunteers would be vetted.

The monitors are the latest in a series of measures designed to bolster the peace process.

TIM COHEN reports from Pretoria that a high-level EC delegation arrives in SA today for a two-day visit focusing on ways to assist in the resumption of the negotiations and curbing violence.

The delegation consists of British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellermann-Jensen, Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Jose-Manuel Barroso, and EC Commission vice-president Franz Andriessen. The team represents the past, current and future heads of the EC.

The delegation will be meeting a wide range of political figures, including President F W de Klerk and senior government officials, who will be returning early from the NP congress in Bloemfontein. It is also expected to meet sen-

ior ANC members, who are engaged in a national executive committee meeting on the nature of mass action and negotiations.

A meeting with the Goldstone commission and the national peace accord is also expected.

The trip was mooted at the beginning of the year, specifically to examine the question of violence, but was given additional focus after the breakdown in negotiations, diplomatic sources said.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda has agreed to mediate between the ANC and Inkatha — and he may be joined by former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere. Kaunda and Nyerere were proposed by Inkatha and accepted by the ANC.

Kaunda's political aide Bright Chunga said national peace committee chairman John Hall had faxed a letter to Kaunda inviting him to be part of a team of adjudicators in an alleged breach of the national peace accord by the ANC.

Nyerere has not indicated whether he will accept the invitation.



Violence 'can be stopped'

PRETORIA. — South Africans have the capacity to stop the violence, ANC executive member Mr. Rocky Malebane-Metsing said yesterday.

In a talk to lecturers in the Department of Criminology at the University of South Africa, he said. "If the ANC benefited from the violence surely it would not have been out to get international groups to monitor the situation."

He said ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had agreed some uMkhonto weSizwe units were responsible for fanning violence in certain areas and had set up a commission to investigate the matter. — Sapa (274)

Reports by rights groups 'slanted'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THREE human rights organisations — one local and two international — were yesterday slammed by the SA Institute of Race Relations for publishing one-sided and inaccurate reports on violence

These reports, it said, could fan the flames of political violence.

Its analysis is based on recent reports by the Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists

These reports are assessed in the publication "Spotlight on Disinformation" about violence in South Africa by Dr Anthea Jeffery, which was released by the institute yesterday

The strong language used by the institute — a long-standing liberal organisation — indicates major division and tensions with left-wing bodies, such as the HRC, which have tended to side with the ANC.

The president of the SAIRR is former Houghton DP MP Mrs Helen Suzman, and its director is former journalist Mr John Kane-Berman

The HRC commissioners include Western Cape ANC national executive member Mr Dullah Omar, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa of the Institute of Contextual Theology, Mr Chis Dlamini of Cosatu, former Black Sash president Mrs Mary Burton and Mr Geoff Budlender of the Legal Resources Centre.

Its subscribing organisations include the Black Sash, Cosatu, Idasa, Lawyers for Human Rights, the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference and the SA Council of

EC mission heads south

LONDON. — Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said before leaving for South Africa yesterday that dialogue was the only way to resolve the country's problems.

Speaking at Heathrow Airport as he led a EC delegation on a two-day fact-finding mission, Mr Hurd said: "There can be no question of bringing back apartheid by force and ... there can be no question of achieving a new constitution through armed struggle."

As the extremes on both sides were clearly wrong, discussion was the only way forward. The question was

when and in what circumstances.

Mr Hurd was accompanied by Danish Foreign Minister Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen and EC External Relations Commissioner Mr Frans Andriessen. They were to pick up Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Jose Manuel Barosso in Lisbon before flying on to Johannesburg.

While in South Africa the EC delegation will meet the leaders of all major political groupings, as well as church, business and labour leaders, and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone. — Own Correspondent, Sapa-AP

being the principal perpetrator of political violence in South Africa. All accuse the security forces of colluding with the IFP in attacking the ANC and its allies."

According to Dr Jeffery, these accusations were based on methodology that involved the suppression of information, the elevation of untested allegation to fact, and a consistent disregard for the principle of audi alteram partem (hear the other side).

"No court of law would use such methods to convict even a minor offender," she said

She cited a series of omissions that occurred

in the reports of all three organisations:

- The frequent attacks on members of the police, resulting in the deaths of more than 120 policemen in the first seven months of 1992.

- The number of IFP officials and members — now over 1 000 — killed in recent years

- The strategy of promoting "ungovernability" through mass action, and its role in fostering violence.

- The continued existence of uMkhonto weSizwe, self-defence units and secret arms caches.

Dr Jeffery said these omissions distorted the causes of violence, and "do not aid the search for truth nor the striving for solutions"

The Institute said "merited, well-founded criticism must of course continue, whether against the government, the SAP, the IFP, the ANC, or any other organisation" But unsubstantiated allegations had to be treated with the greatest caution.

Churches

The institute said yesterday that the reports it had analysed "abound in unsubstantiated allegations and biased commentary which effectively convict the SAP, or the government, or Inkatha of fuelling violence, while exonerating others"

It added "Those who feel that they are constantly and unjustifiably accused of fomenting the violence may feel there is little point in continuing to participate in peace efforts, or have difficulty in restraining supporters who feel outraged"

The 50-page analysis of the reports was delivered yesterday to European foreign ministers. It will be presented to SAIRR members at a meeting later this week, at which Mr Kane-Berman will disclose "further sources of disinformation" and explain the strategy that motivated it.

The institute said Dr Jeffery's analysis pointed to a common thread running through the reports of Amnesty, the ICJ and the HRC

"All focus on the carrying of traditional weapons in public. All accuse the IFP of

274 CT 2/9/92

Workers demand peace

ABOUT 4 000 members of the Transport and General Workers Union yesterday took to the streets to demand an immediate end to violence. (274)

Demonstrations and marches were held countrywide. Protesters also handed memorandums to police, traffic departments and regional offices of the Department of Manpower. *Sowetan 2/9/92*

The biggest march was in Johannesburg where members of the TGWU were bussed into the city centre from

ef

places such as Phalaborwa, Pietersburg, the East and West Rand regions. (274)

Police have prevented violent coup, says Kriel

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Only the police and the Defence Force had prevented a violent overthrow of the government by the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party, Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel said today.

He told the National Party's Free State congress here that it was nonsensical to claim the police were part of the violence, and denied there was any organised "third force".

"Why would the police want to take part in the violence? So they can be shot dead?" asked Mr Kriel.

"Do people think it is nice for policemen to live in fear of their lives?"

It was the strategy of the ANC and the SACP to destroy the security forces' credibility and to achieve joint control, clearing the way to take over in South Africa.

But the NP would not allow the police and SADF to be destroyed and would not permit anarchy. **ARC 2/9/92**

"It is only the police that stand between law and order and anarchy in this country," said Mr Kriel. **(274)**

"Has not the time come for the South African public to stand up and support the police rather than criticise them?"

"Is it not time for the silent majority to speak up with a loud voice?" — Sapa.

● See page 4. **(25)**

**Nicro to help
shield witnesses**

274
PRETORIA. — The National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders had agreed to assist the Goldstone Commission with its witness protection programme.

Nicro will help ensure the general welfare of protected persons, and assist in making the periods of protection less oppressive. — Sapa

Business wait to monitor

JOHANNESBURG — A group of 150 business and professional volunteers is being set up by the National Peace Secretariat to monitor political gatherings, protest marches and police raids.

Rand Mines industrial relations executive Mr Jan Hiemstra, who has been asked by the secretariat to co-ordinate the monitoring group's activities, said the volunteers had so far come mainly from the business sector.

Other professions had also been approached and he expected volunteers from the Bar Council to come forward.

The volunteers would attend an orientation programme before they began operations from the secretariat's 11 regional bases by the end of the month

The orientation programme would include police procedures and would work closely with UN, EC and Commonwealth monitors.

Mr Hiemstra said the volunteers would fit in with National Peace Accord structures and co-ordinate their activities with the international observers.

He envisaged that the monitors would be drawn into facilitating

solutions to problems "on the spot".

Earlier former Zambian president Mr Kenneth Kaunda agreed to mediate between the ANC and the Inkatha — and he may be joined by former Tanzanian president Mr Julius Nyerere.

Mr Kaunda and Mr Nyerere were proposed by Inkatha and accepted by the ANC.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Lusaka that Mr Kaunda said: "I have just sent back a letter accepting the invitation to go and try and help the ANC and Inkatha to come together and work together."

274

CT 3/9/92

... to send a report... meeting, but had not come

No 'organised' third force exists, says govt

Blomay 3/9/92

274

~~274~~

~~274~~

BLOEMFONTEIN — Government yesterday categorically denied the existence of a third force "on an organised basis".

BILLY PADDOCK

And Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told delegates at the NP Free State congress all that stood in the way of a violent takeover by the ANC and the communists were the SAP and the SADF.

Kriel said as a result of new police initiatives since March to combat crime, serious crime had declined by 3,7% in May and 9% in June.

However, he said police urgently needed better training.

He made an appeal for more people to join the police reservists, noting that the law had been changed to allow members of the police to belong to political parties.

He said many of them were dying because they did not know how to deal with crisis situations properly.

Young and older males were needed to help secure the safety of neighbourhoods and serve as farm guards.

Kriel dismissed allegations that the security forces were fomenting violence, saying it did not make sense for police to participate in violence as this would make them more vulnerable to death or injury.

After his speech he said the police were conducting discussions with the Red Cross to assist in monitoring the treatment of prisoners at police cells.

"Only the SAP stands between law and order and anarchy in this country," he said during his spirited defence of the SAP.

Kriel said the police had already stated that they were prepared to assist the Red Cross.

He accused the ANC and the SACP of trying to destroy the credibility of the security forces by calling for joint control of the SAP and SADF.

He also said the six magistrates that would act as inspectors of cells had been identified.

Once they had achieved this objective they would be in a position to take over control of the country.

The police hierarchy were talking to them to see if they would agree to take the job.

He said government would not allow this because this would lead to anarchy and chaos.

Kriel would not release names or give further details saying he would do this once he released the findings of the investigation into the allegations of independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman.

The Minister said he had received the report and was busy discussing it with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and the attorneys-general.

The role of bias in violence

Star 2/9/92

274

THE MANNER in which political violence in South Africa is being reported is assuming critical importance because such reports play a crucial role in either defusing tensions or exacerbating confrontation.

The purpose of the South African Institute of Race Relations study is to analyse reports recently published by three important organisations: "South Africa, State of Fear" by Amnesty International; "Agenda for Peace" by the International Commission of Jurists; and "Special Briefing on Massacres and Area Repression Report (April 1992)" by the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

These reports have been selected because of the very serious allegations they have made. For example, the HRC in its "Special Briefing on Massacres" concludes that the killings it documents "have a design and purpose" behind them "that places them alongside the gas chambers of Nazi Germany in sheer cold-blooded cynicism and brutality".

The reports have also been chosen because the international influence of the organisations concerned tends to give their findings wide-ranging credibility. This makes it all the more important to gauge their accuracy.

All three organisations use methodology which involves the suppression of information which does not fit their theses, the elevation of untested allegations to fact, and a consistent disregard for the principle of giving a hearing to the other side.

This methodology is used, moreover, to convict certain actors and organisations of serious crimes, including geno-

In the SA Institute of Race Relations report, "Spotlight on Disinformation about Violence in South Africa", author ANTHEA J JEFFERY accuses three influential organisations of biased research. The Star offers an edited version of her main arguments and conclusions.

No court of law would use such methods to convict even a minor offender.

At best the reports are one-sided and simplistic. At worst they amount to disinformation — deliberate attempts to mislead. Analysis of the reports shows the following:

● On the killing of about 19 people in Bruntville, Natal, in December 1991. The reports of both Amnesty and the ICJ ignore key findings of the Goldstone Commission regarding police collusion.

They further distort the commissioner's findings in relation to dangerous weapons by stressing only its recommendation that spears should not be carried in public, while ignoring its caution that ways must be found of reassuring Inkatha supporters because of concealed weapons carried by ANC supporters.

● The HRC's report on massacres contains a number of significant errors, which are particularly evident as regards two "massacres" at Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle.

The HRC asserts that 11 people were killed by the SA Defence Force. According to the findings of a judicial inquiry conducted by Mr Justice F. Stafford, four people were killed by the SADF. It follows that this "massacre" does not satisfy the HRC's own definition of a massacre as an incident involving the deaths of 10 or more people.

In addition, the HRC reports that there was collusion between white men and IFP

supporters in the first of the massacres. This ignores the express finding to the contrary by Judge Stafford.

● On the April 1992 massacre at Crossroads, East Rand, where 23 sleeping IFP supporters were killed by Xhosa-speaking men, allegedly from an ANC squatter camp. The HRC in its April "Area Repression Report" describes this as "vigilante-related action". It defines such action as attacks by (or in defence against) surrogate forces of the State, in the form of "vigilante" private armies formed by homeland administrations or black local authorities.

Deaths thus laid at the door of the State are said by the HRC to include the deaths of these 23 IFP supporters. This categorisation is an extraordinary one. It can be reached only by adopting a definition of "vigilante-related action" so broad that both victims and perpetrators can effectively be tarred with the same brush.

This methodology explains how the HRC is able to attribute blame for 86 percent of deaths in violence to surrogate State forces and effectively to exonerate the ANC and its allies from liability.

● The HRC, in compiling its list of massacres, notes one massacre of ANC supporters in Richmond in June 1991. But it entirely ignores the massacres earlier in 1991 (acknowledged by the ICJ) of 29 IFP supporters in Richmond.

These were killed by ANC supporters who had unearthed an arms cache and dug them-

selves in "defensive" positions in a nearby forest. According to the ICJ, the ANC "commanders" responsible for these deaths "went on a killing spree which can only be described as vengeful and excessive in the extreme".

● On labour issues in Bophuthatswana: Amnesty's report wrongly states that the National Union of Mine-workers (NUM) is not permitted to operate in Bophuthatswana. It also accuses the management of a platinum mine of "clamping down on worker activists to ... undermine the new-found solidarity among the workforce".

According to the management of the mine, Amnesty made no attempt to ascertain its version of events. Management says "ANC" marshals had taken virtual control of the mine, and were committing numerous common-law crimes in their attempts to increase recruitment to the NUM. It was this, management claims, which necessitated its intervention to restore law and order.

There is a common thread running through the reports of all three organisations. All focus on the carrying of traditional weapons in public. All accuse the IFP of being the principal perpetrator of political violence. All accuse the security forces of colluding with the IFP in attacking the ANC and its allies.

All charge the Government with ultimate responsibility for the rising number of dead

and injured.

There is also a common denominator in what the reports of these organisations omit. All three ignore: the ANC strategy of fostering "ungovernability" through mass action and the intimidation and coercion which the ANC acknowledges commonly accompany mass action.

They ignore the ANC's refusal to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe or to surrender its secret arms caches, plus its refusal to desist from the establishment of township "self-defence units" — contrary to the National Peace Accord.

They also ignore the frequent incidence of attacks on members of the SA Police, and the number of IFP officials and members killed in recent years.

In omitting these realities, these organisations not only distort the causes of violence, but also set the stage for increased confrontation. Reports which are seen as one-sided can easily fan violence. Those who feel they are constantly and unjustifiably accused of fomenting violence may feel there is little point in continuing to take part in peace efforts, or may have difficulty in restraining supporters who feel outraged.

In some instances, the reports of these organisations record and criticise crimes committed by members of the IFP or SAP. Such criticism is fully justified. However, the reports then go on to use "guilt by association" to tarnish entire organisations.

The effect is to create a wholly one-sided view of violence in South Africa, effectively convicting one side on the basis of hearsay while exonerating the other. □



PEACE AMBASSADOR: Mr Bert Bissel came to Cape Town to deliver a message of peace, as he has done the world over.

Picture HANNES THIART, The Argus

ARC 3/9/92 (274)

Peace ambassador brings good tidings

STEFAANS BRÜMMER
Staff Reporter

THE Old Man of the Mountains may not have conquered Table Mountain, but the world is at his feet.

British Methodism's roving peace ambassador Mr Bert Bissel, 90, who has climbed 300 000 metres of mountain around the world for peace, said his message was well-received in Cape Town.

The joint recipient of the 1987 World Methodist Peace Prize and freeman of the Scottish towns of Fort William and Dudley, where he lives, Mr Bissel visited Cape Town to deliver his message of peace in person.

He said: "We haven't come here in any way to dictate, because your problems have been greater than ours, but to co-operate, if we are allowed that

great privilege."

Last week he tried to climb Table Mountain — but had to turn back when his guide said they were running out of time.

On Sunday he delivered a sermon on the mountain slope at Rhodes Memorial, at a service attended by Mayor Frank van der Velde.

"The aim of the visit is to bring a message of goodwill and cheer — the Christian

message — and also to tell how I have been used through mountains. My contribution has been rather unique in the field of peaceful pursuits," he said.

His involvement with mountains began as Bible class leader. "Christ climbed mountains so we said we would climb mountains."

He first climbed Ben Nevis in 1932. "We ran all the way up and down and thought it was the last time, but fortunately it wasn't."

The message of the Ben Nevis memorial has gone out all over the world in turn, and messages for peace have been left on Mount Everest, Mount Kongur in China, Mount Kosciuszko in Australia, Mount Fuji in Japan and, through the mediation of former Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, Mount Communism in Russia.

the nation

Marches monitored ²⁷⁴

A GROUP of 150 business and professional volunteers is presently being set up by the National Peace Secretariat to monitor political gatherings, protest marches and police raids in the country.

Journal 3/9/92
Rand Mines industrial relations executive Mr Jan Hiemstra, who has been asked by the secretariat to coordinate the monitoring group's activities, said yesterday the volunteers had so far come mainly from the business sector.

He said other professions had also been approached and he expected volunteers from the Bar Council to come forward.

Row erupts over reports on violence

CT 4/9/92 (274)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE row over reports on violence escalated yesterday with the Human Rights Commission denying it was increasing tensions and the SA Institute of Race Relations accusing it and others of producing "a disinformation scandal".

SAIRR director Mr John Kane-Berman, who earlier this week criticised the HRC, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists for its reports, last night attacked two other bodies, Case and the Independent Board into Informal Repression.

He also attacked the Weekly Mail for promoting the "theory" of a "third force" without proof.

"One of the co-editors of this paper is now beginning to admit, although not yet in the paper, that its third force allegations are based on 'patchy evidence' which is 'not always reliable'," Mr Kane-Berman said.

The HRC reacted to the criticisms yesterday, saying that it rejected any suggestion that its information on violence heightened confrontation.

"The HRC makes no pretence to being an academic research body, but it is the first to admit to being unashamedly anti-apartheid, and to that extent biased.

"We are meticulous in measuring the human rights record of the apartheid government against the standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in reporting facts as accurately as possible," the HRC said.

The HRC also had no intention of engaging in a point-by-point refutation of specific accusations by SAIRR.

In his speech, Mr Kane-Berman said the reporting about the third force in South Africa was beginning to resemble British tabloid reporting on the royal family. "90% of it is speculation and imagination and 10% is truth.

"The problem is, you can never be sure which is the 10%."

The reports of the various agencies were not helpful because "while they rightly castigate the IFP and the police for their involvement in violence, they turn a blind eye to the question of ungovernability.

"At best the recent reports of these agencies are one-sided and simplistic, at worst they amount to disinformation.

"Indeed, one could say that South Africa has a new information scandal — a disinformation scandal.

"The disinformation campaign is indeed an industry which has not only a strategic purpose but also the most serious of practical consequences."

15 EC observers set to monitor violence

PRETORIA — The EC will send 15 observers to SA to monitor violence as part of a package of proposals outlined by EC troika leader and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd last night. (274) (SEA)

After a two-day EC trip to SA, Hurd also told journalists the EC would send expert investigators to assist the Goldstone commission's investigative task force. BIOAM 4/9/92

The troika wanted an EC expert on each of the five investigative teams proposed by Judge Richard Goldstone. Hurd also said the EC would assist in training police for the new political situation.

In addition, the EC would act on a request to assist in existing programmes helping victims of the violence.

Commenting on the ANC's decision not to return to negotiations yet, Hurd said he hoped talks would resume. The ANC was a "crucial partner".

The EC group will make a stopover visit to Somalia before returning to Europe.

Yesterday, the delegation visited Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, and met delegates of the national peace committee's interim crisis committee for the township.

Their 20-minute tour of the township included the "Beirut" area. Hurd said: "It is still a shock to come here. Even though I came to Alexandra last year, it is necessary to remind oneself what it is actually like and how bad it is. It is interesting to note the change. Last year nobody spoke of 'Beirut'."

"It is very important that we do come here. Although we read the reports and see the images on television it is not the same. It is by seeing that you get the true impression," he said.

Hurd and colleagues, Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann Jensen and Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Jose Durao Barroso, were in SA to assess peace efforts and try to help get political parties back to the negotiating table. The troika also met Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F.W. de Klerk before leaving. — Sapa-AFP.

The disinformation Scanda

STAN 419192.

VIOLENCE does not occur in a vacuum. It draws oxygen from public opinion which supports it or condones it. Apartheid and the methods used to enforce it, some of them violent, were for many years endorsed or condoned by the Afrikaans churches, by many intellectuals, and by the Afrikaans press and the SABC.

There are many reasons why the National Party abandoned these policies. One of them is the withdrawal of intellectual, press and church endorsement. These considerations also apply at the other end of the spectrum. Just as it will take years to change the culture of a police force or indeed of a civil service, one of whose main purposes for 40 years was to enforce racial laws, so it will also take time to eradicate the culture of coercion which has become so deeply entrenched in resistance politics, not least because the use of violence was given ecclesiastical blessing.

What some people regard as a just war against people stigmatised as collaborators has its parallels in what others no doubt regarded as a just war against people stigmatised as communists. Part of this culture is the

process of stigmatisation, which I suspect has played a major role in the violence. It not only sets people up for attack, but also scares off any would-be defenders.

This helps to explain why so many ordinary, decent, white South Africans kept quiet for so long about banning and house arrests and deaths in detention. When Ruth Hayman, a Johannesburg attorney, was banned, the organised legal profession refused to take up her case. Mr Vorster had so stigmatised the liberals that most whites regarded them as communists and, when confronted with the injustice of banning without trial, retorted: "Well, she must have done something, otherwise Mr Vorster wouldn't have banned her." This acquiescence paved the way for the next step — detention without trial.

As the Radio Freedom broadcasts made clear, stigmatisation of their opponents was a major — if not the major — strategy of South African revolutionaries in the 1980s. The spray of stigmatisation was spread very wide. The targets included long-standing opponents of the Government who also opposed revolution, among them the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The growth of the culture in which some black people were mobilised to use violence against other black people occurred at a time when many liberals abandoned their traditional watchdog role and swallowed the revolutionary agenda — that politics was of only two kinds, liberatory and collaborationist, and those, like the institute, advocating non-violent change were naive.

Township residents have reaped the whirlwind sown by these simplistic notions. It is both tragic and ironic that black people, the victims of the apartheid system, should also be the main victims of the violence engendered by some of the liberatory strategies.

Members of the liberal community who slid away from their old values — of non-violence and tolerance, of standing up for the underdog — in fact failed South Africa in its hour of need. In the 1960s they spoke up bravely for the rights of communists against the arbitrary powers of Mr Vorster. In the 1980s they failed to speak up for ordinary people against the strategies of revolutionaries.

Therefore to be hoped that the recent regulations banning the carrying of all weapons in public places, along with the increased prison sentences for possession of unlicensed firearms, will be strictly enforced. Even though our figures show that so-called traditional weapons are not the major problem, I do not think that carrying these weapons to political meetings is compatible with democratic practice.

The National Peace Accord still has certain weaknesses. One of these is its failure expressly to prohibit the violent strategies of unprovocability. If these are not explicitly renounced, the violent backlashes will not stop.

Reports of agencies such as Amnesty International, the Commission, the Agency for Social Enquiry, the International Commission of Jurists, the Human Rights Commission and the Independent Board into Informal Repression are not helpful because, while they rightly castigate the IFP and the police for their involvement in violence, they turn a blind eye to the whole question of unprovocability.

274

ditional negotiations. It makes it impossible to stop conflict which is quite obviously emanating from both sides.

The current campaign to blame violence on the Reef almost exclusively on hostel residents, while ignoring their own fear of attack, will heighten their already considerable insecurity and cause them to stockpile weapons — automatic weapons, not traditional weapons — in other places. The more they feel under siege, the less they will hesitate to use these weapons, which will intensify the ANC-IFP conflict to the point where it may not end until a new constitution is in place, and perhaps not even then.

As we know from the bitter experience of the tricameral era, once you take a wrong turning constitutionally it is very difficult to get back on to the right road. South Africa, of course, has choices. We've always had them. We even have a name for them — high roads and low roads. In 1910 we took the low road of a unitary state when we could have taken the high road to federalism, which would have enabled the Cape to preserve and extend its liberal racial policies instead of giving Transvaal nationalists control

This is an extract from an address delivered last night by the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman.

media. □
 by a propaganda war in the war in the townships are fanned while the flames of the physical Such a system cannot be built. foundations of the free and democratic system most of us want. are to be believed, they are the political and racial spectrum alike. If the opinion polls across involved, major and minor players, and they reflect well on all in- are prudent, fair and pragmatic, the groups are remarkable. They promises already agreed upon in tured history, I believe the com- working groups. Given our tor- ready reached in the various tent and the sound agreements al- steadily on the Declaration of In- Codesa, broaden it, and build to the high road is to go back to many people seem to favour.
 The high road is to go back to road of bilateral deals that so road. The low road now is the which would have been the high bring blacks into Parliament, calling a Codesa there and then to the homelands policy instead of the tricameral Parliament and choice. We took the low road of over them. In 1983 we again had a

Violence monitors

defend reports

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) has defended its monitoring of political violence, stating it is "unashamedly anti-apartheid" but meticulous in measuring the human rights record of the Government against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The HRC statement was a response to a report published by the SA Institute of Race Relations, in which author Anthea Jeffery accused the HRC, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists of spreading disinformation regarding political violence.

The SAIRR report argued that these three organisations used one-sided and untested information to emphasise the culpability of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government while ignoring other perpetrators of violence, particularly the ANC.

"We have no need to manufacture or distort any facts, as apartheid's record speaks most eloquently for itself," the HRC said.

Criticised

The organisation stated that it had no intention of refuting point-by-point the SAIRR's accusations "since this would only lead to yet another 56-page report of doubtful purpose".

But it noted that the SAIRR had based its conclusions on only two HRC publications.

The SAIRR criticised the HRC for collapsing attacks by IFP supporters and by ANC supporters into a single category, "vigilante-related action". This boosted the apparent level of "vigilante-related" violence, said the SAIRR.

The HRC responded that its definitions appeared in full in each publication and said the crucial factor in "vigilante-related violence" was that, whether ANC or IFP members perpetrated individual attacks, these were part of a chain of conflict arising from a "vigilante-initiated situation".

The HRC denied that its publications added to conflict. "We believe that full exposure of the root causes of political violence is the only way to bring it to an end."

Ramsay Milne reports from New York on a black equivalent of SA's ET

There's no place like homeland

STAX 4/19/52

IF THERE were an AWB in the United States, its Eugene TerreBlanche would be the Rev. Louis Farrakhan.

Except that one is white, the other black, and that one is a Muslim fanatic and the other a "racialist" religionist, these two fringe radicals have almost identical political personas.

There are, of course, some distinctions. One, it has to be said, is that Mr. Farrakhan has never (so far as is known) been aboard a horse and that, therefore, Mr. TerreBlanche's equestrian skills may be superior.

Another is that Mr. TerreBlanche's romantic life is infinitely the more entertaining of the

two, if only because more is known about it.

Just as Mr. TerreBlanche wishes to see the creation of an Afrikaner homeland in South Africa, so Mr. Farrakhan advocates a black homeland in America.

This week he outlined a plan to buy up vast acres of productive farmland in Iowa.

This racial paradise, however, would not be for all black Americans: black prison inmates, reformed by their faith in Islam, should be sent to Africa to start a new country there, he says.

But Mr. Farrakhan, while infuriating white Americans, is touching chords among America's

disillusioned blacks — and he's no apostle of peace.

He told a wildly cheering crowd in Iowa that American blacks "should have a mind to kill" and predicted a racial bloodbath unless they were able to secure a new economic base.

While these exhortations to violence exceed anything Mr. Farrakhan (or the AWB or the PAC) has delivered before, they appeal to a growing sentiment among black Americans.

The Los Angeles riots and the current looting of homes and shops flattened by Florida's Hurricane Andrew are indicators that Mr. Farrakhan and other black extremists are not far off target

when they aim their gospels of violence and extremism at a recaptive black America.

As one writer reminds readers of Time Magazine this week, black Americans are increasingly immersing themselves in the trappings of African culture.

Many have cast aside their "slave" names and adopted African ones.

Some have even dropped all reference to America and call themselves "African".

For white Americans, these are dispiriting signs. But they are there, and Mr. Farrakhan and others like him know how to exploit them. — Star Foreign Service. □

274

Monitors race against time

By ARTHUR GAVSON. London

SHOCK effects of the Bisho massacre have galvanised key world governments into action amid mounting fears that bloody new confrontations could engulf South Africa in full-scale insurrection.

Four international organisations hustled this week to dispatch monitors to bolster the shaky structure of the National Peace Accord. *W/Mail 11/9-17/9/92*

An advance contingent of a 50-strong United Nations observer mission is due to fly to Johannesburg from New York today. Significantly, they will be deployed in the flash-point areas of Natal-kwaZulu and the Transvaal.

Organisation of African Unity, European Community and Commonwealth teams are to follow soon.

The German government has joined the United States and Britain in pinning political responsibility for Monday's shoot-out on President FW de Klerk's regime. All have condemned what they regard as a disproportionate use of force.

Diplomats at the UN, EC and Commonwealth headquarters reported in telephonic interviews their main concern now is that the

(274)
African National Congress will set out to switch its campaign of mass action to Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu. Such a move, they said, would suck in South African Defence Force units and almost certainly have consequences far more serious than at Bisho.

"We see the situation developing as a race against time," one British official said.

US President George Bush and British Prime Minister John Major were reported to be among the heads of government who have been in touch privately both with De Klerk and Nelson Mandela in the past few days. They urged the greatest restraint and decisive action to end violence and restart negotiations.

Officials of the four international bodies have already begun the process of co-ordinating their planned monitoring arrangements.

The scale and nature of the Commonwealth's role is down for discussion next week, when the organisation's Secretary General, Emaka Anyaoku, meets UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York. Anyaoku has publicly raised the possibility of reintroducing sanctions if De Klerk's reforms are torpedoed.

EC to send 15 observers (274)

Political Staff

THE European Community is to send 15 observers to monitor violence in South Africa and second experts to the Goldstone Commission investigating political violence, British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said in Pretoria.

He told a news conference at the end of a two-day fact-finding mission by three EC foreign ministers that the observers would be appointed as a matter of urgency and co-ordinate their work with 50 United Nations observers.

Mr Hurd, whose delegation included Danish Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jansen and Portuguese Secretary of State Mr Jose Manuel Barroso, said the EC was greatly concerned about violence in South Africa and was encouraged by the work done by the National Peace Secretariat. ARG 4/9/92

The British Foreign Secretary said Mr Justice Goldstone had asked his delegation to second experts to his commission. The judge wanted to have five teams, in each of which he wanted an international representative, according to Mr Hurd.

War on violence given fresh momentum

810AM 4/9/92 (274)
THE war against violence gained momentum yesterday as a number of initiatives were taken.

These included:

- A police announcement that 1 600 more officers would be deployed in unrest "hot spots";
- A meeting yesterday between Vaal Triangle police and ANC representatives to discuss ending conflict in the area; and
- A meeting between the ANC, the Law and Order Ministry and the SA Rail and Commuter Corporation (SARCC) today to look at steps to end violence on metropolitan trains on the Reef.

The force of 1 600 internal stability divi-

RAY HARTLEY

sion policemen would be permanently deployed in "hot spots" or "red areas" where violence was particularly intense, said division chief Lt-Gen Johan Swart. They would be deployed on the Witwatersrand, and in the Vaal Triangle, Soweto, Natal, eastern Cape and the Cape Peninsula.

"Statistics show that 86% of the total unrest incidents reported occur in these areas," he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the new deployment would not help end the violence while police attitudes and structures remained unchanged. He said it

seemed to be a political propaganda stunt aimed at creating the illusion that government was acting to end the violence.

Police spokesman Col Ray Harold said 5 000 internal stability division policemen were now working to counter violence. "They will intensify patrols so there is a large visible presence of policemen."

SARCC spokesman Koos Meyer said today's talks between the SARCC, the Law and Order Ministry and the ANC could give fresh impetus to efforts to end train violence. He would not be drawn on ANC threats to renew the train boycott if secur-

To Page 2

810AM 4/9/92 (274) From Page 1

Violence

ity was not upgraded immediately "Mud-sludging", said Meyer, could undermine today's meeting

In another development, sources hinted that Maj Frank Dutton, who exposed the police cover-up in the Trust Feed massacre case earlier this year, could be appointed to the Goldstone commission's special investigative unit. But Judge Richard Goldstone said no decision had been reached on the composition of the team and suggestions that Dutton had been appointed were "completely incorrect"

The sources said Dutton had been short-listed and was an obvious candidate because of his record of impartiality and professionalism

Six people — two in Alexandra — were reported dead yesterday in unrest-related incidents across the country

How fast will the anarchy spread?

(274)

Star 5/9/92

AS APARTHEID faces its demise, conditions are more hostile than ever in the very townships where action on September 3 1984 signalled the start of a campaign to undermine it.

Just weeks ago Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Bopalong were called anarchic. They still hover on the brink of chaos. And there is more than political folklore in the question if the Vaal looks this way today, can other areas' townships be far behind?

The Vaal townships were not only

APARTHEID is on its knees. But what of conditions in the townships where the revolt against it began? JO-ANNE COLLINGE investigates.

foremost in mobilising mass resistance in 1984. Weeks later, Operation Puma made Sebokeng the first township to be occupied by the military. November 1984 saw the Vaal at the heart of a new form of stayaway, mobilised

spontaneously by trade unions and community organisations. In July 1990 residents experienced the first concerted conflict with Inkatha supporters on the Reef.

Until recently, signs of anarchy were everywhere: extortionists repeatedly seized control of the barricades which went up around the time of the Bopalong massacre, self-defence units reportedly press-ganged residents into duty, young activists — including a number of Umkhonto we Sizwe recruits — turned their guns on their supposed comrades in the trade unions.

But these are symptoms rather than reasons. And the question remains who or what made the Vaal townships ungovernable?

Behind the chaos lies a deep hostility between security forces and residents. The forces' violent record and failure to protect people from repeated attacks were central to creating a lawless region.

Political and community organisations are unable to create an alternative framework to instil order.

The deterioration in relations between res-



ON THE BRINK OF CHAOS There is a deep hostility between security forces and residents. The forces' violent record and failure to protect people from repeated attacks are central to the lawlessness. Political and community organisations are unable to create an alternative framework to instil order.

idents and police was re-declared just four months after the 1984 rent uprisings in a report by the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference.

Based largely on affidavits taken in the Vaal the report concluded that police had come to be seen in the townships as disturbers of the peace and perpetrators of violent crime.

The study spoke of indiscriminate police violence while the press reported allegations of police torture.

On the first anniversary of the uprising, Saul Tsotetsi of the Vaal Civic Association — who was blown up in mysterious circumstances this year — said "You know how children play in the streets at evening

— marching up and down? Initially the songs they sang caricatured the councillors. Now they are singing songs about the soldiers and (Law and Order Minister) Le Grange they are now seeing the soldiers and the police as enemies."

Enmity

Implementation of the states of emergency confirmed this enmity. There were mass demonstrations in the Vaal Local civic association and youth group activities were restricted.

When F W de Klerk was elected president in 1989 and the mass defiance campaign was treated benignly by police in most urban centres there was no thaw

in the Vaal. Continued intolerance of political activity enforced by the armed forces resulted in a virtual replay of the Sharpeville 1960 shootings. On March 26 1990 police opened fire without orders on marchers at Sebokeng, killing 11.

Six months later, a similar unauthorised volley loosed by soldiers at a crowd that had trapped 150-odd Inkatha members inside Sebokeng hostel resulted in four deaths. An earlier attack on the hostel saw about 40 deaths.

From July 1990 Vaal residents were at the mercy of armed mobs and hitmen who mowed down scores of innocents — at choir practice in Sharpeville at an ANC

Organisation in the Vaal was systematically destroyed in the 1980s. Established civic leaders were arrested soon after the 1984 uprising and banned from the area until the Delmas treason trial ended in late 1988. Many never returned and the replacement leadership was peeled away, layer by layer, by detentions.

The ANC and other organisations were unbanned but unable to operate freely when the first conflict with Inkatha occurred in Sebokeng in July 1990. Failure to protect their constituents further undermined them.

Living with death as a constant companion affected residents deeply.

A local leader describes desolation as "when our enemies fight us in our heads, making sure that people should not trust each other."

Crisis

Elements of the Vaal's descent to disorder can be found in many townships, particularly on the East Rand and in parts of Greater Soweto. The difference is that crises and killings have not happened as thick and fast elsewhere.

Whether this means that other areas are moving more slowly but as surely to the brink of anarchy remains debatable. In many areas there are countervailing efforts at reconstructing. Even in the Vaal against the tide, this process persists — seeking to revive essential services, to negotiate a *modus vivendi* for police and activists to truly organise the rapidly growing membership of political parties.

One thing is certain there can be no cause for complacency in any area where in trade unionist Zwelinzima Yavi's words, a generation has grown up "jumping over their own relatives' bodies".

ARTISTS

COME TO THE ZOO LAKE THIS WEEKEND

The Artists' Market Association will be holding their monthly EXHIBITION

THIS SATURDAY (today) and SUNDAY OVER 180 ARTISTS EXHIBITING

Well-known artists will be exhibiting:

SHIRLEY GINGER ● PIETER KALF
GERIT ROON ● MARILYN WASON
MARTIN WENKIDU ● LENORE HERSELMAN

"GIFT VOUCHERS NOW AVAILABLE"

Various identities will benefit from sales of artwork.

Exhibition Sale

Watercolours, Gouache, Crayon, Chalk and Pencil Drawings, Etchings, Dry Points and Photo-Lithographs by:

Sir William Russell Flint

R A P R W S W R O I R E N S

Goldstone's

Trust Feed supercop a strong contender

STAN
SAP 172
HELEN GRANGE

274
280

MAJOR Frank Dutton, the "supercop" whose startling revelations in the Trust Feed massacre catapulted him into the public eye as a policeman of integrity, has been singled out for appointment to the Goldstone Commission's special investigative teams probing violence.

Investigations by the Saturday Star this week revealed that Dutton is likely to play a key role on the commission's squad of "untouchables"

and that consultations are taking place over the possibility of other members of his Hammarsdale unit — also instrumental in the Trust Feed probe — being brought on board.

What made the 42-year-old Dutton an obvious target for the no-holds-barred detective work required by Mr Justice Goldstone to uncover the causes of on-going bloodshed was the result of his Trust Feed massacre probe.

Credibility

The fact that the mild-mannered policeman courageously — in the face of death threats — forged ahead with an inquiry which led to the conviction of five of his colleagues put him firmly into the newfound domain of "good cop".

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin believes Dutton will be a "very wise appointment — he is the one person who has been proved to have unqualified credibility".

Human Rights Commission national director Safoora Sadek concurs. "He has clearly shown an inclination to get to the bottom of events and not be influenced by interested parties.

"However, we believe that the success of the teams does not lie with the presence of an individual but would depend largely on the powers of investigation and independence granted to the entire team," she adds.

'Bad apples'

Mr Justice Goldstone is currently involved in consultations to establish the form and political credibility of the policemen offered by the SAP to his envisaged five investigative units.

The process is expected to take some time, as it is understood the judge is determined to avoid the possibility of "bad apples" slipping through the screening.

Dutton feels indebted to his unit for their help in the Trust Feed case, and some of his men are likely to join him in the Goldstone Commission team.

A strong contender is retired warrant officer Wilson Magadla, who worked with Dutton and was described as the "brains" behind the major. Magadla has had experience in other major investigations, including one which led to the conviction for murder of top Inkatha man Samuel Jamile.

Each unit is to include an international expert with partly legal, partly administrative, experience.

'untouchables'

Sabta to step up peace bid

PILANESBERG. — The South African Black Taxi Association yesterday resolved to broaden its involvement in the campaign to bring about peace in the country.

This was said by Sabta president Mr James Ngcoya in his address to the organisation's annual conference here.

Mr Ngcoya said Sabta had established peace committees in all provinces to try to stop the violence in the taxi industry. (274)

He blamed the government for deregulating the industry, thereby flooding it with more taxis than necessary.

He also blamed the taxi violence on low profit margins which resulted in fights over routes. — Sapa

CTS 9/92

'Supercop' to join Goldstone 'untouchables'

274

ARG 5/9/92

HELEN GRANGE

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — "Supercop" Major Frank Dutton has been singled out for appointment to the Goldstone Commission's special investigative teams probing violence.

Major Dutton's startling revelations in the Trust Feed massacre case catapulted him into the public eye as a policeman of integrity.

Investigations by the Weekend Argus have revealed that Major Dutton is likely to play a key role on the commission's squad of "untouchables" and that consultations are taking place over the possibility of other members of his Hammarsdale unit — also instrumental in the Trust Feed probe — being brought on board.

What made the 42-year-old Major Dutton an obvious target for the no-holds-barred detective work required by Mr Justice Goldstone to uncover the causes of ongoing bloodshed, was the result of his Trust Feed massacre probe.

The fact that the mild-mannered policeman courageously — in the face of death threats — forged ahead with an inquiry which led to the conviction of five of his colleagues, put him firmly into the new-found domain of "good cop".

Lawyers for Human Rights director Mr Brian Currin believes Major Dutton will be a "very wise appointment — he is the one person who has been proved to have unqualified credibility".

Human Rights Commission national director Safoora Sadek concurs. "He has clearly shown an inclination to get to the bottom of events and not be influenced by interested parties.

"However, we believe that the success of the teams does not lie with the presence of an individual but would depend largely on the powers of investigation and independence granted to the entire team," she adds.

Mr Justice Goldstone is involved in consultations to establish the form and political credibility of the policemen offered by the police to his envisaged five investigative units.

The process is expected to take some time, as it is understood the judge is determined to avoid the possibility of "bad apples" slipping through the screening.

Major Dutton feels indebted to his unit for their help in the Trust Feed case and some of his men are likely to join him in the commission team.

A strong contender is the retired Warrant Officer Wilson Magadla, who worked with Major Dutton and was described as "the brains" behind the major. Warrant Officer Magadla has had experience in other major investigations, including one which led to the conviction for murder of top Inkatha member Samuel Jamile.

Each unit is to include an international expert with legal and administrative experience.

STAR 579192

POLITICAL violence and instability have failed to put the lid on multibillion-rand projects that are providing jobs, housing, education and social services to the desperately poor in South Africa.

GIVING people hope dilutes the potential for violence, South Africa's major development agencies believe. So, after consulting across the political spectrum, they are spawning housing, education and job-creation projects in towns and cities racked by conflict. TYRONE SEALE reports.

ding the Urban Foundation, Kagiso Trust, Joint Education Trust and the Development Bank of Southern Africa — will be turning sods in South Africa and the homelands to provide beacons of hope such as schools, serviced sites and clinics.

Tens of thousands of impoverished people are daily regaining self-confidence and reaping the benefits of extensive consultation between development organisations such as the Independent Development Trust (IDT) and the Urban Foundation on the one hand, and political organisations from the extreme Left to the far Right on the other.

Of the R2 billion earmarked by the Government two years ago for development through the IDT, R1,9 billion has been allocated to 340 projects, with R700 million of this already in the ground all over the country. Currently the IDT spends an average of R4,5 million a week.

In the western Cape, the Urban Foundation will spend R3 million during the next 12 months on support services for an estimated 1 million squatters. The foundation will teach building skills and methods, negotiate affordable materials for shack-builders and encourage companies to award subcontracts to unemployed communities.

On a bigger scale the IDT — and partners inclu-

Writing in the IDT's recent second annual report, communications director Jolyon Nuttall says the founding of the IDT from a surplus of taxpayers' money in the 1990 Budget was "clearly part of a series of bold initiatives to do things differently" after more than 40 years of apartheid.

IDT chairman Jan Steyn puts it like this: "It's much more difficult for violence to take hold where development has played a role in bringing people together. No time is more opportune than now for a massive increase in development."

But where the Government and the private sector have made a commitment to eliminate socio-economic backlogs, development agencies are confronted by suspicions about the role of corporate and civil do-gooders. Nuttall says that only a few years ago the word "development" was hardly mentioned in socio-economic or political vocabularies.

"Indeed, it had negative connotations arising from the imposition of apartheid as separate development. Now it is regarded as a driving force in underpinning political transition in this country."

Sharon Follentine, the Urban Foundation's assistant regional director in the western Cape, says: "Development is anything that promotes justice, equity and changes of attitudes. You cannot eliminate poverty unless there's also commitment to social justice."

Breaking the tensions

Gavin Wyngaard, manager of the Urban Foundation's informal settlement support programme, says: "An example of how we should try to defuse conflict is the Masipatisane Project, where we have brought about a relationship between the heads of community organisations and representatives of the private sector."

Nuttall quotes the IDT's projects at Soweto-on-Sea, in Port Elizabeth, as another example of development breaking through political tensions. There the IDT is providing 10 000 families with freehold title to serviced sites.

Reporting on the project, Georgina Hamilton says that although there is a strong African National Congress presence in the PE resettlement, other political parties or groups are not excluded.

At Langa, near Uitenhage, Unifound Housing is developing a site-and-service scheme in a place where 21 people were killed in 1985 when police fired on a funeral crowd. A year later, local authorities forcibly relocated the Langa shack community despite pleas for upgrading.

Today, the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, the SA Communist Party, the Uitenhage municipality and development organisations are jointly involved in establishing a motivated, self-contained community.

"There are countless other examples," says Nuttall. "If you give people hope, you diminish the potential for violence. In a time when there has been so much violence, there has also been amazing development news — which unfortunately spreads more slowly than bad news."

Development projects ease conflict

HOPE: remedy for violence

The VIOLENT and the VANISHED

274

S/Times
6/19/92

More than 12 000 people have been killed in political violence in South Africa in a decade. Hundreds of thousands of people have been displaced, living as refugees for days, months or years. The government claims it has a policy, but relief organisations say that this is not apparent.
CHARLENE SMITH reports

'If it is a sign of weakness to let opponents live in an area, how do we ever expect to have democracy?'

motorists for lifts out of the area to escape further murder and mayhem.

Bruntville ANC youth leader, Mthofi Khumalo, 23, says: "We are not sure how many left, or where they have gone. If there is no fighting they may come back but some may not."

Under the only grove of trees in the township, town clerk Maxwell Mabaso, sits in sparse offices in the no-man's-land between the remaining hostel and township dwellers.

There were three hostels until the railway hostel was razed to the ground last year, displacing more than 100 residents. The other hostel, which flanks the local high school, was abandoned after frequent clashes.

On the ridge of the hill, Nkosinathi Ndlovu, principal of Eminyezaneni high school, surveys the ashes of two prefabricated classrooms fire-bombed last Saturday. Only cinders remain of the only technical training equipment

available to a community where 98 percent of township residents are unemployed.

Before the violence began, Mr Ndlovu notes, there were 906 pupils in his school, now there are only 578. Although his matric class achieved a 41 percent pass rate last year, despite 80 school days lost to conflict, he says the real impact of those missed days is being felt this year.

"This year children missed three weeks of school. But as a teacher, you feel the impact of days lost last year. I'm not hopeful about this year's results."

This year's 49 matric pupils were due to write their prelims on Friday, but children did not return to school this week after fleeing two Inkatha imps who marched on the township — with the school caught in the middle of a pincer movement — on Tuesday.

Bullet holes pock the walls of the school where a teacher and child were recently shot in the schoolyard, allegedly

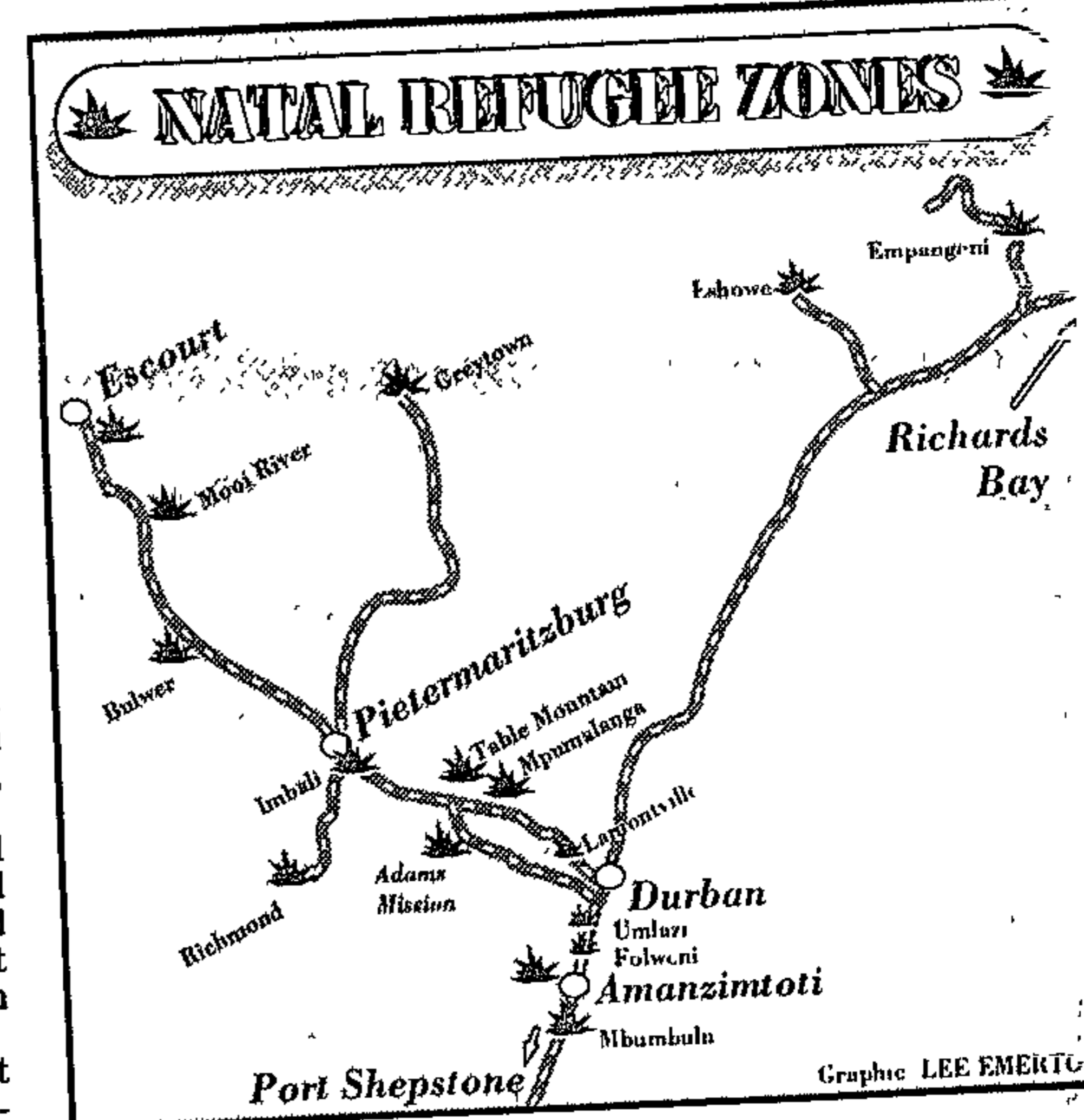
from an adjacent hostel. Houses near the school and hostels are mostly burnt, empty shells.

There is not a shop still open. All have been attacked by one or another faction and residents now walk about 3km to the nearest store in Mooi River.

Mr Mabaso says only about one percent of township residents pay service charges. However, the 832 hostel residents, who are all employed, pay their monthly R9 fee.

Despite six months of investigation by the Goldstone commission, no upgrading work has taken place at the hostel, erected in 1952, the same year the township was built. A spokesman for the Department of Local Government and Housing insists they have had consultations with hostel residents, and have budgeted R1,2-m for upgrading.

But, the Natal Provincial Administration has recommended "that the hostel upgrading ... be held in abey-



ance pending the outcome of the Goldstone commission's inquiry."

The hostel is in an appalling condition. Men sit in filthy, dark, cramped quarters on upturned beer crates, drinking heavily or smoking dagga. About 50 refugees also live in the hostel.

Most hostel residents come from areas around Estcourt. Many have lived in the hostel for considerable periods. There is a ratio of 96 men to one toilet, all share a single shower block with hot water, and they have no recreation facilities.

Community life has been

destroyed. Veteran peace activists MC Pretorius, co-chairman of the Natal Kwa-zulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, and Mary de Haas of the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Natal say this sort of breakdown is the most difficult, and most critical, component to restore for lasting peace.

"Violence forces those from the community who could play a constructive role. Professional older people also flee. What you get in place of them is a bunch of thugs who don't know what democracy is. To them, it is

A D R I V E through rural Natal can be an eerie experience: row upon row of empty houses, doors slightly ajar, windows open, chickens pecking in the dust, but no people.

Natal has around 100 000 displaced people. In Folweni near Amanzimtoti, recent violence has seen a community of 10 000 people disappear, 1 200 refugees live in nearby halls, but the rest have fled; no-one knows precisely where.

It is a story repeated across Natal: in Umlazi 4 000 people disappeared earlier this year, 1 000 people abandoned in the last fortnight at Table Mountain near Maritzburg. A senior relief official says "tens of thousands" of people have been displaced in Natal this year.

In the Transvaal, Reef urban areas are primarily affected. Despite a top-level visit by government to Alexandra after violence earlier this year, nothing has been done to help 5 000 refugees forced from their homes by attackers.

The huge Phola Park squatter camp of some 45 000 people on the East Rand was formed after people fled violence in Zonke'sizwe squatter camp and were joined by displaced people from other areas.

Despite this massive, moving population of internal refugees little is known about these people and what happens to them once they flee. Obtaining statistics is nearly impossible, but relief agencies, particularly those active in Natal, say that up to a million people may have been displaced in the past 10 years.

A LTHOUGH the Department of Local Government and Housing says it has a policy, not a single relief organisation contacted by the Sunday Times was aware of it.

Displaced people range from wealthy business people to pensioners. Doctors and nurses have been forced to flee hospitals, children and teachers from schools, and workers from factories.

"You have to know the geography of the conflict," a senior aid worker notes, "when the two protagonists (ANC and Inkatha) are in an area and one tries to gain ground, the people suffer."

"Those who are displaced often belong to an opposing faction and can never return."

Case studies paint a desperate picture. Over three violent years the small community of Bruntville, Mooi River, lost a quarter of its former 8 000-strong population.

On Tuesday this week, while a Goldstone committee intervened to stop IFP and ANC residents from attacking each other, women grabbed their children and ran to the nearby Mooi River toll plaza, begging passing

s/times

274

6/9/92.

THE small community of Fox Lake, Soweto, seemed like the perfect middle class development. Fifty-one neat little houses were erected and sold last year to teachers, nurses and clerks for prices ranging from R40 000 to R70 000. Unfortunately, their homes were between Mzimhlope hostel and Meadowlands township. War broke out between Mzimhlope and Meadowlands in February this year. Each side, wrongly, believed Fox Lake residents supported the other.

After constant intimidation and gun battles in the streets around their homes, Fox Lake residents left their homes in March.

Nurses left their children with relatives and moved into nursing residences, others live in shacks or with relatives, their goods in storage. Karin Norval, their lawyer, says their lives have been totally disrupted.

In a sad gesture of hope most continue to pay their monthly bonds.

Today, a drive around Fox Lake, reveals furtive young men in long blankets concealing weapons. Some houses are charred shells or barricaded with zinc sheets. The area is so violent that ambulances from Baragwanath hospital are routinely in the area picking up bodies in adjacent fields.

Mrs de Haas says it is often dangerous for people who have fled an area to go back. "I must phone the Greytown police today and ask for their assistance. Some people who fled Apple Bush want to go back, but fear they will be killed."

"If it is a sign of weakness to let opponents live in an area, how do we ever expect to have democracy? It can't happen unless we have a strategy that guarantees the right of everyone to live in their home place, aided by someone to oversee the situation."

the rule of the gun," says Mrs de Haas.

"The amazing thing is where all these people find homes. Very few come to the attention of relief agencies. They end up sharing other people's homes, squat, or live in backyard shacks."

Schooling also suffers. "White-collar people can often get their children into other schools, but most poor people can't. Children drop out of schools because of violence. Schools are targeted because pupils are seen as comrades."

"There needs to be a coordinated strategy dealing with refugees and places where people can go for help."

The impact on children is serious. Eight of the 84 people held in connection with the Boipatong massacre are children aged between 15 and 17. All fled their homes after attacks and sought refuge at the local hostel. None apparently knows what happened to parents or relatives.

Grand schemes to create a stable middle class falter too when faced with the problems violence delivers.

Pupils plan a 'peace run'

Sunday Times Reporter

A GROUP of school children plan to run 1 200km for peace, collecting signatures on the way.

6/9/92
With three teachers and a number of parents, Muir College Uitenhage pupils will leave Auckland Park in Johannesburg on October 2 and run back to Uitenhage, covering 300km a day.

They will stop at every town on the way to collect signatures from people who support their dream for a peaceful future.

They hope to collect more than a million signatures to hand over to UN observers.

Headmaster Paul Ellis said: "The boys have identified the absence of a peace

ethos among South Africans as a major shortcoming and have decided to do something about it.

274
"They want to send a message to the world that South Africans are not all bad, and to counteract the negative attitude towards us."

2000
The runners will each cover between 50 and 100km of the total distance, depending on age and fitness.

Four of the adult runners completed the Comrades Marathon this year and will tackle the tougher sections of the route.

Multiple winner of the Comrades Marathon Bruce Fordyce will join the runners at the starting point.

Weekend violence claims lives of 22 nationwide

STAR 719192. 274

Staff Reporters

Continuing violence has claimed the lives of at least 22 people around the country since Friday.

Yesterday, a man was stabbed to death with a spear before his body was set alight in Vosloorus, police said.

Also on the East Rand, a commuter was killed when he was attacked and thrown from a speeding train near the Fellside station, Germiston, early on Saturday.

In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, five people were shot and wounded and 23 stabbed, according to residents.

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said only three people were injured and a house set alight when two groups attacked each other. He said police separated the groups who were armed with firearms and knives.

Residents alleged that

Inkatha Freedom Party supporters from Madala hostel opened fire at a burial society procession at the intersection of Selbourne and Third Avenue. Nobody was injured.

On Friday night, a policeman was shot dead and robbed of his firearm in Katlehong.

Two people were killed in the Vaal Triangle and another narrowly escaped a "necklacing".

Yesterday, police found the body of a woman who had been murdered and raped in Boipatong.

On Saturday, Isaac Nyamatha (46) found the body of his son Leva Philip (27) in Union Road, Evaton Small Farms, police said.

Also on Saturday, Sam Mofokeng, of Sasolburg's Zamdela township, was travelling in his minibus in Zone 7, Sebokeng, when he was stopped by about 40 youths.

Mr Mofokeng was dragged out of the mini-

bus and the youths tried to "necklace" him, police said.

Mr Mofokeng managed to escape and ran off, chased by some of the youths who had jumped into his minibus.

Another man was murdered and his house was set alight in Wesseltown in the eastern Transvaal on Saturday morning.

● At least 14 people were killed on Natal's troubled south coast on Friday and Saturday, police said.

Spokesman for the SAP's Internal Stability Division, Lieutenant-Colonel Ray Harrald said extra police had been deployed in the area.

On Saturday, members of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) shot dead a man believed to be a "people's court official" whom they had connected to three murders in Port Shepstone, he said.

● 3 policemen killed —

Page 5

3 policemen killed in attacks

STAR 719192

By Bronwyn Wilkinson and Melody McDougall

Three policemen were killed and 11 were injured in separate attacks around the country at the weekend.

In Katlehong on the East Rand yesterday morning, gunmen attacked Sergeant MR Malama who was on duty in Khumalo Street, police said.

The gunmen shot Sergeant Malama in the head before taking his firearm. He died in the Katlehong Hospital.

Early on Saturday morning, Assistant Constable BB Sibiya was stabbed to death in Kwa-Dabeka, near Pinetown. A

Natal police spokesman said two men had been arrested.

Also on Saturday, Constable TP Mpeke was shot in the chest at the police barracks at Protea police station in Soweto.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Eugene Henning said police could not rule out the possibility that Constable Mpeke was shot by another policeman.

Eleven policemen were injured, three seriously, in two hand grenade attacks in Wesseltown in the eastern Transvaal early on Saturday.

The SAP said the first attack occurred when the Ermelo police went to investigate the murder of a young man whose house had also been set alight.

The road was barricaded and a mob confronted policemen near the body.

A member of the Violent Crime Investigation Unit, Sergeant DD Hall, fired two warning shots into the ground, a police spokesman said.

A hand grenade was thrown at the policemen from the crowd and Sergeant Hall was wounded.

Later, a hand grenade was thrown at policemen at the scene of another murder. The SAP said 10 policemen were injured, three seriously.

● Four people were killed and three injured in two accidental hand grenade explosions at the weekend.

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant Eugene Henning said the four died when a grenade exploded in a house in Tladi at 11.30 on Saturday night.

Police believe one of the deceased was handling the grenade when the pin fell out.

Two people were injured, one of them seriously.

The name of one of the deceased has been released. He was Alfred Tabagale (18).

In another explosion in Fairmount, Johannesburg, a man was injured when a grenade exploded in his hand on Saturday.

Police said the man, whose name has not been released, was in a serious condition in hospital.

the marks
ation. Cor
snap up h
was given a blood transfusion
in Westville hospital after
high

...to get down to business training to

ANC gets some new deadlines

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC has launched its own newspaper in the eastern Transvaal.

The Congress is edited in Nelspruit by ANC official Jackson Mthembu, who said it was not only a mouthpiece for the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP alliance, "but for those communities who are without water, those communities who have no vote, those communities who are under a constant threat from gangsters, the SAP and the SADF".

However, the newspaper also contains a mock voting form, featuring the ANC, AWB, Azapo and other parties as contenders.

It notes: "As we are continuously breaking and rolling the skull of apartheid, let us build our branches into strong electoral constituencies. Our recruitment drive is not only aimed at increasing membership but canvassing more votes for victory."

HRC's Coleman says business must act 'to save its economy'

UNCONTROLLABLE violence and economic decline were pushing the government extremely close to conceding to majority rule, newly elected Human Rights Commission national chairman Max Coleman said last week.

"They will only take the decision to agree to elections when the pain of holding on exceeds the pain of letting go," he said.

Coleman said in an interview he believed business could play a vital role in ending the violence by putting pressure on government to accept majority rule.

"The business community probably hold the key to the whole thing. It's their economy that is going down the drain."

He said government's planned conference of parties favouring federalism was a strategy designed to retain regional powers because they would not win a democratic election.

A behind-the-scenes battle between the political and security arms

RAY HARTLEY

of government was inhibiting the state's ability to end violence, he said.

He accused the security establishment and Inkatha of a campaign to destabilise the ANC and its allies to weaken their bargaining power at the negotiating table.

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, the HRC defended itself against recent attacks on its impartiality by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

As a human rights body, its brief had always been to disseminate information about the observance or violation of human rights by the "apartheid state".

"We agree then ... that our perspective is one of bias against apartheid," it said.

"But it would be ludicrous to suggest the HRC has a need to invent or distort the human rights record of the apartheid state when the record is already so prolific in its detail."

Cl
Tf
Tf
It
It
A
T

Transvaal SA

SAIRR 'mud-slinging' criticised

Political Staff

274

THE Human Rights Commission (HRC) and the Black Sash yesterday hit out at the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) for its "mud-slinging" attacks on the commission's reports on violence.

The HRC said in a statement that the SAIRR's "recent vendetta" against it had given the commission cause to ponder on the differences between the two organisations for the institute to take "such a gratuitous and vituperous swipe at the HRC".

The Black Sash said in a statement it

regretted "the intemperate attacks" by SAIRR representatives on recent HRC, Amnesty International and International Commission of Jurists reports.

"In the present situation of conflict and tension we do not believe it is helpful to ascribe motives and strategies to others, nor to use emotive language such as "disinformation scandal"," it said.

Both organisations were responding to hard-hitting criticisms by the SAIRR and its director, Mr John Kane-Berman.

The HRC said: "To go beyond the discussion of differences between HRC and SAIRR in perceptions and definitions

would be to descend to the level of a mud-slinging exercise, something we have no wish to do."

However, it wanted to state it did regularly report and certainly deplored the death and injuries of policemen and IFP officials and supporters.

The HRC said it had never used the term "Third Force".

The HRC said the SAIRR often displayed an ambivalence "which is puzzling", and sometimes seemed to expend considerable energy on projects selected "more in defence of the apartheid state" than on exposing it.

CT 8/9/92

CT 8/9/92

Now ANC targets three bantustans

■ Bop, KwaZulu and
QwaQwa face wrath:

By Ike Motsapi

THE ANC and its allies are now targetting Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu for "Phase Four" of their mass action campaign.

The action, which is similar to the one launched in Ciskei yesterday, is aimed at installing a new democratic government by the end of the year.

Mr Mandla Dlamini, co-leader of the mass action campaign, yesterday said: "In this period we must strive to finally release the remaining 400 political prisoners. We should also achieve free political activity in all parts of our country especially Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu."

The following actions would be undertaken:

- Build up pressure on the Government to meet the tripartite alliance's constitutional demands;
- Mobilise the broadest possible unity, stretching to all corners of the country in order to isolate the Government and its "puppets";
- Assist dismissed workers by way of regional or selected consumer boycotts, marches, pickets and occupation of offices where they had been employed; and
- March to the Mozambican border on September 29 to protest against the electrification of the fence.

274

FW blames bloodshed on mass action

(274) Business Day Reporters

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has blamed the ANC's mass action campaign for the Ciskei bloodshed, saying every violent incident was a setback for negotiations.

The President said: "I did not start that mass action. The ANC did."

De Klerk said SA security forces were not involved in any way. He said he had not installed Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo. The sooner all three the homeland military regimes were converted to civilian ones, the better. *BIDAY 8/9/92.*

"The whole situation could have been avoided by adherence to the guidelines of the Goldstone commission and the ruling of the court," De Klerk said.

He expressed sympathy for the families of the dead and injured.

The ANC alliance laid the blame for the Ciskei killings squarely at government's door. "We are blaming De Klerk for this and we do it without hesitation," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference in King William's Town.

A Cosatu statement said: "It is sickening for F W de Klerk and Hernus Kriel to suggest that the unprovoked massacre of peaceful protesters in Bisho was somehow justified by the alleged 'failure' of protesters to abide by guidelines laid down by the magistrate. Nothing could conceivably justify this senseless and brutal massacre."

Cosatu added: "It is common knowledge that Gqozo, his administration, and his security forces are financed and backed by Pretoria."

The NUM blamed the killings on De Klerk and his government and warned: "He will surely reap the whirlwind when the day of reckoning dawns."

The SA Council of Churches appealed to De Klerk and Gqozo seriously to consider its proposal that a referendum be held in the homeland "to test the will of the people". It said this was the only way the explosive situation could be contained.

SACC leaders will visit the area today.

The SA Communist Party has expressed outrage at the killings and asked that the soldiers responsible be brought to book.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said Ciskei should insist on all merce-

□ To Page 2

Mass action

naries and seconded personnel being sent back to their host countries.

The CP condemned what it termed the intimidation of the Ciskei government by the ANC and SACP *BIDAY 8/9/92*

GRETA STEYN reports that dealers retreated to the sidelines with only a few tentative bears venturing forth as the Bisho march dominated sentiment in the financial markets yesterday. Market jitters in anticipation of violence were reflected in weaker opening prices for the financial rand and capital market stock.

The finrand fell to a low of \$0,2595 on the news — representing a fall of more than 3,5% from Thursday's levels of about \$0,2700. It found support at levels below \$0,26 with evidence of small buying orders from Switzerland and Germany.

In the gilts market, Eskom's Loan E168

(274) □ From Page 1

opened at 14,15% and edged up to 14,19% before the shooting. On the news, the stock gained another seven points in a market described as "very nervous".

MERVYN HARRIS reports that shares came under pressure on the JSE, but prices were supported in rand terms by the sharp drop in the finrand.

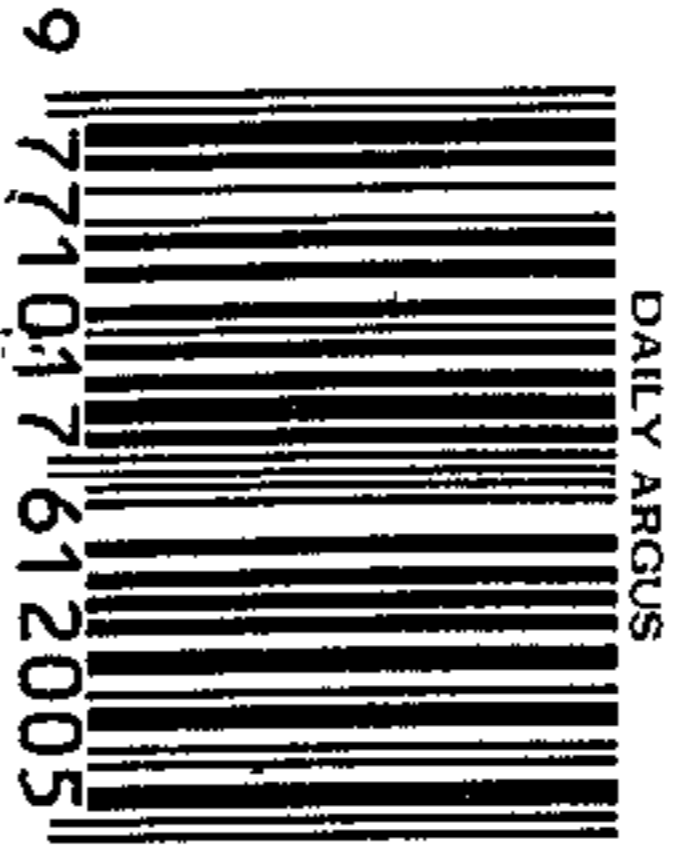
Reaction on the futures market was swift with a 60-point decline in the December industrial contract and a sharp drop in the March 1993 all share futures contract.

The JSE overall index closed four points down at 3 177, and the industrial index ended nine points lower at 4 102.

"There was a lot of confusing reports and people did not really know what was happening and are waiting for further developments. The news is worrying but there was no panic selling," a dealer said.

Picture: LEON MÜLLER,
The Argus

WOUNDED: ANC
marshals attempt to
carry a wounded man
to safety after Ciskei
security forces opened
fire on tens of
thousands of marchers
during the march on
Bisho.



ANC leaders predict more conflict

ARG-8/9/92

Political Staff

BISHO. — ANC leaders have predicted more conflict between Ciskei citizens and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government.

About 2 000 ANC supporters spent the night on the South African side of the border between South Africa and the Ciskei.

SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani said last night: "I can't see Gqozo being able to contain the anger.

"People will kill members of the Ciskei police and defence force. People will get revenge. There is so much anger and bitterness."

Speaking shortly after midnight as some demonstrators were toyi-toying around fires and others slept in the road between King William's Town

and Bisho, ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils said the killing of 28 people and the injuring of nearly 200 by the Ciskeian security forces (CSF) had precipitated a national crisis.

Mr Kasrils said he found it incredible that the CSF had not warned the protesters, fired shots into the air or used teargas before using live ammunition.

Both leaders pointed out that some of the marchers had been shot on the South African side of the border by the CSF.

A vigil service is being held at the border and Mr Kasrils said the ANC would assess the situation today.

He said there could be occupations of Ciskei consuls around the country. Mr Hani warned that the massacre

had grave and serious implications for the peaceful resolution of the country's problems.

"The best South African security forces could do was to fly over us and to protect the whites in King William's Town," said Mr Hani.

The SACP leader was in the Bisho stadium when the shooting took place. "The shooting started two minutes after we arrived in the stadium.

Mr Kasrils described the shooting as "very scarely" and said all he could do was to keep his head "as close to mother earth as possible".

"It was the most intensive fire I have ever been under. It lasted for 10 minutes but seemed like double that. "It was like a swarm of bees over-head."

274

th W in bk
Sk le w m vi is
m le d st
st sl ai si a
n t s r f
c c

Peace bodies dismayed at lack of tolerance

STAR 9/9/92

By Carina le Grange

274

South Africa's peace bodies last night expressed condemnation and dismay at the path down which lack of tolerance was driving South Africa

The statement was made at a joint emergency meeting of the National Peace executive and National Peace Secretariat (NPS) in Johan-

nesburg following the massacre at Bisho on Monday

Members of both committees undertook a plan of action which included collating witness accounts of monitors working with the bodies as well as top officials who were at the scene.

Peace Committee chairman John Hall and NPS chief Dr Antonie Gildenhuys had both been at the scene.

Monitors and witnesses of all parties to the accord will also be briefed by Mr Hall and Dr Gildenhuys.

They also said they were going to demand that all political leadership abide by the Peace Accord.

"As horrific as the Bisho bloodbath and the recent Natal violence have been, these are yet further manifestations of

the unacceptable, ongoing violence brought about by the absence of political tolerance. We are going to demand that all political leadership utilises the Peace Accord mechanisms and that the laws of the land be protected by the signatories," they said.

Dr Gildenhuys, on SABC-TV last night, questioned why live ammunition was used in Bisho.

Richardson was 'under Winnie's influence'

BLOEMFONTEIN — The influence of Mrs Winnie Mandela on former Mandela Football Club coach Jerry Vusi Musi Richardson must be seen as a mitigating factor, said Mr Justice Hefer in the Appeal Court yesterday.

The court substituted life imprisonment for the death sentence imposed on Richardson for the murder of teenage activist James "Stompie" Seipei.

"Obviously, the appellant must still be severely punished for an extremely heinous offence. He should, in my view, be imprisoned for life," said Mr Justice Hefer. Mr Justice Hefer referred to the reason-

able possibility that Richardson had acted, if not on the express orders, then at least under the influence of Mrs Mandela. According to psychological evidence in the trial court Richardson was a somewhat unintelligent person, who was readily susceptible to the influence of others. Within the ranks of the men who frequented Mrs Mandela's house, however, he was no doubt a leader and a person in authority. But it was quite clear, said the judge, that the chain of command extended beyond Richardson to the owner of the house whom, on all accounts, he and the others idolised. With her wishes he was ever ready to comply.

The evidence as a whole did not exclude the reasonable possibility that Richardson acted under Mrs Mandela's influence, and rather tended to confirm this. It was significant that Mrs Mandela, although invited by Richardson's attorney, declined to testify for the defence. Her influence must, in the circumstances of the case be regarded as a mitigating factor. The judge said that when only the aggravating features were taken into account, the death sentence would plainly be a proper one. But, allowing also for the mitigating factors, he did not regard it as the only proper sentence. — Sapa

Goldstone task force: Names soon

Johannesburg Bureau
THE exact structure, as well as the names of the members, of the task force which would assist the Goldstone Commission in probing political violence may be announced by the end of the week, a spokesman for the commission said. The spokesman, who asked not to be named, said yesterday the commission was still setting up the final structures and selecting the team.

The formation of the task force was announced on August 29 and was described by Justice Minister Mr. Koobie Coetsee as one of the most important steps taken to counter political violence.

The team, which will be accountable to the commission, will be monitored by United Nations observers.

UN to come at weekend

NEW YORK — Leader of the UN observer mission to South Africa has been named as Ms Angela King, a Jamaican UN official.

Pupils may choose to do 2nd-language

JOHANNESBURG — A decision to drop second-language courses as compulsory matric subjects could be taken this week by education officials.

A discussion document on reducing the number of compulsory subjects had been revised and would be submitted to the Committee of Heads of Education Departments (CHED) on Friday.

The document was drafted last year by the committee and recommended that matriculants write only five subjects for their final examination instead of the current six. The subject dropped is likely to be the second language, meaning students could choose to drop English or Afrikaans.

The initial document proposed second languages be compulsory up to Std 9 in the formerly whites-only schools of the Education and Culture Department. In Department of Education and Training schools, current le-

Govt seeks 'winning' plan

Political Correspondent
THE government was developing proposals which would place every language group in South Africa in a "winning situation", according to Minister of National Education Mr Piet Marais.

Mr Marais said that while the government believed that Afrikaans should remain an official language in the new South Africa, African languages such as Zulu and Xhosa should also enjoy greater recognition. He did not say whether official status was envisaged for African languages. "Existing (language) rights and opportunities should not be reduced but increased," he said.

Mr Marais said a new constitution should protect language rights as these formed part of individuals' fundamental rights. "What happened in Namibia, we will not allow here," he said. Namibia made English the only official language shortly after becoming independent in March 1990.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe told a press conference at the party's Free State congress that changes to the NP's programme of principles opened the way for a debate on whether African languages should enjoy an official status on a regional basis on a par with Afrikaans and English. He said the NP's commitment to retain Afrikaans as an official language was not based on sentimental reasons. He said there was evidence that Afrikaans was the most understood language in South Africa.

isolation allows for black pupils to study Afrikaans up to Std 8, with an option to study an African language thereafter.

The revised document incorporates contributions and comments from a broad range of organisations. After it has been debated on Friday, the committee will decide whether to recommend changes suggested to National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais last November, following proposals made by the committee on a new education system, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings raised concerns about Afrikaans being left out of school curricula.

Mr Marais's predecessor, Mr Louis Pienaar, responded by saying that the proposals had acknowledged the status of Afrikaans and English as national and communication languages above other indigenous languages.

Unrest putting paid to trade missions

By Frank Jeans

STAR 9/9/9 find it advisable to visit South Africa (this month).

Visits by at least eight trade missions which were due in South Africa soon have been postponed because of increasing political tension.

The continuing unrest is badly affecting the renewal of trade ties with the rest of the world — a situation the events in Bisho must surely have aggravated.

According to Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) sources, the countries which should have been represented in delegations, but have now called off visits are: Israel, Sweden, Mauritius, New Zealand, Australian, Denmark and Malaysia.

Thailand is understood to have postponed its mission until November.

The Swedes, who have postponed a visit until early next year, probably expressed the feelings of foreign interests in a fax to the JCCI:

"Owing to the latest events in South Africa, most of the participants (in the delegation) do not

"There is still a key interest in the South African market from our trading and industrial side, but the uncertainty about when to start is a very disturbing factor for the time being.

"Sweden has not yet lifted sanctions against South Africa and the fear is that the Swedish government will be pursuing a wait-and-see policy."

South Africa's traditional trading partner, Britain, however, remains committed to fact-finding visits, with the latest mission from Manchester now in this country.

Alfie Kane, leader of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Industry representatives, says: "We are here to get a better picture and we are optimistic rather than pessimistic."

Asked about the general business mood in Britain towards SA, Mr Kane said the perception was that there had to be a way forward and that with the impediments diminishing, significant change must follow.

UN to come at weekend

(274) NEW YORK. — Leader of the UN observer mission to South Africa has been named as Ms Angela King, a Jamaican UN official.

Her appointment will not be announced officially until Wednesday.

The first 12 members of the team were to leave for SA on Friday, said Mr Francois Giuliani, spokesman for UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

"Now that the Secretary-General is back he wants to review with them the ... mission before they leave," he said, without mentioning the massacre on Monday of 24 ANC supporters by local troops in Ciskei.

About 50 UN observers are to come to SA in the coming weeks to study ways of encouraging the transition toward non-racial democracy. — Sapa-AFP

CT 9/9/92

tion instead of the current six. The subject dropped is likely to be the second language, meaning students could choose to drop English or Afrikaans.

The initial document proposed second languages be compulsory up to Std 9 in the formerly whites-only schools of the Education and Culture Department. In Department of Education and Training schools, current leg-

option to study an African language thereafter.

The revised document incorporates contributions and comments from a broad range of organisations. After it has been debated on Friday, the committee will decide whether to recommend changes suggested to National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais.

Last November, following proposals

Taxi war: Local Road Board 'uninterested'

THE Local Road Transportation Board (LRTB) showed a complete lack of interest in investigating the causes of the taxi war in the Western Cape, the Goldstone Commission into taxi violence heard yesterday.

This was said by city council consultant and former Cape Town Peace Committee (CTPC) member Ms Helen Zille, during cross-questioning by Mr J A le Roux, for the Department of Transport (DoT).

Ms Zille said LRTB chairman Mr Stephanus Dörfling had not attended any CTPC meetings to which he had been invited.

She conceded that Mr Dörfling had attended a meeting of the Taxi Liaison

Committee (TLC) to explain permit allocation criteria, but had given "what amounted to misinformation".

When Mr Le Roux put it to her that other LRTB and DoT officials had attended TLC meetings, she said the TLC was "ineffective and not addressing the issues".

Ms Zille said she had learned from taxi operators that taxi permits were "randomly and arbitrarily" issued by the LRTB.

When the permit system "got some coherence", the perception developed that the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) was receiving preferential treatment over its rival, Lagunya. CT 9/9/92

Undertaking on march was brocken, says ANC

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk gave ANC president Nelson Mandela an undertaking no live ammunition would be used by Ciskei forces at Monday's demonstration in Bisho, ANC official Patrick "Terror" Lekota told protesters yesterday.

Speaking at a protest outside the Ciskei consulate in Johannesburg yesterday, Lekota said the undertaking had been made during a bilateral meeting last week aimed at defusing possible violence at the Bisho march.

Fellow ANC leader Essop Pahad said 50 of the 190 wounded during Monday's shooting, which claimed 29 lives according to the ANC, were in a critical condition. He said the ANC would be happy to go before a national peace committee adjudication to determine who was responsible for the massacre.

Sapa reports that in Cape Town, 13 ANC members started an indefinite sit-in at the Ciskei's consulate yesterday, refusing to leave until the offices were closed permanently. The occupation followed a day-long series of protests demanding that Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo resign.

BY RAY HARTLEY

The sit-in was led by ANC national executive member Reggie September, and included Independent MP and ANC member Jan van Eck.

Earlier, an ANC delegation allowed inside by police found the Ciskei diplomatic offices to be locked and apparently deserted. No senior Ciskei representatives could be reached to accept the ANC demands.

Police guarded the entrance to the building from the morning, when about 250 ANC supporters marched through the city to highlight demands for Gqozo's resignation and Ciskei's reincorporation.

Several scuffles erupted between police and protesters who tried to force their way to the ground-floor entrance.

The Johannesburg march, from the central city to the consulate in Braamfontein, was prevented from entering the building by SAP internal stability division officers.

At one point a scuffle broke out between a police cameraman and the crowd and an SA flag was destroyed by the protesters, but no one was injured or arrested. Slogans calling for the ousting of Gqozo were sprayed

on the doors and windows of the consulate and several police vehicles.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba called on the crowd to "hit out" at Ciskei institutions in SA.

"We must go and push and push until Gqozo is down, never to rise again. We are going forward to remove Oupa even if we are killed!"

Meanwhile, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA called yesterday for an indaba on violence as it was losing confidence in Ciskei and the national peace committee.

While the SA Council of Churches said it was outraged that Ciskei security forces had fired on marchers, Presbyterian and Methodist church statements did not apportion blame.

Lawyers for Human Rights condemned the massacre and De Klerk's statement which "made a mockery of his government's commitment to the right to peaceful protest".

The Human Rights Commission said government had to accept responsibility for the killings. "The guns and ammunition which killed at least 24 South Africans yesterday and wounded another 200, were paid for out of a grant of R1,14bn to Ciskei from the national budget," it said.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Frank Chikane kneel to lead church leaders in prayer at the site of Monday's massacre in Bisho. In Cape Town, Anglican priest Father Michael Lapsley told a lunchtime service in St George's Cathedral that God had died at Bisho and the only road to life and freedom was "through struggle and sacrifice". Pictures AP

STAFF REPORT

By Peter Fabricius (274) and Kaizer Nyatsumba

President de Klerk last night effectively suspended the Government's participation in constitutional negotiations — already stalled by the ANC — saying the Government could not negotiate while the ANC-led alliance was "fomenting instability, revolution and violence".

Mr de Klerk said the Government remained committed to a negotiated constitution. He called for an urgent summit between Government and ANC delegations led by himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela to find ways of stopping the violence.

Mr de Klerk addressed a press conference in Pretoria after a Cabinet meeting to discuss Monday's Bisho massacre in which up to 28 people were killed when Ciskei security forces opened fire on ANC marchers demanding homeland leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's removal.

Deliberate

In a tough response to the massacre, Mr de Klerk again condemned the ANC for not sticking to National Peace Accord guidelines in its march on Bisho, and said it was quite clear that communists had "taken the ANC in tow" and were deliberately undermining constitutional negotiations.

But he also, for the first time, condemned the Ciskei government and said that if the ANC and the Ciskei government had fully honoured their Peace Accord obligations, "nobody would have died at Bisho".

He announced that the Government would be meeting all the homeland authorities which control security forces to ensure a "uniform, effective and responsible" handling of protest marches.

The Government had also approached the Goldstone Commission to investigate the massacre and had asked the National Peace Commit-

tee to convene an urgent meeting of all Peace Accord signatories to review the accord and find new measures to stop violence.

Asked whether the Government was withdrawing from constitutional negotiations, he said: "I'm saying that negotiations must now be at leadership level." This did not rule out communication between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mr de Klerk said four issues should be on the agenda of the top-level meeting between the Government and the ANC:

- The problem of violence.
- The role "conflict-creating mass action played in the transition to democracy."
- The ANC's "violation" of the Peace Accord.
- Other obstacles to the resumption of negotiations.

He said the aim of the new methods which the Government would be examining to control mass action were:

- To ensure that the right to protest peacefully and lawfully was maintained.
- To ensure that exercising that right should not lead to the disruption of society, disregard of the rights of others, or to violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night that the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) would today consider Mr de Klerk's request for a meeting with the ANC.

Mr Mandela, who visited the scene of the shootings on Tuesday, returned to Johannesburg with Mr Ramaphosa the same evening to chair the NWC meeting.

A well-placed ANC source said Mr Mandela was "quite angry" about the turn of events in Ciskei.

He said Mr Mandela was likely to persuade the NWC to add the removal of Brigadier Gqozo from office to the ANC's 14 demands.

The ANC's national executive committee last week decided not to return to full-scale negotiations until its 14 conditions had been met.

- More reports — Page 3
- Opinion — Page 10

Peace before talks —

Tough response to massacre: 'Communists have taken ANC in tow'

SM 10/9/92

THE

(274)

UN observers on the way

ARG 10/9/92
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali announced today that he was sending 50 official UN observers to South Africa this week to monitor political violence in 11 areas of the country, including the homelands.

His announcement follows intensive consultations today with the 15 members of the Security Council following the massacre at Bisho, and includes an announcement setting up a UN observer mission headquarters in Johannesburg.

The action is being taken under the powers vested in him by Resolution 772 of the Security

ty Council, which was passed on August 17, and which has the approval of the South African government.

Unlike the resolutions of the UN General Assembly, all resolutions of the UN Security Council are binding in international law on all UN member states, including South Africa, and it is incumbent on states to do all within their power to ensure compliance with the resolution. South Africa thus would have an obligation to persuade the homelands to accept the UN observers.

Mr Boutros-Ghali said an advance party of 13 observers, under Mr Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, would leave for South Africa tomorrow.

AWB warn of greater bloodshed

Johannesburg Bureau

THE ANC said it took exception to threats by the AWB yesterday that marches in traditionally right-wing areas would lead to greater bloodshed than in Bisho and Boipatong.

"The ANC is committed to peaceful and disciplined protest, and we will do everything within our ability to

ensure that. However, we will not be blackmailed by bellicose threats aimed at the destruction of free political activity," the ANC said.

"The ANC does not want confrontation, but we will not allow our right to peaceful democratic protest to be eroded by a fundamentally undemocratic organisation such as the AWB," the statement added.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC had not planned any marches in right-wing controlled towns, but if it did, it expected the protection of the police.

The white supremacist Boere Kommando warned it and its allies were preparing to ward off what it termed an "anticipated violent communist onslaught" against towns and farms.

Ciskei: Could happen again

CT 10/9/92

BISHO — Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday warned of a repeat of Monday's massacre if the ANC-alliance continued to provoke the Ciskei government and security forces.

He was addressing his first press conference since the killing of at least 32 protesters by the security forces of the Ciskei.

As he spoke from the capital, Bisho, Ciskei police and defence force conducted door-to-door searches in villages around King William's Town.

Residents of Ndevana Village 10km from the town alleged that soldiers arrested and beat up residents who had participated in Monday's march. According to the villagers, a number of those who died in the massacre were from Ndevana.

Ndevana was one of the villages where the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Mr Chris Hani and senior ANC and SACP member Mr Ronnie Kasrils, had held "mobilising" rallies at the weekend before the march. Residents said hundreds of the villagers had participated in the march.

Mr Mzolisani Ngalo, 22, had a head wound and welts on his back and legs which he said he got when he was beaten up at the Ndevana police station yesterday.

Mr Ngalo, who said he was a SACP member and had attended the fatal march on Bisho, said he had been picked up by plain clothes Ciskei policemen.

"They just took me and put me in the boot of their car and took me to the police station," he claimed. He alleged policemen beat him with sjamboks before he escaped.

Brig Gqozo refused to discuss the details of the shooting because the Ciskei Council of State had earlier in the day approved legislation for the appointment of a commission "for the prevention and control of public violence and intimidation."

"All further comment in the incident is, therefore, subject to the well-known sub judge rule," he said.



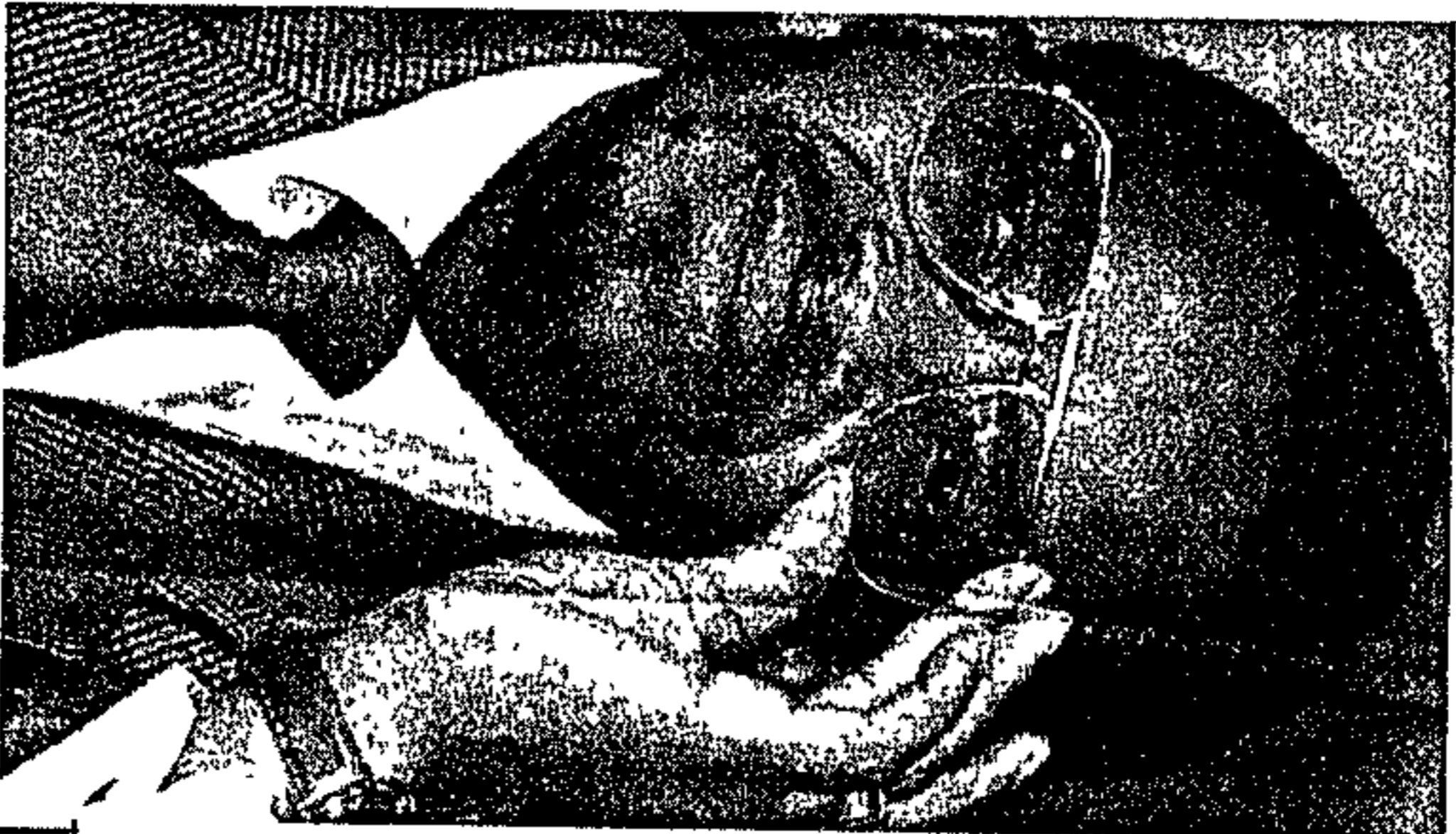
ON PATROL... South African paratroopers do a sweep yesterday through the bush at the border of Ciskei near to the scene where at least 24 people were killed on Monday

Brig Gqozo denounced the ANC-led mass action campaign, and the torching of houses belonging to Ciskei security force members since Monday.

A number of houses belonging to Ciskei soldiers were burnt down on Tuesday night.

"If democratic processes are going to be conducted this way, then our country can forget about ever having reconciliation, peace and stability."

He said although he was prepared to test his support among Ciskeians in a referendum, such a test could not be conducted in a climate of intimidation and violence.



WARNING... Brigadier Oupa Gqozo adjusts his spectacles as he prepares to answer journalists' questions at a press conference in Bisho yesterday

Brig Gqozo accused ANC marchers of ignoring the condition that they remain inside the Bisho stadium. He said his troops were stormed by a column of marchers and had no option but to fire to defend themselves.

Brig Gqozo denied allegations that his security forces acted under instructions from the SADF in Pretoria.

Brig Gqozo expressed regret at what had happened.

"I personally feel regret that people did not comply with the conditions I feel sorrow for the people put here as cannon fodder," he said.

SAP Border spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw said yesterday the area was stabilised but remained tense. He said police roadblocks continued to topple Brig Gqozo's government.

Students stage consulate sit-in

DURBAN — A national delegation of the SA Student Congress began a sit-in at the Ciskei consulate here yesterday following a march by about 400 ANC supporters protesting against the Bisho massacre and calling for the immediate dismantling of the homeland system.

And the ANC's southern Natal and Midlands regions vowed to intensify the "anti-bantustan" campaign with a march soon on Umtata.

The students said they would remain in the embassy offices until a Ciskei government representative heard their grievances — Sapa

ANC march is peaceful

PHUTHADITJHABA —

Fears of a clash between ANC marchers and Gwagwaga security forces in the homeland capital here proved unfounded yesterday afternoon.

The march of about 2 000 people from the ANC offices to a police station 5km away was peaceful with security forces keeping a low profile.

The marchers, who demanded the resignation of Chief Minister Dr TK Mopeli, descended on the station to hand over a memorandum demanding that all homelands be disbanded and that an interim government of national unity be established. — Sapa

City consulate sit-in still on

THIRTEEN ANC members, most of them from the Ciskei, continued their occupation of the foyer outside the deserted Ciskei consulate on the Foreshore yesterday and are determined to sit it out until the office is closed permanently.

"Never ever will we allow the dictator Oupa Gqozo to operate from Cape Town," said ANC executive member Mrs Hilda Ndude.

In the street outside, more than 40 ANC members, who all took part in the Bisho march, gathered to offer themselves as substitutes for those staging the sit-in.

The world tires of endless African calamity, reports Hugh Robertson from Washington

US goodwill will begin to wane

SMR 10/9/92

~~SECRET~~

274

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SOUTH Africa's political violence has become so commonplace that only the most exceptional instances — Boipatong and, most recently, the massacre at Bisho — are reported on even those American newspapers which pride themselves on their international coverage.

The smaller massacres which occur in Natal, and the weekend judgements and necklacings in the Vaal triangle, which cumulatively account for vastly more deaths than the Boipatongs and Bishos, are almost invariably ignored, even by black-owned newspapers and radio stations.

This growing indifference is part of a trend which embraces virtually all of sub-Saharan Africa. The region is slowly being written off by influential Americans at all points on the political

spectrum as a hopeless mess of violence and corruption, where disease and famine have become the entrenched natural order and where decades of generous US aid has produced precious few results.

There may be those in the government and the ANC who would contest this view, who would argue that Americans remain deeply concerned and eager to help. But they are only partly right, and ever decreasingly so, for there are some ominous trends to the contrary.

It is an open secret at the State Department, for instance, that a huge cutback in the US diplomatic presence in sub-Saharan Africa is now imminent, with some accounts suggesting that entire embassies will be closed in countries with a population of less than 5 million. The studies now being

done, and written about in specialised publications, talk of more than 70 diplomatic posts being eliminated and many more development aid posts being cut.

The US presidential election is in full swing, but neither candidate has bothered to make a definitive statement on Africa, let alone South Africa. The public, as the polls show, couldn't care less — and that goes for most black American voters as well. To some extent the end of the Cold War — during which Africa was an intense arena for superpower rivalry — is a reason for the change, but similar diplomatic retractions are not on in the pipeline elsewhere in the world.

One of the most distinguished Africa analysts in the US, Professor Carol Lancaster of the Foreign Service School at George-

town University, had this to say in a recent assessment:

"US interest in helping poor countries worldwide to improve their economic wellbeing appears to have weakened greatly in recent years. There is some satisfaction with our past successes (for example, Korea and Taiwan). There is discouragement and frustration with our failures, above all in Africa.

"And there are signs of impatience and fatigue on the part of the US public towards recurring disasters in that unfortunate part of the world.

"Although the past may be a poor predictor of the future aid policies towards Africa, current trends do suggest a likely evolution of the US role in the region. Aid to Africa will decline in dollar and percentage terms. In addition

to the possible elimination or merging of some USAID missions, there is a clear prospect that a number of diplomatic missions, unable to justify their existence and expense in the face of budgetary stringencies and demands for resources in other parts of the world, may be closed down or reorganised.

"It seems likely the US diplomats will play less of a role in trying to shape events in the region or — more important — helping Africans to resolve conflicts among themselves."

Can South Africa emerge as an exception in this morass of disillusionment? The country, after all, boasts of being the powerhouse of the continent, where Africa's renaissance and salvation might begin.

There remains tremendous goodwill for South Africa in the US, and a sense of a deeper involvement and commitment than now exists for most other countries on the continent. But with each massacre, patience is eroded. And nothing is eroding it faster than the glib assertions of innocence and the devious apportionment of blame by spokesmen for both the Government and the ANC.

The threat to South Africa's relations with the US, as much as Africa's as a whole, is the "latigue" of the American public with endless disasters — massacres, wars, famines, corruption. In the end it is all South Africans who bear the consequences and it will matter very little who the culprits were if the last hope for Africa evaporates in the US. □

SA nearing zone of intensive care

SPAN 10/9/92

274

FOR a Government that for more than four decades furiously resisted foreign interference in its domestic affairs, Pretoria suddenly has become remarkably accommodating. Soon you will scarcely be able to turn a street corner without bumping into a foreign observer.

A very good thing it is, too. In the aftermath of the Ciskei massacre, particularly, South Africa needs all the help and guidance it can get. It can stop pretending, too, that the observers are there just to observe. If they can mediate or conciliate or in any way assist the warring sides to find their way out of the mess they are in, they should be free to do so.

At least South Africa is not in intensive care yet, with a UN peace-keeping force flown in to patrol no-go zones.

There are 12 such peace-keeping forces in the world at present, and if there is one more Bolpatong or Ciskei, the clamour will go up for a 13th force to be sent to South Africa. The UN has done as much peace-keeping in the past four years as in the past 40. This is the way of the world these days, and may there be more of it.

Before long, there may be 50 UN observers in South Africa and some 15 from the European Community. In May, a five-member team from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was admitted, the Commonwealth has sent its emissaries, and the National Peace Committee has invited ex-President Kenneth Kaunda and ex-President Julius Nyerere to mediate in the remorseless conflict between the ANC and Inkatha.

Less realistically, the ANC has proposed that the new Southern African Development Community (ex-SADCC) should intervene as a regional monitor to assist in the transfer of power to the black majority (a faint hope), and some OAU members, against internal opposition, want the organisation to create a Bureau of the Summit to intervene in continental conflicts. Involvement is now the name of the game.

The arrival of foreign observers in South Africa has taken place with the consent of both the Government and the ANC — because there is common cause both among the observers, and also between them, the Government and the ANC, to keep negotiations on track until a settlement is reached. It is a fairly unique situation, and one South Africa should make the most of.

Not only are the numbers of foreign observers increasing, but the ambit of their involvement is widening. By invitation, a British

criminologist, Dr Peter Waddington, has delivered a report that may well turn out to be a catalyst in dealing with the whole question of violence. The Government is also showing a willingness to allow its policemen to be re-trained by foreigners.

Sceptics ask what useful purpose foreign observers can possibly serve in South Africa. The answer should be obvious. South African politics have become a kind of spaghetti junction, and a neutral observer may be just the kind of person to help unravel it. But then both sides must play by the rules. There are influential figures in both the National Party and the ANC who resent the intrusion of foreign observers and they should not be allowed to make these observers feel unwelcome.

The function of foreign observers, it seems to me, is to ring-fence the political disputants, and then gradually tighten the ring. They can do this without transgressing South Africa's sovereignty (President de Klerk has acknowledged that their behaviour so far has been circumspect) or by showing partisanship against the ANC (the ANC, after all, was primarily responsible for inviting them).

Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd spelt out some of the priorities as foreign observers see them: time is not on South Africa's side, there is a limit beyond which a sliding economy will not easily recover, for recovery to begin there must first be a political settlement, the starting point for such a settlement is to deal with township violence, and Inkatha is just as crucial for successful negotiations as the ANC are.

These priorities are well known to South Africans, but the specific function of the observers (through the UN, EC, etc) can be to keep telling the warring sides to keep their eye on the ball. Actually, there are no loopholes through which either the ANC or the Government can escape. Sooner or later, the fence will close around them.

This is the overriding mission of the observers — to get the Codesa parties (and others) back to the negotiating table. And now that they are in the country they should not easily go away, however inhospitable the climate may become.

The wording of the Security Council resolution on the pivotal issue of violence is their marker: they will remain involved in the matter until a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa is established. □

Stanley Uys reports from London

NEWS Protesters deliver demands for homeland leader's resignation ● Gqozo defies pressure

ANC marches in QwaQwa

■ Terror Lekota leads hundreds of toyi-toying marchers through town's main street:

By Abbey Makoe and Sapa

HUNDREDS of ANC supporters yesterday marched on Mokodumela Police Station in QwaQwa to demand the resignation of the homeland's leader Chief Kenneth Mopeli.

It was the second march in the ANC's phase four of mass action in which the homelands of Ciskei QwaQwa, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu have been targeted by the organisation.

There were no violent incidents as marchers toyi-toyed along the main road, led by the ANC's Free State leader Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

The march coincided with the homeland's annual showpiece, the QwaQwa

Sowetan 10/9/92 (274)

Show.

Before handing over the memorandum to the station commander, a major Maroba, Lekota threatened another march if their demands were not met soon.

Earlier yesterday, QwaQwa authorities had deployed police in the streets of Phuthaditjaba ahead of the ANC march.

Across the border near Harrismith, South African police mounted a roadblock, searching vehicles heading for the homeland's capital.

ANC leaders co-ordinating the march met the local chief magistrate and security police for permission to hold the protest, reversing a decision to defy the authorities.

I will do it again - Gqozo

Sowetan Correspondent

AN unrepentant Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday warned of further massacres if the ANC and its allies continued to "provoke" the Ciskei authorities.

Speaking at his first media conference since Monday's killings in Bisho, Gqozo said it was "sorrowful to countenance" the likelihood that "another clash is probably going to happen in the future".

His defiant remarks - made in the face of widespread local and international condemnation of his security forces' shoot-to-kill actions - came three days after the Bisho massacre. The Border region remains extremely volatile, and political repercussions are growing. Yesterday Ciskei Defence Force sol-

Sowetan 10/9/92.

■ Ciskei leader, with Pretoria on his side, remains unrepentant in the face of mounting international pressure:

diers were accused of mounting a door to door "terror campaign" aimed at victimising participants in Monday's ANC march, and President FW de Klerk came under increasing international pressure to act against Gqozo. Pretoria was also severely criticised for not condemning the actions of the CDF soldiers and for ignoring the fact that the Ciskeian troops shot across the nominal South Africa/Ciskei border.

Western diplomats said last night their governments were telling Pretoria directly that it retained responsibility for the behaviour of homeland governments, which are not recognised by the international community.

At the same time, diplomats are telling the ANC that a negotiated settlement remains the only solution in South Africa. It was clear yesterday that normality had not yet returned to the Border region. National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys yesterday raised serious questions about the conduct of the CDF on Monday.

"It must be answered why the soldiers did not issue a warning before firing, why they did not first fire teargas followed by rubber bullets and whether it was really necessary to shoot for so long," he said.



ve
p
ds

el
ised.

V
rs of
d pri-
ress-
nally
chool
e
a on
e,
e will

0128

and Joe
e Tisong
na West,
it permis-
y current
and ex-
r Section

FW wants talks over violence

274
Sowetan 10/9/92
208
BISHO BLOODBATH Government proposes

meeting to talk about rolling mass action:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT WANTS an urgent high-level meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss ways of ending the violence.

And in a television interview last night, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said such a meeting could not take place in a vacuum and that a firm basis for it had to be established first.

"The Government must first remove the existing obstacles to the establishment of democracy in the country before such a meeting can take place.

"If such a meeting fails, there is no hope for this country," Ramaphosa said.

The Government called for the high-level meeting between itself and the ANC following Monday's massacre in Bisho when at least 28 people died and about 200 injured.

Addressing a Press conference after a crucial Cabinet meeting yesterday, De Klerk said the tragedy at Bisho had shocked everyone in South

Africa.

Responding to speculation earlier in the day that the Government would withdraw from talks with the ANC, he said (Government) remained "committed to a new, negotiated and fully democratic constitution".

"Related to that is that elections will have to be held as soon as possible. However, we have reached a new point at which violence is making the realisation of these ideals increasingly difficult to attain.

"It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily," De Klerk said.

A meeting of the National Peace Committee is to be called "as a matter of greatest urgency" where all the signatories of the Peace Accord could be present, and the Government would hold talks, too, with all its departments which have security forces under their control.

About the proposed high-level meeting with the ANC, De Klerk said discussions would include the role which "conflict-creating" mass action played in the transition.

8
1
By
AB
Zan
dow
defa
T
dis
ove
abo
S
wen
ers
Inte
ions
H
afte
long
A
hon
"wi
A
they
will
U
39
hou
the
Bot
fect
me
sio
oni
con

1111



Sacob calls for

facilitation

RAY HARTLEY 2/14

INTERNATIONAL facilitation could be the only way to get negotiations on track again following the massacre of 28 people at Bisho on Monday, Sacob president Hermanie Viljoen said yesterday.

"Without some form of independent facilitation it may prove impossible to recreate an environment for reconciliation.

"Apart from the human costs, the Bisho tragedy has dealt a further damaging blow to economic prospects and business confidence. We are facing a confrontational decline in the economy and are forfeiting the confidence of the international business community."

He said there was "an urgent need for adherence to the law and negotiated agreements regarding the rules by which mass actions are to be governed in future."

The national peace committee or the Goldstone commission needed to review the ground rules surrounding mass action to avert similar tragedies, he said.

"In the meantime Sacob sees forums — such as the national economic forum and the National Manpower Commission — as vital mechanisms for seeking consensus," Viljoen added.

A business source said it was significant Sacob had referred to international facilitation and not mediation because this meant it still believed SA parties bore primary responsibility.

ANNC to form coalition for Mmbatho action

RAY HARTLEY 10/9/92

A BROAD coalition of political and community groups would be convened by the ANC before the end of the month to spearhead action against Bophuthatswana's independent status, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

Mamoepa said the PWV action council — a forum of ANC-aligned community, union and student groups — decided at the weekend to convene an alliance with the ANC's western Transvaal and northern Cape regions.

In a separate development, the SA National Civic Organisation vowed to intensify action this month to "topple the homeland dictators in the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and QwaQwa".

Meanwhile, protests against the Bisho killing of 28 people on Monday continued around the country yesterday.

Mamoepa said ANC protesters picketed the Ciskei consulate in Johannesburg and that they planned to picket the homeland's Pretoria embassy today.

In Durban, the SA Students' Congress began a sit-in at the Ciskei consulate to protest against the massacre and to call for the dismantling of the homeland system.

The 10 students said they would remain at the consulate, which was locked and deserted, until a Ciskei government representative heard their grievances.

The sit-in followed an ANC march in the city. Southern Natal ANC organiser Bheki Cele told the crowd the ANC's Natal regions would meet soon to discuss a march on Umhlanga to demand the dismantling of the KwaZulu government.

Inkatha warned on Tuesday that any attempts to topple the KwaZulu government would be resisted until "the last drop of blood". In Maritzburg 500 ANC supporters staged a placard demonstration calling for Ciskeian leader Brig Oupa Gqozo's removal.

In Cape Town, ANC supporters continued the Ciskei consulate sit-in they began on Tuesday.

"We will remain until Gqozo no longer has a presence in the western Cape," said one protester.

Meanwhile, eastern Cape DP MP Errol Moorcroft yesterday urged the ANC to sever links with the SACP, saying the actions of MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils had caused Monday's shooting.

The SA Catholic Bishops' Conference said recriminations would fuel an already volatile situation. "Instead of slinging accusations at each other, our leaders should be concentrating their energies on finding ways to remove the obstacles impeding progress towards a just and peaceful future," it said.

Sapa reports that right-wing parties yesterday warned the ANC/SACP alliance not to proceed with mass action.

The CP called on white local authorities not to grant permission for marches.

But, it said, if government neglected its duty to ensure people's safety, the CP would appeal to its people to do everything within their power to counter any ANC/SACP threat.

The CP also demanded that government ensure SA territory was not used as a springboard for attacks against independent neighbouring states.

The AWB warned the ANC that illegal marches in white areas would lead to greater bloodshed than in Bisho and Boipatong.

The HNP called on all whites to mobilise against a reported ANC plan to make right-wing controlled towns a target of mass action.

● Comment Page 6

01/09/92



Soldier held for murders

RAY HARTLEY

A MEMBER of the SADF's predominantly Zulu-speaking 121 Battalion had been arrested for the murder of Inkatha leader Fana Nzimande, his wife and four children in August, Inkatha spokesman Edward Tillet said yesterday. 10/9/92

The Nzimande family was reportedly lined up against a wall and gunned down by men wearing what appeared to be brown SADF overalls at a kraal near Richmond.

An SADF spokesman yesterday confirmed that Rifleman Khubane of 121 Battalion, which is stationed at Matubatuba, had been arrested for the murders late last month.

The spokesman said Khubane had been on official leave at the time.

Meanwhile, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday 85 people had been killed and 267 injured in violence across the country this week. Sapa reports that these figures include Monday's Ciskei shooting.

The figure for the preceding week was 58 deaths and 54 injuries.

Police said yesterday two policemen had been shot dead in separate incidents in Cape Town and a police constable had been arrested on a murder charge.

e Safren Group
The continued
s, however, the
rowth of 9,1% in

cargo volumes

results through
agencies, despite a

as satisfactory,
rest arising from
ents taking place
of unregulated

CMB Transport,
ar, is the main

24 September
operations.

ND OFFER OF

THE Bisho massacre illustrates just how thin is the line that separates negotiations from outright war, and raises questions about the level of morality which accompanies political conduct in SA today.

The march was the subject of intense negotiations involving the ANC, the Ciskei government and the security forces of both SA and Ciskei. But in the excitement of the moment the ANC's protest march dropped its civil rights pretensions and became a poorly co-ordinated attempt to overthrow the Ciskei government.

Chicken- and egg-like, it is difficult to apportion blame. Apartheid gave SA the Ciskei homeland and its leader Brig Oupa Gqozo. Were it not for apartheid, there would not have been 28 corpses lying around Bisho's stadium on Monday. Were it not for Ciskei's soldiers the shootings would not have taken place. In other words, the Bisho tragedy becomes a typical SA situation in which individuals are spared the blame. It is the system that is at fault.

The ANC, with the backing of prominent church leaders, refuses to accept that its engaging in certain protest actions can lead to disaster. The right of peaceful protest in a society in which the majority do not have the vote is accepted as inalienable, regardless of the unique circumstances in which we find ourselves.

The ANC, convinced unshakably of the rightness of its cause, lays the blame for the shootings with President F W de Klerk. But what of the soldier who pulled the trigger, what of the commander who gave the order? What of the role played by ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils in leading unarmed people towards a line of soldiers lying concealed with cocked weapons? In a situation in which the system is blamed, the perception is created that individuals themselves are beyond reproach — it is circumstances and institutions that are at fault. In this moral murkiness, personal responsibility is not at issue.

This, of course, is the thinking at play in societies at war. The deaths of men, women and children and the destruction of others' lives is insignificant. After all, it would be an eccentric history book that actually printed the names of the lowly

People the pawns in politicians', cynical war games

B/Dan 10/9/92

PATRICK BULGER

deceased.

It is difficult to dispel the feeling that SA's people are being short-changed by their politicians who profess a commitment to negotiations and yet engage in actions compatible only with a society at war.

In the Bisho context, if the objective of the exercise was to attempt a danger-ridden overthrow of Gqozo, could one not argue on a theoretical level that people should in fact have been armed if there was a strong possibility that they would be fired upon?

Kasrils argues in retrospect that he did not think the soldiers would fire upon unarmed protesters in the presence of senior ANC leaders and the world's Press For a military man — Kasrils was prominent in the ANC's armed struggle while in exile — this was a naive assumption. A soldier approached by a throng of people who may or may not be armed, has little option but to save his own skin or risk being relieved of both his rifle and his life.

Such, however, was the ANC's belief in the disillusionment of Ciskei's soldiers, that its senior leaders came to believe their own propaganda. If anything, the Ciskei soldiers appeared to open fire with more than a dash of relish. Did the ANC's intelligence department not bother to inquire as to the loyalty or otherwise of Ciskei's soldiers?

The Bisho killings have grave consequences for the success of a peaceful transition in SA. The ANC, unable to achieve its objectives at the negotiating table, has now incorporated



ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils, right, describes the Bisho massacre to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

mass action into its long-term strategy, reasoning that the De Klerk government is dead to reasonable demands. On a national level, the ANC's commitment to negotiations will not be worth the paper it is written on if peaceful tactics can be replaced by gung ho military adventures as and when it suits the movement.

Is one to extract from the Bisho experience the following lesson, that the ANC is prepared to negotiate, that it is prepared to go to court to gain permission for a march and will abide by the court's ruling only up to

that point at which its aims are suited? Is SA to be led into a situation in which agreements are reached between political opponents not because they have finally agreed to set aside their differences but because the agreement provides a launching pad for the attainment of hidden agendas?

The predominant perception among ANC leaders is that the government has its back to the wall — without the right to govern and surrounded by security forces of questionable loyalty to the government of the day. Unlike at Bisho, the ANC

dare not allow itself to be deluded into believing the propaganda of its more excitable comrades cocooned in the school of struggle politics. It may as well be said outright that the De Klerk government has no intention of relinquishing power in a manner that would leave it without a say in a future government. To the extent that the ANC and its allies are committed to the exercise of Leninist political principles — negotiating on the one hand, undermining on the other — the De Klerk government and its security forces will not let up on the covert war that is being conducted against the middle-level alliance leadership. Political cynicism cuts both ways.

Decades of apartheid have served to discredit SA's institutions — its courts, its security forces and indeed the very idea of authority.

Either we accept this state of affairs and begin rebuilding SA's institutions using the peace accord and the Goldstone commission as foundations, or the insidious slide towards a society at war will continue and accelerate. The ANC has a major role to play in both instances, and in the aftermath of Bisho must surely question whether the tactics it is employing serve not only to pluck the golden goose that is civilised society of its plumage, but actually kill the bird.

To be sure, the breaking of a rule — namely the foolhardy sprint at the soldiers from the stadium at Bisho — is not a capital offence. The Ciskei government left a long section of the stadium fence unattended before the event so that by the time the marchers arrived at the fence that was supposed to constrain them, they found it did not exist. That fence should have been there and the minutes it might have taken to break it down could have provided time for reflection, for a dissipation of adrenalin.

This is not to nitpick for the sake of it. The transition to democracy in SA cannot afford to go off the rails because fences are not mended. Factors like these will occur again and again. There is not a single detail that can be overlooked, not a single precaution that can be taken must be ignored.

The deaths of 28 unemployed peasants leaves a bitter aftertaste. In this depressing scenario, is it too much to ask our politicians to fight their own battles?

Peace pact 'still useful'

By Brian Sokutu

(274)

Despite the National Peace Committee's (NPC) legislative inability to act against signatories who violated the National Peace Accord, it was not time to give up, NPC chairman John Hall said yesterday.

Mr Hall was responding to a question at the Lawyers for Human Rights annual meeting in Johannesburg on whether the NPC planned taking action against Ciskei leader and peace accord signatory Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, for the Bisho massacre. STAR 10/9/92

"At their own peril politicians ignore the peace accord, which has brought people together and created friendships. We should not let Ciskei cloud the effectiveness of the accord," Mr Hall said.

The NPC had decided to appoint senior political leaders "to be ombudsmen for the NPC at grassroots level", he added.

Hopes high for violence summit ⁽²⁷⁴⁾

JOHANNESBURG. — Hopes are high in political circles for a breakthrough this weekend in efforts to broker a summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

Chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa met yesterday to try to lay the foundations for the summit. They have met every day this week.

It is understood that Mr Ramaphosa cancelled a trip to Europe this weekend to allow him to continue the discussions with Mr Meyer to remove obstacles to the summit.

These include the release of political prisoners and the banning of the public display of cultural weapons, while the government wants assurances on the mass action campaign.

At the National Party's Transvaal congress in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr De Klerk launched a biting attack on the ANC and took an unusual swipe at the IFP, saying: "It is not Nationalists who assault, intimidate and murder political opponents — it is the supporters of other parties, such as the ANC, the SACP, the PAC, extreme right-wing splinter groups and even Inkatha who are doing that."

● Mr De Klerk said the government was to increase its security force presence sharply in Natal in a bid to stem the bloodshed sweeping the province. — Political Staff, Sapa-Reuter

D. S. Klerk

Political Staff

IN a prepared statement, President F W De Klerk announced four further steps — in addition to the violence summit — to help curb violence:

● The government would ask the Goldstone Commission to clarify urgently the causes of the Bisho tragedy and who should be blamed.

“It is not in the national interest of peace that protracted propaganda campaigns should be conducted about this.”

● An urgent meeting of the National Peace Committee should be called “within days” so all signatories of the Peace Accord could review their commitments and responsibilities towards the peace process.

● The government was also looking “incisively” at additional and improved methods on controlling mass action to eliminate any violence that might

State's plan to stamp out violence

CT10/9/92

(274)

flow from this form of protest.

● The government would hold talks with all official institutions with security forces under their control to ensure a consistent approach in enforcing agreed codes on how marches should be handled. All homelands would be invited to urgent discussions on this issue.

Mr De Klerk said the ANC and the government should discuss the role which “conflict-creating mass action plays in the transition to democracy”, the ANC’s violation of the Peace Accord and other obstacles to the resumption of negotiations.

Blaming both the ANC and the Ciskei government, Mr De Klerk said everyone in South Africa had been shocked by the Bisho tragedy and he expressed the government’s condolences to the families of those killed and injured.

Scene set for top-level talks on violence

ANC agrees to summit

STAR 11/9/92 (274) 20/10/92

By Peter Fabricius
and Kaizer Nyatumba

The ANC announced last night it was prepared to take part in a summit on violence at top leadership level with the Government

The surprisingly conciliatory decision was made after a two-day meeting of the national working committee (NWC) to discuss the ANC's reaction to Ciskei's shooting of up to 28 ANC marchers on Monday

A meeting between the ANC headed by its president Nelson Mandela and an SA Government delegation led by President de Klerk could soon be on the cards, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night

The decision followed an invitation by Mr de Klerk on Wednesday for a top level meeting of Government and ANC delegations - led by himself and Mr Mandela - to discuss violence

Mr de Klerk effectively suspended the Government's further participation in constitutional negotiations pending resolution of violence

The Government, under increasing foreign pressure to bring Ciskei military lead-

The contest between the ANC and the Government to win international favour in the wake of the Bisho tragedy heated up yesterday as Mr Mandela interrupted the NWC meeting to brief ambassadors, and Mr Botha announced that he had taken the Bisho row to the UN

He said he had written to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to persuade the UN Security Council to condemn "provocative" ANC actions - like the Bisho march - which led to loss of life

Mr Botha stressed that he was calling for the UN to play more than just the observer role it has so far played in the SA conflict

He also warned at the press conference for media and diplomats that coercive measures would be taken if the Ciskei government rebuffed SA Government attempts to persuade it to use more enlightened methods to control protest marches

He did not specify the methods, but Government sources said they could start with financial sanctions

Mr Botha was referring to Mr de Klerk's announcement that he would call together all homeland governments to ensure that they handled marches in an "effective and responsible" way

Mr Botha said he had written to the UN secretary-general urging him to send a representative to South Africa as soon as possible to help strengthen the National Peace Secretariat

Mr Botha suggested that the UN representative attend, as an observer, the special meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord which President de Klerk called for on Wednesday to improve measures to curb violence

The UN representative should also enter into discussions with the main political players to help end violence and remove obstacles to negotiation

In his 20-page letter to the UN secretary-general, Mr Botha slammed the ANC for deliberately ignoring the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone Commission's guidelines and the conditions imposed by a magistrate for the Bisho march

He said the ANC had targeted Ciskei for mass action, not because it did not allow free political activity, but because it was anti-ANC

Mr Botha added that incidents like the Bisho massacre in which ANC members were victims attracted worldwide publicity but the world virtually ignored massacres of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters



Cheeky cub . . . Ntombi seems to be shaping up as her mother's successor.

Picture

White lioness missing

By Julienne du Toit

Whitey, the famous white lioness of the eastern Transvaal, has disappeared

But her two-year-old cub Ntombi appears to be shaping up as her successor, and could now be the only white lion in the area

Whitey, who would be about 11 years old now, has not been seen for two months, said Megan Cesare of Motswari game reserve, near Hoedspruit in the eastern Transvaal

"We don't know what has

happened. She could have been poached - maybe she has just passed on."

Ntombi, a cheeky, robust young lioness, is showing dominant tendencies, just like her mother, who was matriarch of the 14-strong pride. The recessive gene which makes certain lions white at birth also seems to make them larger. "This gives them a bit of an edge as youngsters," said Mrs Cesare

Many of the white lions, originally from the Timbavati game reserve, are in zoos all over the world



Available Saturday 12/9/92

Prices squashed

Massacre 'disparities'

PRETORIA. — Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, in a document to the United Nations, has highlighted "disparities" in the way South African massacres are reported and treated, depending on whether the victims are IFP or ANC supporters.

Mr Botha accused the ANC and SA Communist Party of always being the "common denominator" in violence.

He said: "Tragic as the loss of life at Bisho is, it is not more tragic than the loss of life of supporters of the IFP." But massacres of IFP supporters went

largely unnoticed in the media.

He referred to the Boipatong killings (at least 39), where the ANC was dominant, and the massacre at Crossroads near Boipatong (more than 20 killed), where the IFP was paramount.

Boipatong had become a national crisis and Crossroads, "reported almost perfunctorily in the press, quickly disappeared from public consciousness".

He attributed this to the "superiority of the ANC propaganda machine". — Sapa

(274) CT 11/9/92

Pik warns of homeland 'bloodbaths'

A "SERIES of bloodbaths" could ensue if referendums were held in the homelands currently headed by military leaders, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

He told a press conference that the South African government was in favour of civilian rule in these territories and opposed the unrepresentative natures of their current administrations.

But he doubted whether the holding of referendums in the Ciskei, Transkei and Venda were "feasible and practical" given the tense political atmosphere currently prevailing in these areas.

Mr Botha was responding to questions about whether his government favoured proposals by church leaders that a referendum be held in Ciskei to test the support enjoyed by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. (274) (102)

Mr Botha at first replied that it was "not for me to say" but then added that the South African government was not in principle in favour of military leaders ruling the homelands. ET 11/9/92

● The proposal for a referendum in the Ciskei was mooted last week by local church leaders in a bid to defuse a damaging showdown between the ANC and the Ciskei government.

DP reveals plans for ³⁰⁰ peace drive ²⁷⁴

By Louise Marsland

STAR 11/9/92
The Democratic Party yesterday unveiled plans for a nationwide peace campaign aimed at mobilising ordinary South Africans who were "sick and tired" of violence.

The campaign will kick off with a peace march in Johannesburg next week under the banner "Peace now, negotiation now".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said there were "millions" of people who supported a moderate, centrist approach to South Africa's problems.

Govt asks UN to send peace envoy

TIM COHEN

~~316~~ **274**
RHETORIA — Government has cast aside its remaining reservations about international involvement in SA, calling on the UN secretary-general to send a personal representative to SA. **B10A-11/9/92**

Foreign Minister Pik Botha told a news conference yesterday that over and above the 65 UN, EC and possibly Commonwealth peace monitors, government had asked UN chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send his special representative to assist the national peace secretariat.

Botha suggested the representative attend the proposed meeting of the national peace accord signatories as an observer and enter into talks with the main political role players, with a view to helping to end violence and removing the remaining obstacles to resuming negotiations.

Later, a senior government source said Boutros-Ghali had not yet responded to SA's request.

Government would like the representative to be the UN's previous special envoy Cyrus Vance or someone of his standing.

Botha said that until recently, he would not have believed that he would be calling for international intervention in SA.

Sapa reports that Botha said that if violence continued, the industrialised world could withdraw from SA. "My concern is the world is going to forget us... There is a growing tendency in the US and elsewhere to write off this place."

The world looked at the unrest, instability, famine, disputes and wastage of aid

□ To Page 2

UN envoy

B10A-11/9/92 **274**
and tended to accept the marginalisation of Africa south of the Sahara. "If we carry on like this — Boipatong, Bisho — what next? There will come a time when the industrial world will say: 'Let's get out of here... it's a messy place.' The ship will pass us by and then it doesn't matter who governs the country," Botha said.

He said government had also urged the UN secretary-general and Security Council members to demand that the ANC/SACP alliance abandon any further provocative actions which put the lives of innocent South Africans at risk.

He criticised Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo for the apparent violation of the national peace accord, but avoided questions about whether SA would apply sanctions against Ciskei. He did say that should Ciskei fail to observe agreed measures to

regulate mass action, "then SA will take steps of a coercive nature".

He said SA would welcome a referendum in Ciskei because SA was critical of the non-representative nature of all three of the military governments in the TBVC states. But it was an open question whether a referendum was possible in the current environment.

The 20-page memorandum sent to the UN and released by Botha yesterday stated that government was in contact with the Goldstone commission on the Bisho issue and believed the commission had a role to play.

A commission source said yesterday that the problem was that the commission's founding legislations restricted it to investigating issues in SA, although it was collecting information on Bisho.

□ From Page 1

'Failure would spell disaster'

ANC ready to meet govt on violence

B/DAY 11/9/92

274

THE ANC is prepared for a delegation led by its president Nelson Mandela to meet a government delegation headed by President F W de Klerk — but has warned of possible disaster for SA if the meeting fails to produce results.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the ANC's national working committee which considered De Klerk's invitation to Mandela on Wednesday for discussions on violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference in Johannesburg last night that the ANC was "ready, willing and prepared to start with the process of preparing for the summit".

A working committee statement said: "A meeting between delegations of the ANC and the government ... could have some merit if it were to address the problem of violence. But it would be a disaster for the country as a whole if it failed to produce concrete results.

"The ANC is prepared to participate in a summit between ANC and government delegations led by Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk. However, such a summit must be preceded by thorough preparations through the present channel existing between the government and the ANC, as well as practical steps in relation to the demands made by the ANC."

The failure of such a high-level meeting would take the country "irretrievably backwards", the statement said.

Ramaphosa said government would have to take practical steps to show it was serious about meeting the ANC's preconditions for a return to talks.

At present, formal contact between the

PATRICK BULGER

ANC and government is restricted to a channel of communication between Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The statement said government now seemed to realise that constitutional negotiations could not proceed meaningfully with the current levels of violence.

"This realisation must mark the beginning of practical actions on the part of the government to address the demands of the ANC and to implement the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, for instance, on the carrying of dangerous weapons and preventing the use of some hostels as launching pads for attacks against communities.

"We trust, too, that the government will take immediate steps to release remaining political prisoners," the statement said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the demands referred to in the statement were the 14 which the ANC had placed before government when it pulled out of constitutional talks in June.

Ramaphosa said the removal of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo "who is an obstacle to the creation of a peaceful climate of political activity is a question that is now firmly on the agenda".

He said the ANC would put "the question of Gqozo" to government.

The working committee also called for the security forces of homeland governments to be restrained.

"The steps announced by President de Klerk about consultations with the 'self-

To Page 2

Violence

B/DAY 11/9/92

274

From Page 1

governing' and 'independent' bantustans regarding policing and other security matters must lead to a reining in of the repressive functionaries of the apartheid government," the working committee statement said.

The committee meeting also considered the events at Bisho, but did not mention whether mass action would be pursued in

attempting to bring about political change in the other homelands.

Its statement said, however, that "the actions of administrations in Ciskei, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and other areas are in direct conflict with the provisions of the national peace accord, the Goldstone commission and recommendations of international experts on policing and mass protest".

UN role at peace meeting unlikely

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — It will be difficult, if not impossible, for the United Nations Secretary General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to agree to a request from Pretoria that he send his representative to a proposed urgent meeting of National Peace Accord signatories.

If he cannot do so, he may ask the leader of an advance team of UN observers in South Africa, Mr. Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, to attend.

However, Mr. Steiner — due to arrive in the country today — would not have the prestige and power of the secretary general's personal representative.

The request that Mr. Boutros-Ghali send his representative to South Africa was made yesterday in a letter from Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Pik Botha.

Mr. Botha said the government wanted a National Peace Accord meeting "as a matter of the greatest urgency, within a matter of days" and that the UN representative would "assist in the strengthening of the National Peace Secretariat and its regional structures".

UN officials pointed out that Mr. Cyrus Vance, a former United States Secretary of State who has served as Mr. Boutros-Ghali's representative in South Africa so far, was so preoccupied by the crisis in Bosnia that he had moved his home and headquarters to Geneva.

His mission in Europe had reached a point of such intense activity that the chances of him being able to undertake a mission to South Africa in the next few days were "probably zero", the officials said.

They added that the chances of Mr. Boutros-Ghali finding a replacement acceptable to the major parties in South Africa in a matter of days, and sending him to the country fully briefed and ready to play an active role in the peace process, were very slim.

Such a representative, they said, would have to be not only a person "of sufficient stature and ability" but also someone "who clearly would have to be free to be actively involved for some time to come".

There was also a possibility that the person who would eventually lead the UN observers in South Africa, Miss Angela King of Jamaica, would be asked to fly to the country sooner than expected.

The battle of the body-counters

A "WAR" between statisticians would normally attract about as much public interest as divisional council minutes or accountancy textbooks. "Normality", however, is something South Africa can never be accused of—particularly when it comes to the country's national passion: violence.

And as the levels of violence spiral out of orbit, so does the significance of those analysing the phenomenon. In their hands rests the considerable political power to allocate the status of villains and victims—which perhaps explains why recent attacks by the South African Institute of Race Relations on the facts and figures produced by the Human Rights Commission have resulted in so many columns

of black print in the past week.

In essence, Race Relations' executive director John Kane-Berman has accused the HRC of skewing statistics in favour of the African National Congress and against Inkatha, a charge backed by certain other liberal political commentators. HRC commissioner Dr Max Coleman, in turn, has questioned whether the SAIRR has a hidden agenda, while representatives of the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have accused the institute of being pro-Inkatha.

Both Kane-Berman and Coleman deny the charges against them, in interviews with **GAVIN EVANS**

DR MAX COLEMAN

Max Coleman defies virtually every stereotype of a South African political activist. It's not just the trim moustache, the demure, understated manner and the lack of hyperbole in his personal style; it's also that he's a 66-year-old former businessman, and a very successful one too.

After completing a doctorate in chemical engineering, he spent 25 years in business in the chemical and printing fields.

But his life changed in 1981, when his third son, Keith, was detained under the notorious section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He became the leading figure in the formation of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC), a group involved in organising the families of detainees and collecting statistics on detentions.

After the DPSC was banned under State of Emergency regulations in February 1988, he was instrumental in launching the HRC, and he has played a central role in the organisation ever since.

The HRC's chief function is monitoring incidents of political violence—and this is what has attracted the ire of the SAIRR.

Coleman acknowledges that he and several other HRC commissioners are ANC members: "In general, we run on parallel lines to the ANC as we both are committed to eradicating apartheid, and it's hardly surprising that a number of our members also support the ANC—up to two-thirds of the population do."

But he refutes accusations that there is any loading of HRC statistics to suit the ANC in its opposition to the government and Inkatha.

"We are an independent anti-apartheid organisation and we have gone on record as criticising the ANC for accepting State of Emergency detention without trial in their Codesa negotiations, whereas we reject detention without trial in any circumstance. We have also criticised weaknesses in the ANC's Bill of Rights. "Beyond the point of winning majority rule, we will still exist both to deal with the legacy of apartheid and to be a watchdog over a future government."

He commends the SAIRR for its history of recording discrimination and furthering peace and, unlike some members of the ANC and Cosatu, does not accuse the institute of being pro-Inkatha. Nevertheless, he questions certain aspects of the SAIRR's current role.

"Its past record should place it in a better position than most to understand the Machiavellian machinations of the apartheid system. Yet the SAIRR often displays an ambivalence which is puzzling, sometimes expending considerable energy and resources on projects seemingly selected more in defence of the apartheid state than in exposing its activities.

"The recent remarkable outpourings against Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and ourselves are a case in point. This makes me wonder whether the institute nowadays has a hidden agenda and whether it has an overcapacity of resources looking for

way-out projects. I think it could make a much more powerful contribution towards the demise of apartheid than it has been doing recently."

Asked whether the HRC is opposed to the Inkatha Freedom Party, Coleman stresses that the IFP is a legitimate political party and cultural organisation.

"What we oppose is the use of violence by elements within Inkatha," he says. "There seem to be two camps: one is pro-peace and the other anti-peace."

And what about violence committed by elements of the ANC? "Our focus is on the issue of apartheid, so we support strategies to promote the eradication of apartheid and the transfer of power from the minority to the majority. But there is no necessity at all for violence because we can achieve this aim in a peaceful manner. So we would also condemn ANC members involved in violence."

He believes the main reason for the difference between the figures of the HRC and the SAIRR is one of definition—particularly of the word "vigilantes", which the HRC calls "private armies formed around the apartheid-created structures of the homeland administrations and black local authorities in order to defend their vested interests".

"When we talk of vigilante-related violence," he says, "it's a category which refers not only to the deaths at the hands of vigilantes, but the deaths of vigilantes themselves. We include both because if there were no vigilantes these deaths wouldn't occur."

"The other categories are security force, rightwing, hit squad, uncertain and other political action which refers to, for example, taxi-war violence with a political undercurrent."

Another criticism that has been launched against the HRC is that it underplays or ignores the killing of policemen.

"This is simply not true," says Coleman. "We have been recording such attacks and our figures show that they are on the increase at the moment. We deplore any attacks on policemen and we deplore attacks on IFP leaders, which have also been increasing."

He says the HRC's figures are drawn from media reports, police unrest reports, information from lawyers and various organisations, including the Inkatha Institute, and from the HRC's regional structures.

Coleman acknowledges that there is always the possibility of mistakes, "but our level of accuracy is over 90 percent".

"We will make an assessment—for example, that a death is vigilante related—because of the surrounding events presented to us, but this could later prove to be wrong. It could, for instance, turn out to be purely criminal."

Unlike several other ANC-aligned organisations, the HRC avoids referring to a "third force", chiefly because it believes this is a confusing term. The primary cause of violence in the country remains the "apartheid state" and a deliberate strategy of destabilisation, Coleman says.



JOHN KANE-BERMAN

In any company John Kane-Berman is likely to make a strong impression, one way or another. You won't find many people who view him with indifference.

For one thing, the grey-bearded 46-year-old is a man of forceful opinions and he seldom holds back from expressing them; for another, those opinions are frequently the stuff of political controversy.

Since his days as president of Wits University's Students' Representative Council, Kane-Berman has always been both an opinion-maker and an opinion-former. During his 10 years as a journalist—first as labour editor of the *Financial Mail*, later as a correspondent for the *Guardian*, *Economist* and *Financial Times*—this former Rhodes scholar made plenty of waves as a liberal government critic.

After his appointment to his present position in 1983, it was no surprise that things quickly began to change at the institute. He streamlined it into a body whose primary purpose was socio-economic political research, stripping it of some of its charitable functions. This ruffled a few feathers, though it was nothing compared to the more recent disputes surrounding what some call his political role: as a vocal critic of the strategies of disinvestment, mass action, liberation theology and a range of other strategies of ANC-aligned groups.

When he served as deputy chairman of the Inkatha-inspired Natal-kwaZulu Indaba of the mid-1980s, this was also regarded by some as confirmation of his anti-ANC bias. But it is a view he strongly refutes: "The council of the SAIRR authorised me to accept the job not because it wanted to support any initiative by Inkatha and the Natal Provincial Council, but because it has always been committed to negotiation and the Indaba was a forum involving 36 organisations. I had to sit in the chair and keep the peace in debates, so there was no question of alignment with any of the organisations there."

He says he got to know Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi through interviewing him as a journalist in the 1970s, but that there has never been any special relationship between them.

Asked why it is that he is most often quoted as criticising the ANC and its allies, he responds that the SAIRR "should not be judged on press perceptions, but on what we have written in our various documents over the years, such as the annual Race Relations' survey which goes out of its way to reflect everybody's viewpoint, and did so even when the ANC was banned".

He stresses the role played by the SAIRR, and by himself, in arguing in business and government circles for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners, but also notes that the political climate has changed dramatically over the past few years.

"Many liberal organisations were reluctant during the '60s, '70s and '80s to be critical of the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and others because they couldn't answer back. When the bans were lifted on February 2 1990, the SAIRR and other organisations were liberated from this self-imposed restraint—and if there's been an increase in the extent to which we've been will-

ing to be critical, then it's because everybody's now fair game.

"In reactionary times, especially in the '60s, organisations like this one appeared to be extremely liberal. In revolutionary times, such as we're living in now, we appear to be rather conservative. It depends on who is looking at us and from what vantage point. But I don't think the institute has really changed very much at all in terms of its basic values."

The SAIRR's main criticism of the HRC is that, by "prior theorising", it attributes nearly all violence to vigilantes, where no evidence for this exists.

"Our whole point is that there aren't any reliable figures. We conducted an analysis of 2 030

violent incidents country-wide throughout 1991 and, applying strict criteria, we tried to identify the aggressors and the victims. We found that in 87 percent of the cases, we couldn't identify them with any certainty.

"The huge number of fatalities the HRC attributes to vigilante action is a number attainable only by having a definition of vigilante-related action so wide as to be able to tar victims and aggressors with the same brush. It's almost like John Vorster's definition of communists."

Kane-Berman has recently been quoted as questioning whether evidence of a "third force" exists, but he is careful not to dismiss the notion.

While he stresses that no hard evidence has come to light of a "giant, state-orchestrated conspiracy with the state president at the centre", this does not imply that rogue elements in the security forces are exempt from blame.

"If one is talking about elements of security forces or state structures that are involved in violence, this is something quite radically different. The Trust Feed massacre is the most notorious example. There have been a number of policemen convicted of very serious offences, including murder, and I think that, given the known brutality, dishonesty and corruption over decades of apartheid rule, one has to keep an open mind to the possibility that there might be other Captain Brian Mitchells around."

Asked to list the main causes of violence, Kane-Berman's understanding has much in common with Coleman's.

"The primary cause is quite obviously the policies of the National Party government, and the methods used to enforce those policies and crush opposition to those policies," he says.

"A secondary cause would be poverty and unemployment—though the correlation is not a clear one. The PWV area has twice the average per capita GDP as the rest of the country and accounts for half the violence countrywide.

"Third are the strategies adopted in the early 1980s to express opposition to the apartheid policies, and in particular the strategy of making the black townships and homelands ungovernable.

"This bred a fourth factor, the violent backlash, which has led to a fifth factor, the spate of attack and counter-attack which probably has a momentum of its own."



LABOUR

by MONDLI MAKHANYA
INDUSTRY-WIDE strike action is coming in the retail and catering sectors, following the declaration of a dispute over the vexed issue of central bargaining.

The South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Saccawu) has summoned employers to a "national industry forum" next Tuesday to discuss a range of issues — chief among them, central bargaining and the development of industrial council structures.

This week, the union declared disputes with all employers in the sectors it organises. On the two previous occasions Saccawu called a similar industry pow-wow, there was a poor employer turnout. Those who did

Pow-wow — or blow out

The establishment of a national industry training board should also be subject to negotiation, says Saccawu. General secretary Papi Kganare says most employers cite the fiercely competitive nature of the industry as the reason why they cannot all negotiate in one forum.

But this time Saccawu has taken a significantly harsher approach to non-attendance. It says it will be treated as a rejection of the forum and employers will face industrial action.

In the forum, the union wants more than wages and minimum conditions discussed. Also on its agenda are spiralling food prices, widespread retrenchments in the past two years as a consequence of company rationalisation, and growing casualisation, subcontracting and "flexible" working hours.

Fedhasa executive director Peter Hearfield — speaking in his personal capacity — gives other reasons: "While there may be beneficial aspects to an industry forum, it is difficult for the industry to go that route. Most employers tend to be small entrepreneurs who like to make their own decisions rather than having an

employer body do so for them. You also cannot expect the small hotelier in the Drakensberg to pay the same rates as a big hotel in central Johannesburg."

Employers who refused to attend previous Saccawu-organised summits also had reservations about the agenda, says Catering, Restaurant and Tea-room Association director Frank Suabeck.

"It seemed the agenda was a forum for rhetoric. It was nowhere near specific enough," he complained.

Some big retail chains have attended past meetings, but prefer to keep their own industrial relations approach. Without their participation, the forum will be stillborn.

A stitch in time to save textile sector

Weekly Mail Reporter
THE major players in the clothing and textile industries have established the first industry-based tripartite negotiating forum. The task of the Textile and Clothing Panel and Task Group — appointed by Trade and Industry director general Stef Naude this week — will be to advise the government on long-term strategy for the two industries.

The 30 panel members are drawn from government, the textile, clothing and furniture industries as well as raw material suppliers and distributors. Also represented are delegates of the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) — the industries' biggest union. Richard Hatty — who chaired a commission into the industries — has been appointed as an additional member.

Because the panel was seen to be unwieldy for the formulation of policy, a smaller task group was also appointed with four members each from labour, business and the government. Both the panel and the task group will be chaired by Board of Tariffs and Trade chairman Nic Swart.

Union and business participants have great expectations that the forum will provide a lifeline to the troubled industry as well as give flesh to job-creation strategies due to be discussed at the National Economic Negotiating Forum.

Naude warns, however, that in the process of creating a "viable and competitive" industry, some sectors may have to be axed. "It's not feasible to conserve all sections of the industries concerned," he told *The Weekly Mail*.

Textile and clothing have been earmarked as a future growth point and may well receive favourable treatment under a new political dispensation: the World Bank has singled out the textile sector as labour-intensive, with low overheads and with considerable job-creation potential.

The giants prepare for battle

ANGLO AMERICAN is to become the target of a National Union of Metalworkers Union-led campaign aimed at forcing it to change its alleged strategy of trying to "smash" unions during disputes.

This campaign — which Numsa will propose at the Congress of South African Trade Unions' campaigns conference this weekend — follows the recent industry strike in the steel and engineering sectors, in which several thousand strikers were dismissed

by Anglo subsidiaries.

It will supplement Numsa's push to have the Labour Relations Act's provisions on balloting and legal strikes scrapped and a court battle later this year to overturn a supreme court interim finding that the strike was illegal.

Numsa also insists it is still in dispute with the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (Seifsa) and has re-opened negotiations with the employer body. At a bargaining meeting this week, employers

raised their pay offer to 9,1 percent, while the unions party to the industrial council dropped their demand to 12 percent.

Numsa claims that Anglo was behind Seifsa's hard-line approach in this year's negotiations and that the decision to attack the strike in court emanated from Anglo.

Anglo spokesman Glen Finnegan dismissed the claims, saying the response of subsidiaries varied depending on how the strike and trading conditions affected them.

"Against the background of a severe national economic downturn and soaring unemployment, the companies which dismissed striking workers

because their business operations were damaged did so only as a last resort," contends Finnegan.

On the dismissals, the union suggested Anglo had used the same strategy as in the 1987 National Union of Mineworkers' (NUM) strike, when 50 000 miners were dismissed — most at Anglo mines.

Characterising Anglo's attitude as "workers have the right to strike and Anglo has the right to dismiss", Numsa's Les Kettleas said: "Anglo claims to be a major protagonist of liberal and democratic values. Yet since the 1987 NUM strike it has shown that its support for the right to strike goes no further than its pocket."

Other Cosatu affiliates are likely to sympathise with Numsa's campaign proposal. The NUM is currently locked in a wage dispute with the Anglo associate company De Beers, which recently de-recognised the union. Several other Anglo subsidiaries — including Amcoal — have given warnings to workers who missed work during the August national stayaway.

LABOUR BRIEFS

Cosatu queries on NMC
COSATU reservedly welcoming the restructured National Manpower Commission two weeks ago, the Congress of South African Trade Unions is to meet Manpower Minister Leon Wessels about aspects of the body. Cosatu wants to seek clarity on the role and voting status of "experts" on the commission. Only thereafter will it decide on whether to rejoin the body it pulled out of last year.

Workers threaten sit-in
DISMISSED Walter Chipkin workers have threatened to stage an indefinite sit-in on the food merchant company's premises to press management to re-instate them. The 1 000-strong work force was dismissed in June after going on strike demanding that the human resources manager should not take part in the negotiations with the union.

Applications are awaited from suitably qualified persons until 25 September 1992 for appointment to the following posts:

MAIN CAMPUS

NON-ACADEMIC POSTS

Public Relations Department

Convocation Officer

Requirements: • Organisational and administrative skills • Basic instinct for public relations • An extrovert with previous experience of Alumni affairs • Graduates of the University of the North will have a definite advantage

Duties: • To travel so as to keep contact with regional Unin Alumni Clubs

Catering

Head Chef (Two posts)

Requirements: • At least five years' working experience at a large catering institution • Knowledge of the basic principles of quantity food preparation • Formal training in catering will be an advantage • Good supervisory skills • Good human relations skills.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Typed applications, which should contain a full curriculum vitae and the names and addresses of three referees, should be sent to the undersigned, from whom further particulars may be obtained. **The Deputy Registrar: Personnel, University of the North, Private Bag X1106, Sovenga 0727.** Particulars concerning salary scales may be obtained from the Personnel Section. Attention: Miss T Shezi, tel. (01521) 68-2503 Fax (01521) 67-0152

UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH



SSK&B RECRUITMENT 39525

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YMCAs

The South African National Council of YMCAs, a national Christian youth organisation, committed to **youth advocacy and development**, seeks to appoint an inspired and visionary leader to the position of:

NATIONAL GENERAL SECRETARY (DIRECTOR)

The successful candidate, between 30 and 45 years of age, will have executive responsibility for leading the YMCA to an authentic and relevant response to the needs and aspirations of youth: physical, mental and spiritual. Exposure and experience will include:

- Theological and pastoral sensitivity
- Youth advocacy, development and discipleship
- Organisational change, development and leadership
- Community organisation networking and development
- Organisational planning and resourcing (including funding)
- International diplomacy

The South African YMCA comprises 29 local associations organised under four Regional Councils.

Applications should be addressed to:

The National Chairman, P O Box 31045, Braamfontein 2017
(Fax No: (011) 339-7184)

Market-related salary/package negotiable.



Nonviolence is a better bet

274

WHILE the de Klerk government has at its disposal the full power of the state, ranging from its army and security forces through government controlled television and radio, the ANC now has neither the threat of armed struggle nor international sanctions, says *Barbara Harrel, writing in the International Herald Tribune*. The most powerful weapon for the ANC is that of protest and other forms of "people power."

The 1980s provided striking evidence of the potential of non-violent action in fighting political oppression. It was a decade in which the term "people power" came into its own. In the Philippines, China, Argentina, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Un-

ion and elsewhere, "people power" challenged long-standing dictatorialships and authoritarian regimes, prompting important political changes. In South Africa, "people power" forced the government away from repression and into negotiations.

The ANC has much to gain in its struggle to achieve a democratic society by developing a program for the strategic use of non-violent direct action. Most immediately, it could provide vital leverage at the negotiating table when talks resume. Swift deployment of well-timed strikes or well placed boycotts would be

far more effective than time-wasting walkouts from the negotiations. Through the strategic use of "people power" the ANC could impose short-term but real costs for heel-dragging.

A platform of non-violent mass action would underscore both the ANC's commitment to peaceful change and its militancy. It would sharply distinguish the ANC from Inkatha, whose members have so frequently been captured by television cameras brandishing their "traditional" weapons, while enhancing the ANC's appeal to those who demand a tougher stance from it.

Further, a program of non-violent action could make contributions to the ANC's organizational capacities. Communications between leadership and the rank and file have been less than satisfactory. Lack of information about the talks has been a frequent complaint from ANC members. The strategic use of "people power" would require tight communication with the people on the streets via well-functioning channels of information.

The ANC has vast resources to tap among its membership, some of whom have felt increasingly alienated from the political process.

Directly engaging members in a process of creative thinking about tactics would develop a repertoire of non-violent actions and mobilize the memberships.

South Africa lacks a democratic tradition. Authoritarian rule and decades of conflict have characterized the society. Perhaps the most important role the adoption of a program of non-violent action could play is establishing a solid base for a democracy.

The writer is director of The South Africa Program at the Albert Einstein Institution, a non-profit organization that promotes research and education on non-violent responses to political violence.

Get into gear for polls.

Cosatu told

STAR 12/9/92
JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

MASS action must continue, but start preparing for elections. That was the message delivered yesterday to the Congress of South African Trade Unions by Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the African National Congress.

Ramaphosa spoke at the opening of a three-day conference in Johannesburg, where 300 delegates from Cosatu's 14 affiliates will review mass action and other campaigns.

"The ANC and Cosatu must resolve to build our organisations through mass action. We are going to continue with that in all areas where free political activity is denied."

Oppressive

Ramaphosa said the Bisho shooting had not deterred the ANC from staging similar marches in Bophuthatswana and in right-wing towns.

"These things are not launched from head office. In planning our campaigns we have to take into account the feelings of the people on the ground. Our people in these places experience the oppressive measures taken against them."

Ramaphosa told delegates that while the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party had "emerged victorious from our mass-action campaign"

● TO PAGE 2.

Elections

● FROM PAGE 1.

they should not be giddy with the success.

"It is important to analyse what De Klerk is doing and respond accordingly. We need to put our organisations on an election footing," he said.

"The National Party is already focused on winning an election. We are the majority but we have to work hard to retain that status.

"The election for a constituent assembly will be the most crucial test of our struggle. Unless we put our organisations and leaders on an election footing we will be surprised at the polls."

Ramaphosa said the ANC would meet the Government on violence, as recommended by the organisation's national

executive committee, once certain preparatory work had been finished.

This included the immediate release of all political prisoners with no link to amnesty, the fencing of hostels and continuous searches of their premises and effective steps to prevent the carrying of dangerous weapons.

"Tyranny in the so-called independent homelands will have to be addressed, particularly the lack of free political activity in Bophuthatswana.

"Another problem needing attention is the KwaZulu Police and the havoc they continue to wreak on our structures," said Ramaphosa.

"Only after the apartheid regime has done all that will we be able to agree that they have taken sufficient steps to warrant a full meeting."

Traditional weapons 'not the problem'

CT 12/9/92

(274)

JOHANNESBURG — Firearms, not traditional weapons, were the most often used in attacks, but the IFP's insistence on the right to carry traditional weapons distracted attention from this

This was said in a paper released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations. The paper stressed that

guns and incendiary devices were the real problem.

The SAIRR said yesterday it had analysed 2 030 incidents of violence which had occurred countrywide in South Africa between January 1 and December 31, 1991

"Firearms were used in 27,9% in the first four months, rising to 31,9% in the next four

months, and to 46,7% in the last four months.

"In all periods, the use of firearms constituted the largest method of attack."

The use of incendiary methods including arson, petrol bombs, explosives and hand-grenades was recorded as 22,2%, rising to 27,6%, but dropping to 16%.

Traditional weapons, by contrast, were used in 17,6%, 13,7% and 11% of the incidents in the three periods respectively.

However, SAIRR executive director Mr John Kane Berman said he did not think the carrying of such weapons at political meetings was "compatible with democratic practice". — Sapa

Naming of violence ²⁷⁴ probe team

Johannesburg Bureau

THE Goldstone Commission is expected to announce later today the structure, as well as the names of the members, of the task force which will assist the commission in probing political violence, a spokesman for the commission said.

The formation of the task force was announced on August 29 and was described by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee as one of the most important steps taken to counter political violence.

The initial plan outlined by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone envisaged the creation of an elite team of investigators drawn from the ranks of the police and legal circles.

The team, which would be accountable to the commission, would be monitored by United Nations observers.

spectators had smashed the despite attempts by

US group suing over 'weapons for IFP'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The American Committee on Africa (ACOA), a United States pressure group close to the ANC, is suing the State and Commerce Department for documents it believes will demonstrate the US government has been turning a blind eye as American weapons find their way into the hands of Inkatha warlords.

A court hearing is set for Monday in New York at which a judge is expected to decide whether or not to force the government to hand over the papers ACOA has been seeking under the Freedom on Information Act.

ACOA's Mr Richard Knight yesterday declined to discuss details of the case beyond saying that he hoped to

obtain "a considerable number of documents" relating to licensing of shotguns and ammunition for export to or through South Africa.

It is believed that ACOA will present evidence of what it claims are illegal transactions via Malawi and that a Capetonian may testify, but Mr Knight was elusive on the subject.

Last year, ACOA sent out fund-raising letters headlined "Murder in South Africa — Made in the USA" premised on a claim that US companies had "illegally" sold South Africa some 20 tons of shotguns and ammunition between June and December 1990.

Guns of the same type, ACOA said, were being used by Inkatha and other groups against their opponents.

Policema on city t

Staff Rep

A POLICEMAN was shot and his colleagues seriously injured last night after a gunman opened fire on them, a police spokesman said.

Assistant Constable Peter Lavis, was killed. Sergeant 26, of Eerste River, was injured to his shoulder and Assistant Constable 19, of Kraaifontein, was injured to his leg.

Police spokesman Major Opperman said last night a passenger was identified by late last night during the drama and had been taken to hospital for treatment.

A passenger began firing when he boarded the train, Major Opperman said.

A struggle ensued during which several rounds were fired. A man has been

CT 12/9/92 274

al e s d F 20 45 30



19 die in violence in Natal and KwaZulu

DURBAN. — At least 19 people have been killed in political violence in Natal and KwaZulu since the start of the weekend, police confirm.

Yesterday morning, three people were shot dead by gunmen posing as policemen near Inanda, north of Durban.

A survivor said the men entered the house and demanded money. The attackers then

opened fire, killing 33-year-old Ms Fikile Mirriam Mhlongo, her 14-year-old daughter Bongekile and a visitor, Mr Cyril Ndabezihle Mcineka.

The SAP unrest report said a man was killed in Umlazi, south of Durban, while the body of another man who had been shot dead was found in troubled Murchison on Sunday.

KwaZulu Police spokesman Colonel Moses Khanyile, meanwhile, reported 14 deaths in the region since Saturday.

Four people were shot dead in Zamani, Umlazi. The bodies of the men

More police for Triangle

PRETORIA. — An additional 385 policemen will be permanently deployed in the Witwatersrand and the Vaal Triangle areas, Internal Stability Division spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Roy Harrald said yesterday.

Colonel Harrald said 50 extra policemen would be deployed in Soweto, 50 in Diepkloof, 110 in Dunnottar on the far East Rand and 175 in Vereeniging in the Vaal Triangle.

He said 86% of unrest-related incidents occurred in these areas. — Sapa

were found with gunshot wounds at 1am on Saturday.

In separate incidents of violence in Umlazi, a man was killed in D Section on Saturday while the body of another man was found near the township's King Zwelithini Stadium on Sunday.

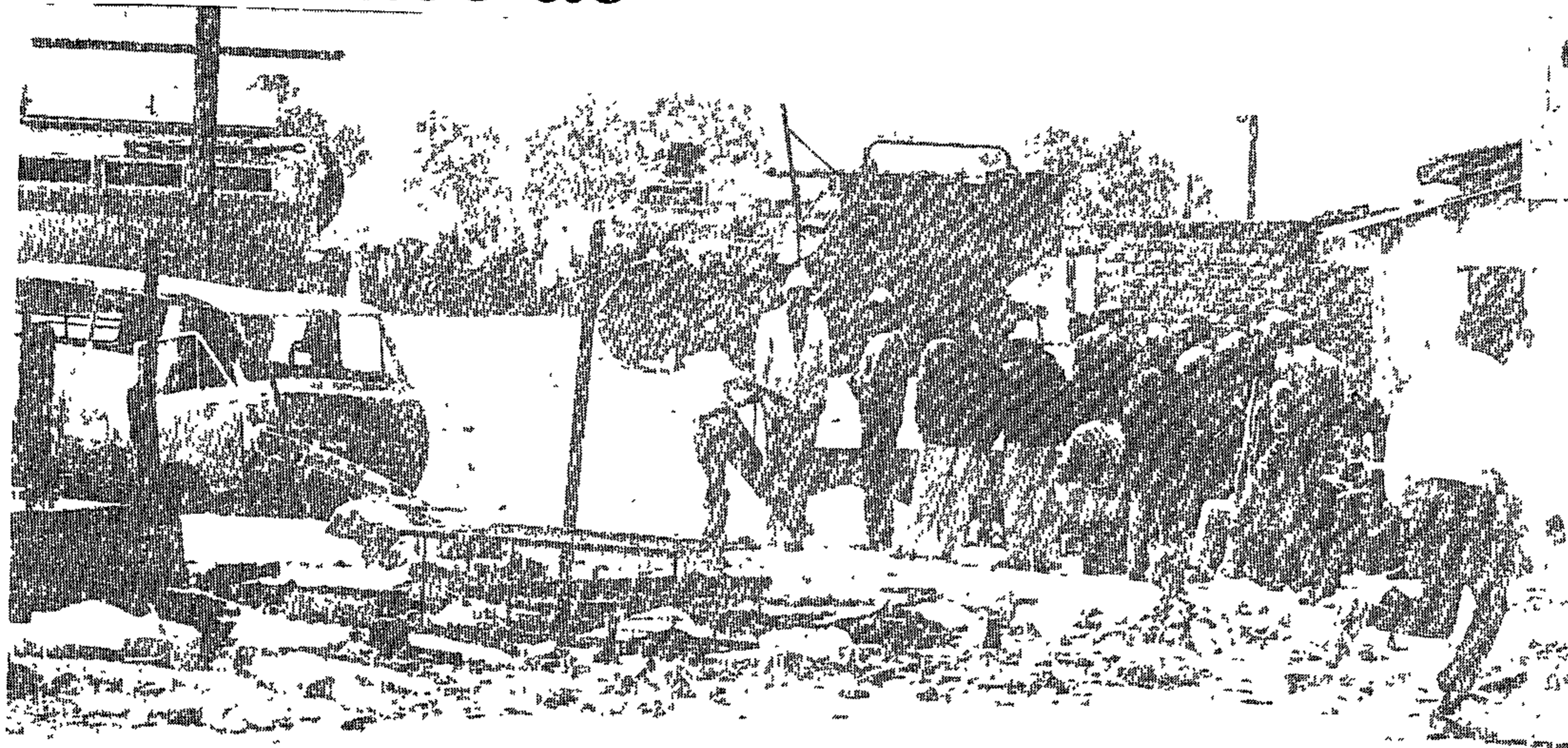
In other attacks at the weekend, two people were killed in KwaMashu, north of Durban, and another two in KwaMakhutha, south of the city.

Three people were killed in Nsek-wini Reserve, Inquthu, in northern Natal on Saturday. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

cord: one-year-old and still trying

South 12/9-16/9/92.

Peace ac



Whetice PROOTHERHE GRIBSSTATI SFEOSION/POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT - Fnt-ity, ANNOOR

CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE: A gutted taxi bears witness to the taxi war which raged in the Western Cape earlier this year

Like Codesa, the accord is perceived by many as the province of the elite and the leadership, with little relevance in the townships. One Guguletu resident said: "It's something people may have heard about on television, but otherwise it doesn't mean anything."

The accord structures have too few resources to devote to raising community awareness. Some say the Department of Justice has been slow to release the funds it does have

Political leaders have not stressed the importance of the accord among their constituencies. The result? At the regional and local level, there are "people trespassing all day every day", says the HSRC.

Even consistent participation of the local signatories depends on whims.

"Parties behave like recalcitrant children and just pull out when they don't get their way," says Val

Pakay, Peace Accord representative

The accord also lacks any real power to censure those who violate its provisions. Disputes can be referred to arbitration.

But compliance with the accord for now rests largely on the will of the signatories themselves. After a lot of initial rhetoric about tolerance and goodwill, the violations started and the legitimacy of the accord quickly waned

The difficulties in forcing compliance, though, symbolise a larger problem: what body in South Africa now has the moral and popular authority to act as a disciplinary power, accepted by all parties?

The Goldstone Commission's high public profile has created a certain kind of accountability. The Goldstone Commission, however, may increasingly find itself caught in the trap of its own and the Peace Accord's making: its findings unavoidably will contradict the sin-

cerely held beliefs of the parties involved — witness the finding that there was lack of evidence of state complicity in the violence.

Alternatively, they may anger those at whom the finger is pointed. The gradual result is an erosion of trust or a refusal to accept the commission's findings.

But, some township residents say, they now feel they have someone other than the police to tell the stories of conflict and violence.

In Cape Town, the current investigation into the causes and evolution of the taxi war may answer questions that could prove crucial for future disputes.

Did procedural weaknesses in the permit system instigate the war? Did the police favour Webta, and thereby fuel the fire? Which solutions worked, and why?

Judging by the intense police cross-examination of witnesses, it is apparent that even the South

African Police is slightly nervous about what the Goldstone Commission will find.

The police in Cape Town have also set up a Special Investigative Unit which has recently moved from Culemborg to Bellville — a significant move towards autonomy.

Concrete localised measures such as these hold the greatest potential for the accord. Representatives of political parties, community leaders and the police sit together on the Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committees.

The accord gets people talking, calls people to account, makes political leadership more responsible — democratic traditions long suppressed in South Africa.

Because it persuaded warring factions to sit at a table they themselves structured, it may be a prologue to the establishment of multiparty democracy.

16/9/92

By Amy Waldman

274

ON Monday, before the ANC march on Bisho, National Peace Accord chairperson John Hall and Antonie Gildenhuys of the National Peace Secretariat flew to Ciskei in an attempt to defuse tensions.

The fatal explosion of those tensions says much about the need for measures such as the Accord and, more grimly, its limitations.

Next Monday the Peace Accord, born of the common purpose of ending political violence, turns a year old.

It was created to combat a national climate of fear by establishing investigative and mediation facilities, and codes of conduct for police and political organisations. The involvement of 29 major national political players seemed a sign that peace had a chance.

Many of the accord structures are only now being put in place, but already questions about its influence and — worse — relevance, are being asked. The most obvious measurement of the accord's effectiveness — the amount of political violence — has not significantly decreased in the past year.

"The number of incidents may have gone down," according to the HSRC, "but each incident is more serious, in the number of people killed or injured, than it was a year ago." Boipatong and Bisho are only the most publicised examples.

But who can say what would have been, had the accord not been signed? During mass action in August, most of the police wore name-tags, the ANC received permission for most of its marches, and there was actually communication between the two — steps at least in part attributable to the Peace Accord.

The Peace Accord has national and international stature; the visit of the UN observers was partly coordinated through Peace Accord structures. At grassroots level, though, credibility suffers. One year after its signing, many on the ground have little awareness of the accord and its provisions.

Year of v marks pe

CPMS 13/9/92

THE National Peace Accord turns one-year-old tomorrow. But nobody is holding any parties.

It has been a year during which more than 3 000 people have lost their lives - in politically inspired violence which the accord was designed to lessen.

Some measure of just how fraught the year of the Peace Accord has been can be gleaned from the fact that this nightmare statistic is nearly 1 000 deaths higher than the 2 365 deaths of the preceding year.

Of course, the various structures mandated by the accord have had their successes in the prevention, the containing and the uncovering of violence in SA.

For instance, action has been promised, if not yet properly undertaken, on migrant workers' hostels - widely perceived as the epicentre of the violence on the Reef.

Security measures on trains have been stepped up - though as yet to very little effect.

A beginning has been made in the stated aim of publicising the accord by distributing summarised versions in various languages.

Regional and local Dispute Resolution Committees (LDRCs) have been established in most of the targeted areas, and potentially violent confrontations have been avoided by the prompt actions of

groupings linked to the National Peace Secretariat.

The Goldstone Commission has also been promised a crack investigating team, likely to be headed by one of the few universally credible members of the SAP, Maj Frank Dutton, the man who brought the Trust Feed case to court.

But the list of failures recorded over the past year is far more spectacular than the successes:

- The promised SADF Code of Conduct - originally scheduled to be included in the version of the accord signed by political parties on September 14 last year, has yet to be finalised and appears to have been shelved indefinitely.
- The appointment of special Justices of the Peace, who would investigate and mediate violence has also apparently been placed on a backburner.
- Special criminal courts which would dispense instant justice in relation to acts of

violence have yet to be instituted.

- The government has failed conspicuously on a number of occasions to implement recommendations made by the Goldstone Commission.
- Among those recommendations are: The disbanding of counter-insurgency unit Koevoet; banning the public display of all forms of dangerous weaponry throughout SA, including the so-called traditional weapons which Inkatha members brandish; the institution of a witness protection programme; and the isolation of, among others, KwaMadala hostel in Sebokeng - a recommendation made well before the Boipatong Massacre of 17 June.
- Judge Richard Goldstone's own failure to take adequate account of a number of issues.

The most screaming example of this came about when he chose to deal only with housing-related issues in relation to hos-

tels, when he was already in possession of an affidavit, signed by a former KwaMadala hostel inmate, testifying that the place was being run as a military base from which attacks were launched on township residents.

- The consistent failure to ensure members of the security forces adhered to the codes of conduct drawn up for them. The SAP have been guilty on a number of occasions of flouting these constraints on their behaviour.
- The equally consistent failure of the courts to bring offenders to justice. With more than 2 000 deaths over the past two years on the Witwatersrand, only one conviction has so far resulted, according to statistics drawn up by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry.
- The failure of various government ministers and of the Attorneys-General to investigate expeditiously matters

which pursue.

For Minister in February stone's major she the Mooi would be possible". have been Simiani handed Transvaal attempted members Schweizer ry Maine come to The ties under the promot For the pears to The real whole ritten by the risk



BEFORE BLOOD
ANC gather Monday's on Qoqo, only ally where has support.

SADF the the

Violence Peace pact

1/92

(274)

ly in
avit,
dala
that
as a
at-
town-
s en-
rity
s of
The
num-
ating
hav-
fail-
s of-
more
past
re-
so
atis-
-
ly.
gov-
the
esti-
ters

which they are called upon to pursue.

For instance Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte stated in February this year that Goldstone's recommendations of a major shake-up of policing in the Mool River/Bruntville area would be pursued "as soon as possible". To date no changes have been made.

Similarly, the Commission handed over a docket to the Transvaal A-G in respect of the attempted assassination by members of the SAP of Schweizer-Reneke activist Jerry Maine - but no case has yet come to court.

The war talk which all parties indulge in, despite written undertakings to work towards the promotion of peace.

For these failures, there appears to be little excuse.

The real problem is that the whole process is being underwritten by power politics, and at the risk of sounding banal,

many of the signatories to the accord are bringing agendas other than peace to the peace desk.

In some cases moves towards peace and reconciliation have seemingly been sabotaged by the intervention of senior political players. For example, the interference of IFP Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza, in the formation of LDRC's on the Reef.

After an agreement had been reached in Meadowlands, which guaranteed that in the event of trouble in the area a senior tribally mandated resident of the local hostel would be available to intervene, Khoza insisted the representatives had no mandate and instituted a rotational system of crisis representation, which community members claim is entirely unworkable.

As a result the LDRC has effectively ceased to operate.

Equally open to question is the role of the security forces in

the peace process. There have been allegations of police partiality in favour of the IFP, and of failure to react to requests made by Peace Accord representatives for them to intervene in particular outbreaks of violence.

Apart from this however, there are some more concealed indications as to why the Peace Accord has failed to live up to expectations.

Of the 11 RDRC's in existence, no less than eight are chaired by whites. This stands in something more than inverse relation to the nature of the violence, which is almost exclusively located in black areas.

While the facts are understandable - chairmen are appointed by consensus and thus relatively neutral observers will be more likely to be elected than representatives of warring factions - it is also deeply problematic.

Such potential chairmen also

represent interests in the broader scheme of things. Interests such as business and the NP - both of which in general have a long history of antagonism to the ANC alliance.

In recent weeks the problem has manifested in support given by Peace Accord structures to the notion of hosting international observers of the violence under the banner of the Peace Accord.

The ANC alliance has expressed serious reservations about the idea, yet the Accord supported it, for the simple reason it was regional chairs who were consulted and not the RDRC's or LDRC's as constituted.

More to the point is a confidential Transvaal NP document in existence which deals with the question of the "Expansion of the NP in the Transvaal". Basically strategising a hearts and minds campaign, the document is particularly concerned with the need to make contact with potential black voters and to present itself as .

It goes on to say the perception that the "NP cares" must be established. It adds the NP offers a "safe haven, and exhorts its membership to create anti-violence, anti-crime structures and programmes" and "get involved in regional and local dispute resolution committees . . ."

That kind of electioneering by means of the accord is precisely the problem which has bedevilled our country's search for peace.

BEFORE THE BLOODBATH . . .
ANC supporters gather for Monday's march on Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Pretoria's only ally in a region where the ANC has massive support.

DURING THE BLOODBATH . . .
SADF troops guard the Ciskei border with SA. Before Monday's march the barbed wire was nowhere to be seen - the border a thin line drawn in sand.



COMPANIES

Futures exchange reduces net losses

THE SA Futures Exchange (Safex) Clearing Company reduced its net losses to R1,3m in the year ended June from R3,5m last year.

(274)
The combined losses of R3,1m in 1990 and R454 655 in 1991 slashed the R2,2m profit made during 1992. Turnover grew by 20% to R3,6m from R3m during 1991.

The company transferred R159 808 to the Fidelity Fund during 1992. An amount of 20c a contract is taken from clearing fees and transferred to the fund, which can be used to pay claims against members of the exchange.

The average number of contracts processed and cleared a day by the clearing

3/0/92 17/9/92
SHARON WOOD

company rose by 22% to 3 244 in 1992 from the previous year's 2 661.

The directors expected 1993 to be a successful year. They said the exchange was comfortably ahead of budget in the first two months of this financial year and had adequate reserves to meet demands.

Safex would investigate the possibility of introducing commodity futures and would also conduct a cost benefit analysis on automated trading.

It had applied to the Reserve Bank to allow non-residents to trade on the options-on-futures market, and the go-head was expected before the end of the year.

focus on Bisho

THE ANC's carefully phrased acceptance of President FW de Klerk's invitation to a peace summit following last Monday's Bisho bloodbath was a triumph for the moderate leadership over the movement's radical wing whose influence was threatening to become dominant.

While it would be wrong to blame the ANC for the massacre, the attempt to turn the protest march in Ciskei into a storming of the bantustan's capital represented a turning point in ANC strategy which reflected the growing influence of the radicals.

The bloodbath which the charge ran into has discredited the radicals' headstrong approach, and during the National Working Committee's long post-mortem meeting on Thursday the tide of influence turned back towards Nelson Mandela and the other moderates who are eager to return to the negotiating table.

So paradoxically the disaster has given negotiations another chance.

But it will be short-lived unless De Klerk, too, switches priorities and puts negotiations ahead of the political gamesmanship he has been engaging in ever since his white referendum victory last March.

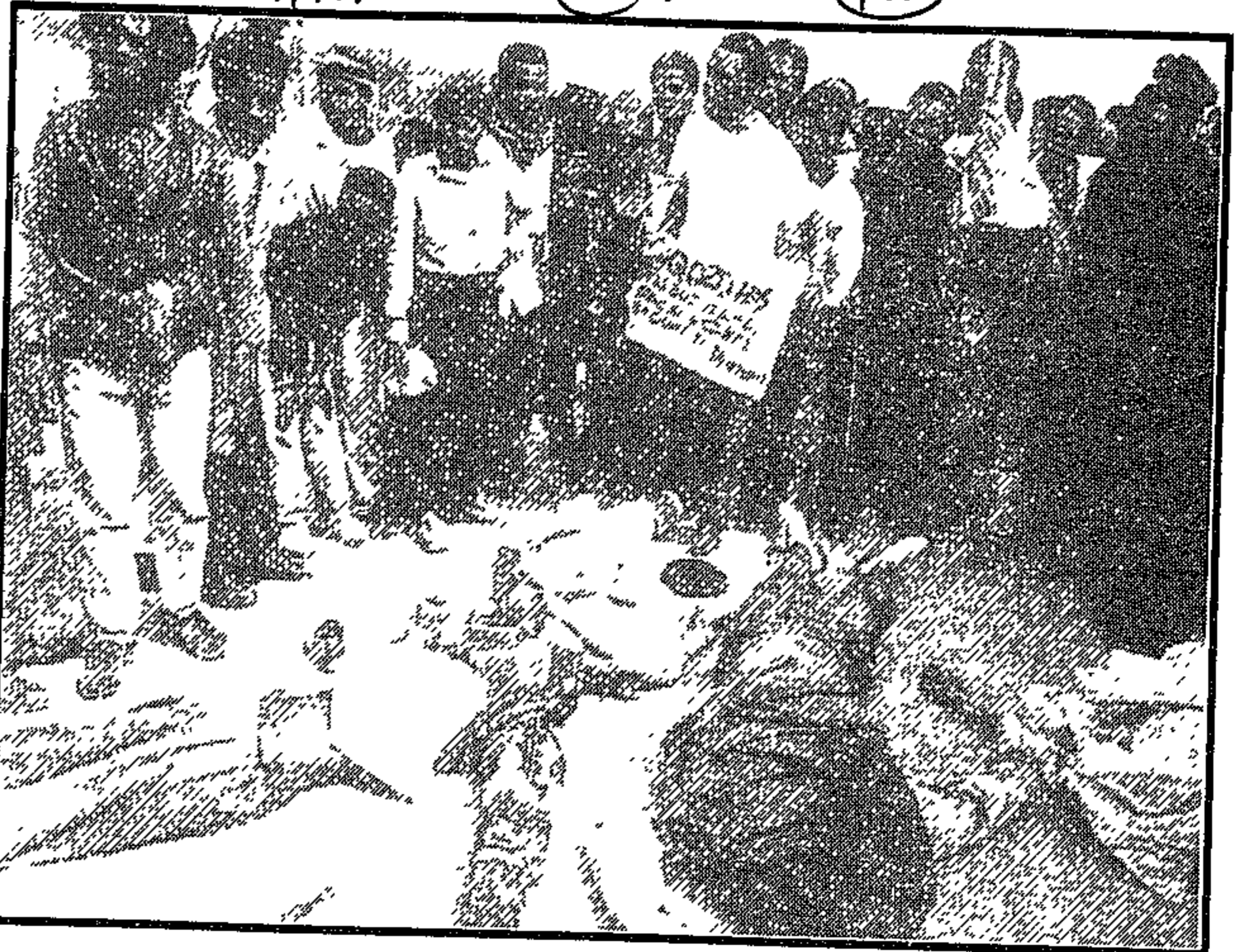
The root cause of South Africa's nosediving prospects is that both the major political movements, the ANC and De Klerk's National Party, have been electioneering and negotiating simultaneously - and the two activities are not compatible. Negotiation involves concession and compromise and the building of mutual trust. Electioneering is a time when each side engages the other in combat and seeks to do it as much damage as possible.

The more these two movements campaign for South Africa's first one-person-one-vote elections, the more they undermine the negotiating process. The problem begins with the fact that De Klerk, having crossed the apartheid Rubicon with his famous speech on 2 February 1990, has not faced up to the implications of his own act of courage.

He has not accepted that the inevitable consequence of legalising black politics in a country where blacks outnumber whites seven-to-one is that the blacks will rule. And in South Africa that almost certainly means the ANC, which blacks have long regarded as their main liberation movement.

Instead the Nationalists have persuaded themselves that with a little manipulation and cunning they can remain in power themselves. Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the party's Free State congress a fortnight ago that with the help of black homeland leaders it could win 51 per cent of the vote. It was encouraged in this belief by the relative success of its surreptitious aid to Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia's 1990 independence elections,

Allister Sparks sees as the root cause of South Africa's current crisis the fact that the two opposing factions - the ANC and the NP - have been negotiating and electioneering simultaneously - and these activities are not compatible.



The Ciskei bloodbath has discredited the radicals in the ANC.

when it pumped aid into the DTA and ran a covert destabilisation campaign against the South West African Peoples' Organisation.

Although Swapo won, the DTA did sufficiently well to lead the NP to believe that with a bigger and craftier campaign it could succeed on its home ground. De Klerk's big referendum win encouraged that belief, which has shaped his strategic thinking ever since. The strategy is modelled on Namibia's - destabilise the enemy and build a domestic alliance like the DTA.

There is now a massive accumulation of evidence indicating that clandestine elements of the security forces have been stirring township violence to destabilise the ANC. At the same time De Klerk has set about forging a multiracial alliance with some of the black homeland parties and Coloured and Indian political groups that arose under the apartheid system.

This has provoked an ANC counter-strategy. The escalating township violence, while destabilising the ANC, has also radicalised its constituency.

"You are like lambs while they are killing us," angry voices yelled at Mandela at a rally after the

Boipatong massacre in June. The ANC was forced to respond to this wave of anger to avoid alienating its constituency.

The mood also strengthened the radical wing, which consists mainly of trade unionists and Communist Party members who are not part of the negotiating team, and, isolated from the mellowing influences of the negotiations, are still steeped in the culture of the revolutionary struggle.

So the balance of influence began to shift. The ANC broke off negotiations and launched its mass action campaign, with a general strike and protest marches. Some radicals began talking of a "Leipzig option", referring to the mass demonstrations that toppled Erich Honecker's East German regime.

The massacre at Bisho was unexpected by the radical ANC leaders, who did not think the troops would fire at a crowd that size.

They were wrong and while the crime of butchering 28 unarmed people clearly lies with the Ciskei army and its masters, the miscalculation of the ANC radicals has clearly discredited them.

3 400 die since ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ signing of accord

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The National Peace Accord was signed a year ago today, but figures show that violence has increased by 28,5 percent since, instead of decreasing as planned.

According to figures supplied by the Human Rights Commission (HRC), 3 400 people have been killed in political violence in the last year, compared with a figure of 2 649 in the year before the accord was approved.

HRC director Dr Max Coleman yesterday said the figures showed that in statistical terms, the accord had been a failure.

He said the major weakness of the accord had been its inability to deal with the covert activities of hit squads and undercover "special forces".

Although the NPA had not fulfilled its initial potential, recent positive developments such as the introduction of international observers and the provision of the Goldstone Commission with investigatory powers could help the accord have more impact on political violence.

Dr Coleman said. Government spokesman Dave Stewart said one of the failings of the accord was that not all of the signatories had abided by its terms.

"The challenge for all political parties is to make

● To Page 3

3 400 killed since accord signed a year ago

● From Page 1

sure the accord starts to work. The accord gives the framework for parties to pursue the objective of peace," said Mr Stewart.

He added that the presence of international observers should make a difference to the adherence of the signatories to the terms of the accord and thus make an impact on political violence.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said it was impossible to expect a

piece of paper to stop violence in a volatile situation "if the political will is not there to adhere to its terms".

Miss Marcus added that the financial resources and infrastructure to fulfil some of the terms of the accord had not been provided.

"It takes money to set up local dispute resolution committees and other infrastructures on the ground," she said.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne

Vos said it was a tragedy that violence had increased in the last year.

"But maybe it is too soon to tell and to reap the benefits," she said.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall and National Peace Secretariat chief Dr Antonie Gildenhuys could not be reached for comment last night.

But at an emergency meeting last Tuesday night, both men said they would demand that all political leaders abide by

the terms of the accord. "As horrific as the Bisho bloodbath and the recent Natal violence have been, these are yet further manifestations of the unacceptable, ongoing violence brought about by the absence of political tolerance.

"We are going to demand that all political leadership utilises the peace accord mechanisms and that the laws of the land be protected by the signatories," they said in a statement.

PEACE DRIVES

CT14/1/92
UN corps

starts work on eve of summit

Political Staff
PEACE drives to arrest South Africa's spiralling violence go into high gear today with meetings between the government and the ANC and with the vanguard of the United Nations observers which arrived yesterday.

Deputy UN mission chief Mr Ismat Steiner said they would start work immediately. He said the mission would adhere closely to UN Resolution 772 which required them to observe potential conflict situations and report directly to UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali. A total of 50 observers would be in the field when the monitoring team was at full strength in October. In further developments:
● Chief government and ANC negotiators Mr Boelf Meyer and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa are to meet in preparation for a summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. Although they differed sharply on pre-conditions for the summit when they appeared on SATV's Agenda last night, it seems they are close to agreement on these issues.
Mr Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, said he thought it would take "one or two meetings" between him and Mr Meyer to resolve the outstanding problems and this agreement could be reached in a short space of time.
● The Oleska's Brigade's Oupa Gqozo has been summoned to meet Foreign Minister Mr P. K. Botha in Pretoria today.
Brig Gqozo took a defiant line yesterday, telling the government and the ANC "I am nobody's push-over... I'll be here for a while yet."

To page 2

From page 1

Responding to a report that the government was poised to give him his marching orders following the Bisho massacre, he said: "I don't think they have a chance of playing that game — of selling me down to the ANC as openly as that."

Brig Gqozo spoke on his return from the Kwa-Zulu capital Ulundi where he had been given a hero's welcome by both Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulu king.

On the Agenda programme Mr Ramaphosa said that ANC wanted to see practical steps on the ground to stop the "cancerous violence" in the country.

These involved the question of political prisoners, the implementation of security measures at hostels in line with Goldstone Commission recommendations and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons throughout the country.

While the question of an interim government and a constituent assembly — two of the ANC's original 14 demands before negotiations could be resumed — had more-or-less been satisfied, the issue of political prisoners and the 11 demands on violence had not yet been met.

Mr Meyer said it was "time for us to stop playing political games in this country".



He said the government was not opposed in principle to mass action, but it rejected mass action that led to confrontation and violence and this issue had to be addressed.

The government was also concerned about the role of the communists within the ANC.

"Unless we can resolve that as well, we will time and again come back to the same problem."

onitor violence

Elite force to combat violence

■ Five special units appointed in key areas countrywide:

Sowetan 14/9/92

THE Goldstone Commission this weekend announced its elite strike force to combat political crime and violence in the country.

The elite strike force, comprising 26 advocates, attorneys, South African Police and South African Defence Force officers, will head five special investigation units and will report directly to the Goldstone Commission.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said at the weekend: "Information obtained by the units which is or may be relevant to any criminal investigation, if appropriate, will be furnished by the Commission to the SA Police, or the relevant police force of a self-governing territory.

"The information obtained by the units will be relevant as far as the commission is concerned or in so far as it may enable it to carry out its main terms of reference which are to ascertain the causes of public violence and to recommend ways of curbing it."

The units will be based in Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, East London/Port Elizabeth and Maritzburg.

NEWS UN and OAU observers here to m

UN mission arrives in SA

Savefa 14/9/92
274

■ **FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT** International

groups to play role in peace process in SA:

SOUTH AFRICA's difficult and violent political transition yesterday officially opened up to international scrutiny.

The first group of an expected 50 United Nations observers arrived in South Africa yesterday and an Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) mission of eight experts arrives here today.

Both groups will help monitor violence crippling the peace process.

Yesterday's pilot party of 18, led by a UN official from Tanzania, Mr Ismat Steiner, was met on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport by Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Aziz Pahad of the ANC's department of international affairs, and the National Peace Secretariat's Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and Mr Corrie Bezudenhout.

Pahad said the arrival of the UN team was particularly significant in that it gave South

Africa's traumatic transition "an international dimension" and was sure to have "a positive effect on the transition".

The PAC's secretary for Relief and Aid, Ms Patricia de Lille, said "the objective" of liberating black people in the country was being blurred by the continuous violence.

She said: "The PAC (and ANC) have become so busy with funerals and bringing peace to the country..."

The remaining UN observers are due in the country at various intervals over the next month and will ultimately be headed by Jamaican UN official Ms Angela King.

Today's arrival of OAU officials follows consultations between the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, and OAU Secretary-General H H Salim Ahmed Salim in Jakarta recently.

UN observers will meet leaders today

274 RAY HARTLEY 300

THE 16 UN observers who arrived in SA yesterday would meet political leaders and begin making arrangements for their Durban and Johannesburg offices today, deputy UN mission chief Ismat Steiner said yesterday. *SDAM 14/9/92*

The monitors would adhere closely to UN resolution 772 which required them to observe potential conflict situations and report directly to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Steiner, who is from Tanzania, met national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys last night to plan activities. He met Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer and ANC officials Thabo Mbeki and Aziz Pahad earlier.

Steiner said they hoped to strengthen national peace accord structures.

Steiner said a second group, including mission leader Angela King, was expected in the next 10 days. A total of 50 observers would be in the field when the monitoring team was at full strength in October.

He said King would head the team's Johannesburg office and he would head the Durban office.

UN peace team here

Sowetan 14/9/92.

274

■ **SIGH OF RELIEF** Liberation organisations

welcome the arrival of OAU and UN monitors:

THE arrival today of Organisation for African Unity observers and yesterday of United Nations peace monitors has opened South Africa's violent and traumatic transition to international scrutiny.

Both the ANC and PAC yester-

day said the foreign monitors and observers would bring a degree of "neutrality" to the transition and help curtail the violence.

They said the the monitors would ease the pressure on the liberation movements.

See story page

2

Conditions 'must be met first'

ANC spells

out its terms

B/Dan 14/9/92.

for summit

THE ANC adopted a hardline attitude yesterday to President F W de Klerk's call for a leadership meeting on violence, insisting that government would have to meet its key demands in preparatory talks before a summit could take place.

Last week the ANC agreed conditionally to an urgent meeting between delegations led by De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss ways to end violence.

The ANC has refused substantive talks with government until there is agreement on the issues of the release of political prisoners, action on the hostels issue and a ban on carrying weapons in public. It now appears these demands are being made conditions for the De Klerk-Mandela talks. A government source said yesterday the ANC could not claim political points from agreeing to the summit if it was effectively refusing to negotiate by constantly insisting on preconditions.

Despite the gloomy outlook, however, there was a glimmer of hope that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would find a way through the impasse — possibly as early as this week. Their first meeting following De Klerk's call will take place within two days. ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said yesterday the summit on violence had to result in substantial agreement, but this depended largely on "adequate agreement being reached in preparatory talks" between Meyer and Ramaphosa. If there was not a successful conclusion to these preparatory talks, the summit "will not make much sense at all".

BILLY PADDOCK

The three areas the ANC was insisting on having resolved were, the release of political prisoners without linkage to amnesty, a ban on carrying weapons in public and steps to prevent the hostels being used to launch attacks.

Valli Moosa said if government was serious about the summit being used to resolve violence, it would accommodate the ANC's demands.

Meyer said he had not yet spoken to Ramaphosa since last week's call for the summit and had not been given the preconditions personally. They still needed to meet to assess their respective positions.

Another senior government source on the negotiating team said De Klerk's call was clearly in agreement with the ANC's demands to act forcefully and purposefully on violence. The summit was not about constitutional negotiations but specifically to work out ways of combating violence.

De Klerk had insisted on a top leadership meeting to ensure the major decision-makers on both sides would be involved in the talks and that any agreements reached would be binding.

The source said it was vital that delegates be influential and in a position to ensure agreements were carried out. Otherwise it gets to be an exercise in futility with constant new demands being put every time the messenger goes back to his constituency," he said.

The key issue to be resolved is still the release of prisoners, with government understanding that the ANC requires visible

To Page 2

Talks B/Dan 14/9/92.

results to prove its decision to deadlock the talks has not been in vain.

Meyer, after studying the ANC's statement on Thursday when the organisation agreed to the summit, said it appeared "the issues they want resolved in preparatory talks are the same as those we did not have time to resolve in the last round".

He said the week before the Bishop of Grahamstown and Ramaphosa were close to reaching agreement following their first round of talks to remove the obstacles to full bilateral talks on constitutional negotiations. They had been in constant contact during the extended three-day national executive committee meeting but just ran out of time and could not strike a deal". Meyer was hopeful that as the issues had not changed there was a good chance of reaching agreement.

Government still maintained that because the remaining political prisoners could not be released in terms of the agreed definition, amnesty was the only way forward. This would have to apply across the political spectrum to avoid problems from sectors such as the security forces.

Government is prepared to allow this to be introduced on a phased basis with a certain level of disclosure of the deeds for which people are being forgiven.

From Page 1

It is understood that Ramaphosa and Meyer are seeking a new principle to apply to the prisoners which dispenses with previous conditions. The principle being mooted was that if the crime was committed with a clear political motive then the person could be excused.

Both sides are fairly confident that the hostel issue will not be difficult to resolve adequately and government hopes it can persuade the ANC on the issue of weapons. The government source said they were hopeful a formula could be found to deal with the weapons, but a blanket ban was impossible.

Meanwhile, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened to withdraw from co-operating in constitutional talks if government "succumbs to this pressure from the ANC/SACP demanding a ban on the carrying of cultural weapons at all times in public".

"I fear that will be the end of any co-operation in any talks they may have with us in the future," Buthelezi said. He said that if government believed it could resolve SA's problems without "an input from the Zulu nation, let them proceed to ban our cultural accoutrements under all circumstances".

Comment: Page 8

Optimistic negotiators meet to pave

First step

Political Staff

THE chief government and ANC negotiators met today to pave the way for a peace summit between President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was confirmed by government and ANC sources.

It is taking place just a week after the Bisho massacre and follows the ANC's conditional acceptance last week of Mr De Klerk's invitation to a summit.

Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa indicated last night that a number of issues had to be resolved before the summit.

Mr Meyer said the ANC mass action campaign, the Communist Party's role in the ANC and the ANC's political intolerance were among the issues the government wanted to discuss.

He did not foresee difficulties in overcoming these obstacles, as he and Mr Ramaphosa had been close to agreement in earlier meetings, but he said he would not negotiate on the basis of demands.

Mr Ramaphosa said the government must address ANC demands for the release of political prisoners, a crackdown on hostels and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

Carnage

These issues could be resolved in "one or two meetings" if the government was prepared to cross "the democratic threshold".

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC would not continue constitutional talks when "violence and carnage were continued by people in government circles".

Hopes for peaceful ANC marches against homeland governments were raised by the arrival in South Africa of United Nations observers and the Goldstone Commission's appointment of independent teams to investigate violence.

The teams may monitor the ANC alliance's planned march on Saturday on Bophuthatswana's capital, Mmabatho.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said that although his commission had no jurisdiction in Bophuthatswana, he would apply for permission to monitor the march, and he hoped the presence of monitors would "put a brake on people's conduct".

The vanguard of a 50-strong UN observer team, which will spend six months in South Africa observing political violence, arrived at the weekend.

The leader of the advance team, Mr Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, said his immediate objectives were to meet the signatories of the National Peace Accord and establish offices in Johannesburg and Durban.

for peace

way for FW-Mandela summit on violence

274

274

ANC 14/9/92

'Goldstone not our God'

Own Correspondent

(274) (103) ET 14/9/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transkei government would never allow the Goldstone commission to probe violence arising from political protests in the homeland, Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

"The Goldstone Commission is a commission of inquiry in South Africa. We are an independent territory and Goldstone is not our Messiah. We can also draw up better terms of reference than he currently has," General Holomisa said.

He added that his government's re-

usal to allow the commission to operate in the homeland also stemmed from the fact that "the commission is an agent of the national peace accord — to which we are not signatories".

"The commission should be restructured and given new terms of reference (before it can be allowed to operate in the Transkei)," General Holomisa said without elaborating.

His statement came a day after Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the homeland was the only TBVC state which had refused his commission permission to operate in it.

The accord . . . a year down the line

(274)

ARG 14/9/92

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE National Peace Accord (NPA), despite its failings, has contributed significantly to the reduction of violence and the promotion of peace, said National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

But he said "in general" violence seemed to have increased, a fact borne out by figures released by the Human Rights Commission (HRC)

which reflect an increase of 28,5 percent in violence since the signing of the accord a year ago today.

According to the HRC, 3 400 people have died in political violence in the last year, compared with a figure of 2 649 in the year before the accord was signed.

Dr Gildenhuys said a lot still had to be done to promote peace.

"Socio-economic reconstruc-

tion of deprived communities must receive the greatest priority."

The marketing of the Peace Accord had to be intensified and the procedures for adjudication on complaints of breaches of the Code of Conduct for political parties had to be refined.

"But when all is said and done, the conclusion must be that a lot has been achieved. Violence which has been avoid-

ed seldom makes headlines," he said.

"The question is whether we are better off with than without the Peace Accord? The answer must be that despite its failings, the Peace Accord is contributing significantly to the reduction of violence and promotion of peace."

HRC director Dr Max Coleman said the figures showed that in statistical terms, the accord "has been a failure".

The internal struggle continues

STAR 15/9/92



(274)

THE tragedy at Bisho again prompts the question: What on earth is the ANC's mass action campaign all about? All too frequently, even in South African newspapers, one reads that this strategy was launched when "the Boipatong massacre caused the breakdown of negotiations" — when the breakdown actually preceded Boipatong and came over the 70-75 percent squabble over constitutional amendment.

But that issue was settled long ago — and mass action goes on.

We are now told the major issues at stake are political prisoners and ending township violence; but mass action clearly aggravates township violence and the ANC agreed to a deal on prisoners last year.

Similarly, the campaign against Ciskei could hardly have been a principled protest against military dictatorship, for then why not campaign against Transkei and Venda? Nor can it really be about homeland reincorporation, since this was already agreed in princi-

ple at Codesa: if the ANC wants to be rid of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo it merely has to wait for elections to sweep him away. Similarly, the ANC can have an interim government and (with certain strings attached) a constituent assembly any time it likes.

But the rub starts there. Imagine if Codesa had proceeded smoothly towards the formation of a consensus interim government under a Mandela-De Klerk co-presidency. It would have been easy to agree on senior positions for Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ramaphosa and Jacob Zuma; for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Drs Frank Mdlalose, Zach de Beer and Ehos Mabuza; and for Messrs Coetsee, Meyer and Keys; but after that?

On the ANC side one would have to rule out the veterans — Sisulu, Gwala, Govan Mbeki and so forth — and select those with sufficient technical background to have some hope of mastering their departments.

One would end up, probably, with names like Louis Skweyela, Kadar Asmal, Patrick Lekota,

Linda Zama, Ismail Mohammed and Tito Mboweni.

Such a list makes starkly clear the fact that the constitution of such an interim government would imply the marginalisation of the ANC Left, the group we may refer to in shorthand as the SACP but which also includes Peter Mokaba, Winnie Mandela and other ANC radicals as well as a phalanx of Cosatu figures led by Jay Naidoo.

It is possible that the gesture might be made of offering a post to a Hani, Slovo or Naidoo, but they would, in any case, almost certainly reject it, knowing that they would find being part of a Cabinet consensus within such a government both uncomfortable and compromising.

Such a prospect conjures up the SACP's nightmare scenario: the coming to power of a "bourgeois opportunist ANC Right" which strikes a deal with big business and Mr de Klerk at the expense of the working class (for which read the SACP and Cosatu). All over

Africa, from Ghana to Egypt, communists supported liberation struggles only to find themselves marginalised and ultimately crushed by the "bourgeois nationalists" they had supported. This is, quite understandably, a scenario the SACP wishes to avoid here.

Hence the ultimate rationale of mass action: it is a weapon not only with which to bludgeon the Government but, at least as important, is a form of struggle waged by the SACP against its internal opponents within the ANC's alliance. Mass action creates a climate of militancy and confrontation which naturally disadvantages and hobbles the ANC's moderates and mediators, causing them to keep their heads down.

Loyalty means they have to support mass action if pressed, but it is not their game and it shows: they are penned in and "controlled" by the tactic, even more than the Government is.

In the mass actions themselves, the SACP naturally plays the leading role — for it is playing the classic vanguard role by the (Len-

inist) book, attempting to put the Communist Party at the cutting edge of every confrontation, galvanising militants to their cause, sweeping along non-party elements with them, and giving an example of courage and militancy which thrills the activists and out-flanks the moderates.

Much of the criticism of the SACP's role at Bisho is ill-judged: there is no more point in blaming the SACP for being Leninist than there is in criticising the Pope for being Catholic. And while it would suit almost everyone else if the SACP called for mass action and played dead, it would be quite unreasonable to expect it to do so.

Perhaps the key statement by Ronnie Kasrils after Bisho was that "the people are prepared to make sacrifices provided their leaders are with them".

The point does not need much elaboration: the SACP was there in force at Bisho. The Border region is Steve Tshwete's constituency, so he had to be there. Cyril Ramaphosa gets dragged from

one symbolic action to the next because — who would envy him his job? — as ANC secretary-general he can hardly refuse. But where, in the heat of mass action, does one spy a Mandela, Thabo Mbeki or a Jacob Zuma, a Thomas Nkobi or an Alfred Nzo, or indeed any of those in our imaginary interim government above? ...

Already we have been told that Moses Mayekiso will play a leading role in the mass action against Lucas Mangope, a key piece of colour coding. For Mr Mayekiso heads a national civics association and civics have nothing to do with Bophuthatswana ... but the pieces fall into place when one remembers that Mr Mayekiso is not only a leading SACP cadre but is the Left outsider who has already taken on Mr Mandela in public. The struggle continues, comrade — the internal struggle, that is. □

R W Johnson is a South African Rhodes scholar and an Oxford don. He is currently on sabbatical at the University of Natal, Durban.

National Peace meeting postponed

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting of the National Peace Committee was postponed here yesterday after recent political developments in the country.

The NPC's media liaison officer, Mr Mark Manley, said an executive meeting later this week would decide on a new date for a full NPC indaba. "We felt the meeting could not go

ahead today in the light of several pressing issues, including the incident in Bisho, Ciskei, last week, as well as the fact that several urgent issues, such as the mock trials of certain leaders in Maritzburg last month, are still up for adjudication."

The postponement on the first anniversary of the National Peace Accord came as leading observers and

organisations argued that the pact had failed to bring effective peace.

● The Human Rights Commission said in a statement yesterday that 3 400 deaths and 5 055 injuries had been recorded in a surge of violence throughout the country between September 14, 1991 and August 30, 1992.

According to the HRC, in the 12 months before the signing it recorded 2 649 deaths in political violence.

Accordingly, the Peace Accord era marked an increase of 28,5% (in deaths).
(274) CT 15/9/92

Citing reasons, it said political organisations had willy-nilly ignored the spirit and letter of the Accord, and those entrusted with the task of implementing it had failed to convince the majority of the country's people of the Accord's potential value. — Sapa

City

Blockade

Cosatu plan to halt Parliament

Political Staff

COSATU has unveiled a massive "programme of action" — including the blocking and occupying of all South African cities — for October 12 when Parliament is scheduled to open.

Cape Town has been targeted for a blockade and a "people's assembly" on that date in an effort to ensure that Parliament does not sit for the opening of the two-week session.

A proposal for a stayaway on the same day will be finalised when Cosatu's executive meets on October 1. The programme, unveiled late yesterday, was adopted by the organisation's conference at the weekend and will be an extension of its "rolling mass action" activities.

Cosatu said there would be a regional stayaway on Friday for the funeral of the victims of last week's massacre at Bisho and added that there should be a two-hour work stoppage in the rest of the country so that workers could attend memorial services.

The trade union federation also called for the occupation of factories where workers had been dismissed during its mass action.

It listed factories in different parts of South Africa where it claimed workers had been dismissed. It decided on "the need to intensify the struggle so as to move as speedily as possible to elections for a democratic constituent assembly". The programme is designed to:

- "intensify the struggle so as to move as speedily as possible to elections for a democratic Constituent Assembly"
- Create a climate for such elections, including an intensification of the campaign for free political activity. In this respect it called for Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to resign.
- Support dismissed workers and those affected by violence.
- Strengthen the organisation's capacity to "participate more effectively" in economic, housing and electricity forums.

MANDELA DENIES

OVERTHROW PLAN

PAGE 2

Cosatu deputy general-secretary Mr Sam Shilowa, said the organisation would be concentrating on the right to free political activity because of the Bisho massacre.

It wanted September 7, the day of the massacre, declared a national holiday.

It would also begin a revolt against pay-as-you-earn income tax in November and revive an intensify the campaign against VAT and high food prices.

The programme of action released by the organisation lists a wide variety of activities from September 18 — the day of the funeral for the Bisho massacre victims — through to December 1.

To page 2

From page 1

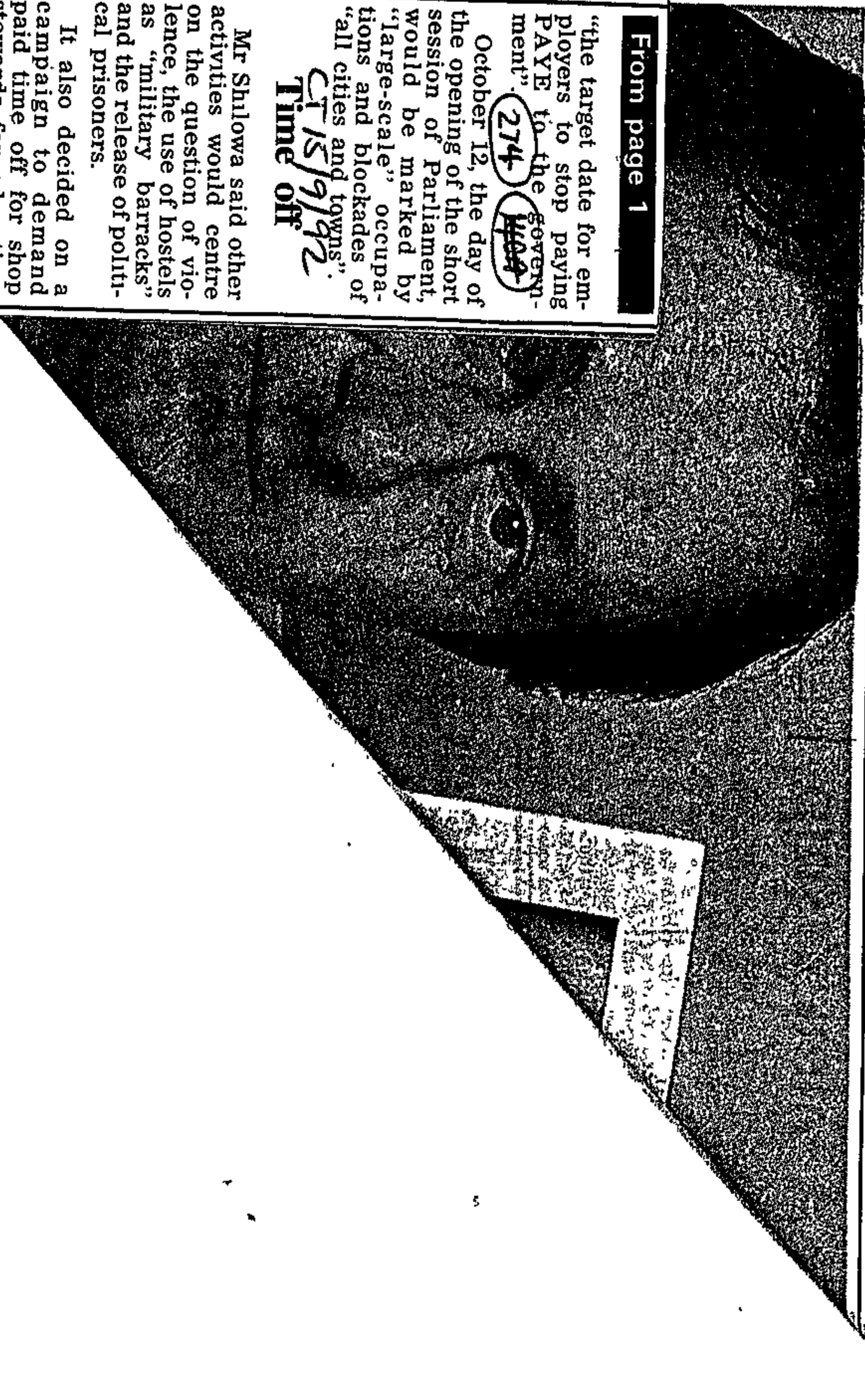
"the target date for employers to stop paying PAYE to the government" ~~274~~ ~~1992~~

October 12, the day of the opening of Parliament, would be marked by "large-scale" occupations and blockades of "all cities and towns". ~~CT 15/9/92~~ ~~Time off~~

Mr Shilowa said other activities would centre on the question of violence, the use of hostels as "military barracks" and the release of political prisoners.

It also decided on a campaign to demand paid time off for shop stewards for education, negotiations, training for negotiations, the building of drought structures and to conduct voter education.

Cosatu gave no indication in the statement whether its plans had been discussed with its affiliates, the ANC and the SA Communist Party.



274 1992

CT 15/9/92

BILLY PADDOCK

A SUMMIT meeting on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela is unlikely to take place before next month because of the organisation's insistence that key demands be met first.

A senior ANC negotiator close to yesterday's talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said agreements still had to be reached in preliminary talks.

Then government would have to take "visible and tangible steps" to implement these agreements before the ANC was prepared to allow Mandela and his delegation to meet De Klerk.

More obstacles to 'violence summit'

The source said government had to be seen to be moving practically on demands for tighter security at hostels, a blanket ban on unlicensed weapons and the release of political prisoners.

The prisoner issue was crucial. "First we want to see our prisoners walk free. Not necessarily all of them but at least some, which we have identified, before we will go to the summit," he said.

He also disclosed that the preliminary talks would also be broadened into full bilateral meetings as the delegations would be enlarged from the one-on-one

To Page 2,

Summit

Meyer/Ramaphosa situation at present

The various issues involved meant line-function managers with detailed knowledge of each matter had to be involved

He said yesterday's two-and-a-half hour meeting was mostly procedural and involved setting the agenda for today's serious negotiation on the three ANC demands. Today's meeting will probably spill over to tomorrow.

The source said the ANC saw four phases in the process leading up to the De Klerk/Mandela summit. These were:

- Delegations consolidating the progress in talks to date and assessing the way forward,
- Negotiations and decisions on agreements on demands,
- A period of implementation of these agreements, and,
- Agreement on the summit meeting

From Page 1

The source indicated Meyer was demanding the ANC forgo mass action, and that its political intolerance and the SACP's role in the ANC be discussed in preliminary meetings. He said the ANC was demanding Meyer make good his promise, made on television on Sunday, to deal effectively with ANC demands.

The ANC had identified 18 hostels on the Reef that were a serious cause for concern in relation to continuing violence. The ANC was not insisting that the whole package of developing and upgrading the hostels had to be completed, but wanted to see a start made, he said.

Government was being held to agreements reached at previous summits — and the prisoner release was the key issue.

"We want to see (Magoo's Bar bomber) Robert McBride walk free, along with some of the others," he said.

DP march is a foray into mass action

THE DP-initiated march for peace and negotiations today through the centre of Johannesburg marks the party's first foray into the controversial territory of mass action.

DP leader Zach de Beer and justice spokesman Tony Leon, formerly strong opponents of mass action marches because of the adverse effects on the economy and marches' propensity for violence, yesterday called on employers to allow their staff time off work for the march.

However, local DP city representative Jack Bloom said the march would be free of violence and intimidation and different from those of the ANC "because in our case there will be no toyi-toying".

Leon said the DP guaranteed that the march would be peaceful and free of intimidation.

He did not spell out how the organisers would ensure this, as it was open to all.

Many parties and organisations, including the Black Sash and the Five Freedoms Forum, will participate.

Leon said the march was the perfect mechanism for the ordinary man in the street to voice his demand and send a message to political leaders to get on with negotiations immediately, and also to move on towards creating peace.

"All parties must immediately re-enter negotiations and recognise that

BIDA 15/9/92
274
BILLY PADDOCK

only through open-ended discussions will we create a durable constitution," he said. This was the DP's most important demand, he said.

But he took a swipe at the SACP and the security forces in stating the second demand of the "March for Negotiations Now! Peace Now!" action.

He said: "Communist Party-style mass action and oppressive security responses thereto must end. These are jeopardising prospects for a peaceful future."

The march will begin at the Civic Spine's Library Gardens and proceed up Rissik Street to the Civic Theatre, where De Beer and International Pentecostal Church of SA president Frederick Modise will address the expected crowd.

Leon said the DP had called on employers in the CBD to allow their employees time off between 12.30 and 2pm.

Motorists who could not participate were called on to show solidarity by driving with their headlights on during the march.

The DP southern Transvaal executive resolved on Sunday that people should encourage all those who identified with the purpose of the march to wear a blue ribbon or to place one on their vehicles, Leon said.

Mandela on Zambia visit

LUSAKA — ANC president Nelson Mandela held talks yesterday with Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba in hopes of rebuilding an alliance diminished by political change.

"We are looking forward to closer relations with you," Mandela told Chiluba before their meeting in Lusaka. "It doesn't worry us if governments change... we are assured of your support in our struggle," he said.

Under former president Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia was the ANC's staunchest supporter in Africa, serving as the headquarters for its guerrilla leaders and giving sanctuary to thousands of South African exiles.

But after Chiluba came to power in elections last November his government established relations with SA and opened a trade office in Pretoria.

Relations with the ANC cooled as SA goods poured into Zambia's shops and SA government officials were invited to visit the country.

Mandela is scheduled to meet again with Chiluba today. He also will visit ANC exiles yet to return to SA, despite government amnesty pledges — Sapa-AP.



15 0701

6-0805
outline from
(031) 3

inter-
s. m.
te
increas
er
or
compar
the fig
b/b/
of a st
expor
st the
sh rap
ercent
cy ral
the
bank
er dol
y wea
the r
78.
y rec
s of
b/b/
f GI
aid
al
tal
cluc
ling
er
e.
IS:
ga
ea
ty
st
n
A
f

UN monitors expected in violence-racked Natal

DURBAN — Six UN unrest monitors are expected in Natal tomorrow as political violence continues to sweep through townships, with attacks and killings reaching levels last experienced in the mid-1980s.

Sapa reports another eight people were killed in an ambush on a van in Umgababa on Natal's South Coast yesterday, exactly a year after the national peace accord was signed. Weekend violence claimed at least 13 lives in the province.

Regional ANC and Inkatha spokesmen yesterday welcomed the UN monitoring team's presence in Natal.

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said international monitors were needed to curtail "state-sponsored violence".

Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson said the peace accord had not worked in Natal and welcomed "any international involvement that can create a climate of peace".

The monitors will be stationed in Durban, Maritzburg, Empangeni and Port Shepstone.

TIM COHEN reports that an eight-

man OAU delegation arrived in SA yesterday for a three-week visit to discuss what role the organisation could play in restarting negotiations and resolving violence.

The trip was a follow-up to the visit of OAU leaders to SA in May, delegation leader Osmane Camara said yesterday.

The delegation would meet a broad range of political players and hoped to determine what new action it could take to assist the political process in SA, Camara said.

RAY HARTLEY reports that national peace secretariat officials held a two-day briefing session with a group of 16 UN monitors on the situation in SA yesterday.

In other incidents of unrest, two men were killed at the Copesville squatter settlement near Maritzburg. Police believe the killings are related to a people's court hearing in the settlement.

In Johannesburg, a narcotics detective and a police informer were seriously wounded yesterday when they were shot near the Woluter hotel in Sandton.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said the attack "was not in any way political and was purely a criminal matter".

The names of the injured men would be released later.

In Cape Town, damage estimated at R20 000 was caused when a delivery van was set alight in Khayelitsha on Sunday, police said yesterday. The driver escaped.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that two alleged members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe have been arrested in connection with the death of a policeman, Const Marius Blom, in Maritzburg last week.

Col Wilhe van den Bergh, head of the Maritzburg Murder and Robbery Unit, said yesterday the two men had been arrested last Friday.

He said police had taken possession of three guns.

No arrests have yet been made in connection with the murder of Richmond farmer Derrick Speirs, 61, whose badly charred remains were found in his gutted farmhouse last week.

Col van den Bergh said detectives were following up a number of leads.

Accord a failure HRC

RAY HARTLEY

DEATHS in political violence increased by 28,5% to 3 400 since the signing of the national peace accord a year ago, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said yesterday.

"In statistical terms the peace accord is a failure if one measures the levels of violence before and after the signing took place," it said.

Peace accord media liaison officer Mark Manley described the criticisms as "hypothetical".

He said violence would probably have been even greater if the accord had not been signed.

"The general consensus seems to be we are moving back along the continuum towards peace."

He said a HRC suggestion the accord had not been translated into African languages was incorrect, and summaries of the accord were being circulated to make it understandable to the average person.

HRC national director Safuora Sadek said the recent announcement of a special investigative squad attached to the Goldstone Commission and the establishment of a witness

protection programme could improve the efficacy of the accord.

Sadek said weaknesses in the accord include:

- Goldstone Commission recommendations accepted by government but not implemented; and

- A reluctance by the attorney-general to prosecute cases arising from peace accord structures.

The major weakness of the accord, however, is its inability to deal with the covert activities of hit squads and all undercover special forces," the HRC statement said.

National peace committee chairman John Hall said the accord had played a major role in containing violence.

"We are working on a continuum that ranges between absolute peace and total anarchy. The accord is not only preventing the slide toward anarchy but moving the country back towards peace."

Comment: Page 8

One killed, two hurt before march

WILSON ZWANE

ONE person died and two were injured in the East Rand township of Vosloorus early yesterday — hours before residents converged on the local town council offices to demand an end to seizure of rent defaulters' properties.

Vosloorus Civic Association (VCA) spokesman Jabulani Dumani said unknown gunmen in a minibus opened fire on residents preparing to march.

Police spokesman Capt Ida van Zweel confirmed the incident.

The council agreed to cease attaching properties until the two parties met again next week.

Municipal officials, accompanied by policemen, broke into the homes of rent defaulters "and seize whatever takes their fancy," a resident said.

Vosloorus town clerk George Prinsloo said he was not aware people's homes were being broken into. "I would assume that if the lawyers attach people's properties, they do that with a court order," he said.

forward: 1 Court told of negotiations and decisions

Prisoners**go free, or
no summit**

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will not get off the ground this month because the organisation insists on prisoners first being released.

A senior ANC negotiator close to the one-on-one talks between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said this yesterday following the first day's meetings.

"We want to first see our prisoners walk free. Not necessarily all of them but at least some, which we have identified, before we will go to the summit," he said.

He also revealed that the current talks would be broadened into full bilateral meetings.

He added the 2½-hour meeting yesterday was mostly procedural and set the agenda for today's serious negotiation on the ANC's three demands. The meeting would in all likelihood spill over to tomorrow.

March on Mangope is off, but ...

ANC alliance intensifies mass action

B/DAM 15/9/92

274
~~###~~
~~###~~

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance — stung by accusations of recklessness during last week's march on Ciskei — yesterday hit back by announcing an intensified mass action programme.

The mass action will unfold even as preparations get under way to haul constitutional negotiations back on track.

However, a planned march into Bophuthatswana to unseat President Lucas Mangope was yesterday called off during a meeting in Johannesburg of alliance representatives.

ANC campaigns committee chairman Ronnie Kasrils said: "Preparations in Bophuthatswana have not been adequate for any action by this weekend." It is understood the repercussions of the Ciskei incident in which 29 people were killed, and the relative weakness of the ANC in the western Transvaal, played a role in the decision.

But both Cosatu and the SACP gave additional impetus to the mass action campaign yesterday. Cosatu deputy secretary-general, Sam Shilowa, speaking after a weekend Cosatu campaigns conference, said mass action and negotiations were not mutually exclusive. And the SACP said mass action had given the alliance the upper hand over President F.W. de Klerk. Cosatu actions include a regional stayaway in the eastern Cape to coincide

PATRICK BULGER

with the funeral on Friday of the Ciskei victims, a march to the electrified fence on the Mozambique border, a week of marches and other protests from October 11 to demand the release of political prisoners, and an attempt to prevent the sitting of Parliament on October 12 by mounting large-scale occupations and blockades of towns and cities.

Cosatu said marchers should stop delivering memorandums but should demand responses.

Cosatu set November 1 as a target date for it and the ANC to stop paying PAYE to government and November 1 as a target date for employers to stop paying PAYE. In addition, Cosatu announced campaigns against companies responsible for dismissing workers during the August stayaway.

The SACP — defending the actions of its central committee members at Bisho — lashed out at what it called the victimisation of white communists for what had happened at Bisho, and said mass action had strengthened the alliance.

"Everywhere in mass action, throughout the length and breadth of our country, the red flag of our party has been in evidence," a party central committee statement said.

The committee said it had noted a very significant shift in the balance of forces in

□ To Page 2

Mass action

B/DAM 15/9/92

From Page 1

favour of the broad liberation movement. "This shift is due notably to the three months of rolling mass action for peace and democracy throughout our country. The central committee salutes the millions of South Africans who have taken part in the mass action campaigns.

"We call upon them to intensify the struggle for a constituent assembly, an interim government of national unity and for the extension of free political activity to every corner of our country," the statement said.

The SACP reaffirmed its commitment to a negotiated settlement and said it backed the ANC's decision not to meet De Klerk until he had responded satisfactorily to the ANC's demands.

Both Cosatu and the SACP said De Klerk would also have to take concrete steps to end violence before a summit could take place. These were in regard to fencing hostels, banning dangerous weapons, reining in proxy forces and releasing political prisoners.

~~###~~

274

ANC, government still search for crucial summit on violence

ARG 15/9/92 274

Political Staff

THE ANC and government's top negotiators are meeting today to continue efforts to arrange a crucial summit on violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, appearing in a television debate on Sunday, identified three obstacles to be removed before the summit — release of political prisoners, hostels and dangerous weapons.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said last night: "The ANC is addressing concerns constituting obstacles in the way of the summit, in particular the demands made by the national executive committee and concern about

practical movement by the government on these demands."

Mr Meyer said in the debate that these issues could be resolved relatively easily because he and Mr Ramaphosa had come close to agreement on them in earlier discussions.

The ANC demanded the immediate release of remaining prisoners, the fencing off of hostels and the installation of security measures around them and the prohibition of dangerous weapons countrywide.

No date has yet been set for the summit and the discussions on preparations for the violence summit could take all week.

There is concern in ANC circles that the government could renege on public statements that

these obstacles should be removed as part of preparations for the summit.

President De Klerk invited the ANC to a summit on violence last week and the ANC's national working committee accepted, subject to conditions.

President De Klerk said the government would like to put the ANC's mass action campaign on the agenda of the violence summit.

The violence summit has now become the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations which have been suspended since June.

Yesterday's meeting of the ANC and government in Pretoria was attended by several senior negotiators from both sides.

274 ARG 15/9/92

UN head picks envoy for SA

HUGH ROBERTON

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — United Nations Secretary General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has appointed distinguished former UN official Mr Virendra Dayal as his special envoy to South Africa.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has instructed Mr Dayal to pursue the government's request for UN help in strengthening the functioning of the National Peace Accord.

Mr Dayal is a former Under-Secretary General of the UN and he will be assisted during his mission by the director of the Department of Political Affairs, Mr Hisham Omayad.

The seniority of the two men within the UN structure indicates the importance which Mr Boutros-Ghali places on their mission.

They will arrive in South Africa within the next 48 hours and will remain in the country until September 22.

Officially they will hold "follow-up discussions" in connection with the implementation of Security Council Resolution 772 of August 17, but they have been given a wide-ranging mandate with the authority to interpret it as they feel necessary.

They will meet the chairman of the Goldstone Commission,

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, as well as representatives of the government, the ANC and other groups.

Essentially the mission will attempt to reinforce efforts to end political violence and will seek to entrench the UN presence as a neutral monitoring body.

Last week Mr Boutros-Ghali announced the dispatch of 50 UN observers to South Africa, the first 13 of whom arrived at the weekend. The others are due to arrive within the next three weeks and will establish a headquarters in Johannesburg and regional offices in all major centres of the country.

Peace march runs into exam trouble

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Marchers following a bakkie through the city yesterday with the strains of John Lennon's "Give Peace a Chance" blasting from it were surprised to find they were not alone.

The 300-odd DP marchers seeking peace and talks were confronted by about 40 rowdy ANC members protesting the increase of exam fees from R10 to R30.

The march was led by, among others, DP leader Dr. Zach de Beer at its start, but the marchers split soon after.

However it was not for ideological reasons. There was a misunderstanding about the route. (274)

ET 16/9/92. (274)

We need leaders — Boraine

Political Staff

THE carnage taking place in South Africa cried out for political and community leaders who were prepared to condemn violence unambiguously in word and deed, Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

It was well known that the causes of violence were legion and that the socio-

economic situation of the majority of South Africans was a major cause, he wrote in the Idasa journal, *Democracy in Action*.

"Nevertheless, it is clear that more and more lives are being lost in the ideological battle being fought between the ANC and Inkatha."

Dr Boraine said mindless violence was "destroying the fabric of our society".

"The economy limps on with no hope of recovery against the background of instability."

● Women should seize the moment of transition to a rights-based order in SA to establish women's rights, DP MP Ms Dene Smuts said in Durban.

Addressing a forum hosted by Idasa, she said women should be actively involved in the peace process. — Sapa

(148) (274)
CT 161942

IFP demands MK probe

DURBAN. — The IFP has demanded that a special unit be established to investigate the role of the ANC's military wing following the killing of 32 IFP supporters in four recent attacks in KwaZulu.

IFP spokesman Mr Kim Hodgson said an investigation into the alleged training of uMkhonto we-Sizwe cadres in Transkei was also being sought.

Meanwhile, peace talks between the IFP and the ANC at Richmond have been suspended, and police have offered a R20 000 reward for information about those responsible for the massacre of eight people at Umgababa on Monday. — Sapa

Peaceful end to ANC march

274

CT16/9/92

SCHWEIZER-RENEKE. — A memorandum of demands was handed over by a group of ANC-led protesters to police here yesterday, calling for the phasing out of hostels and for an end to alleged bias by the local magistrates' court.

It was a peaceful end to several clashes in the Western Transvaal town earlier in the day as protesters reportedly hurled stones at police and were dispersed with tearsmoke and birdshot.

Twenty-eight people were allegedly injured in one incident and 17 people were arrested.

SAP spokesman Lieutenant Koos Nortje confirmed that, with permission granted by the Conservative Party town council, a delegation of protesters handed over a memorandum to the

Ulundi march on — ANC

DURBAN. — The ANC is pressing ahead with its plans for a march on Ulundi.

In spite of mounting pressure to call off the march for fears of massive bloodshed, Natal ANC leaders were adamant that it was still planning the controversial mass action.

ANC southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said: "We are going ahead with our plan to march on Ulundi. We haven't called it off."

However, southern Natal ANC regional secretary Mr S'bu Ndebele said the final decision would be taken at a

"higher level".

The organisation yesterday called off its march on Bophuthatswana, scheduled for this weekend.

Yesterday, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone responded with surprise to claims that the plans had been put on hold following his intervention, saying he had not yet even discussed the Ulundi march with the ANC.

Mr Goldstone did confirm that he had discussed the ANC's proposed march on Bophuthatswana this weekend with ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

Schweizer-Reneke station commander.

Local African National Congress spokesman Mr Winston Makhate told Sapa that the memorandum was addressed to President F W de Klerk. It called for an end to alleged bias in the local court and for the suspension of police allegedly involved in the kidnapping of local ANC

Recounting earlier incidents in the town yesterday, Lieutenant Nortje said ANC and SA Communist Party protesters had thrown stones at policemen during an illegal march which began at 10.30am. One policeman was hit.

After the marchers refused orders to disperse, he said, teargas and birdshot were fired. — Sapa

March called off ^{27/9/92}

THE proposed march on Saturday by ANC/Cosatu/SACP supporters into Bophuthatswana has been called off, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone confirmed yesterday. *Sowetan 16/9/92*

Justice Goldstone said he had been in contact with the national leadership of the ANC for the past 48 hours.

"In the light of the urgent inquiry by the (Goldstone) commission into the tragic events which occurred at Bisho on September 7 and recommendations which would follow with regard to averting a repetition thereof, I earnestly appealed to the ANC and its alliance partners not to proceed with the march to Bophuthatswana on Saturday. I have now been informed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa that the appeal has been acceded to and that the proposed march will not take place."

FW urged to give undertakings

Mandela calls for help on peace summit

274

81084 16/9/92
PATRICK BULGER
and PETER DELMAR

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night appealed for President F W de Klerk's help in creating conditions to get their peace summit off the ground.

Arriving back in Johannesburg after a short visit to Zambia, Mandela said an undertaking from De Klerk on the release of political prisoners, the fencing of hostels and the banning of the public display of weapons would be sufficient to get the two leaders talking face to face.

Mandela indicated last night that he was facing pressure from within the ANC to maintain a hard line in regard to talks with government.

Mandela said he hoped De Klerk would give the undertakings which would help him to "convince everybody around me to meet the government so that we can try to address the problems facing the country."

"If he makes an undertaking and stipulates the time-frame within which he will implement those undertakings, we will be prepared to consider them," he said.

Although the ANC has postponed its proposed march on Bophuthatwana this weekend, Cosatu has announced an escalation of mass action and the SACP has saluted the role mass action has played in obtaining government agreement on a constituent assembly.

It is believed that Finance Minister Derek Key's concern about the poor state of the country's economy has played a role in prompting the ANC leader to redouble efforts to break the negotiations deadlock. Mandela has also had several meetings with business representatives in recent weeks.

Keys recently gave ANC economic planning department head Trevor Manuel and

others a detailed analysis of the extent to which major economic sectors had declined. Manuel conveyed this information to Mandela, who said it frightened him.

The Keys presentation was made at the recent launch of the Mont Fleur economic scenarios compiled by a widely representative team, including ANC economists, businessmen and academics. The scenario paints a picture of GDP falling by 2% annually by the turn of the century if a generally acceptable government is not installed.

Keys has said it is necessary to cut public sector consumption of GDP from its current 21% to 16% in the next four to five years, and boost private fixed investment to about 22% to produce annual growth of 3% or 4%.

Keys said yesterday he was pleased economic realities were "starting to figure in the decisions of the major players in SA."

Sacob chief economist Ben van Rensburg said the chamber welcomed "the obvious recognition by the ANC and Mr Mandela of the reality that the economy is a very determining factor in whether a political transition will be successful or not."

"We hope that this will result in the calling off of further mass action which would result in further damage to the economy and loss of life," Van Rensburg said.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa last night spelled out further details of the organisers' conditions for a summit between De Klerk and Mandela.

The ANC had identified at least 120 To Page 2

Mandela ~~SP~~ (274)

prisoners who clearly fell within the terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria agreements on indemnity.

They had to be released immediately, and an agreed time-frame established for the rest to be freed, he said.

The ANC had also identified 18 hostels in the PWV they believed were being used to launch attacks on its supporters. Special security arrangements had to be made at these sites. 81084 16/9/92

"We are happy to negotiate and compare our list of hostels, which we have given to the Goldstone commission, with that of government. Once we agree on a final list, we want to see government acting immediately, by starting to fence off the hostels and upgrade security at the entrances to prevent weapons being taken in or out. We also want the hostels checked to ensure no weapons are being stockpiled," he said.

"We also want definite commitments on the blanket banning of the carrying of weapons in public before we can move on to the final phase — the summit on violence," said Valli Moosa.

The ANC was eager to see substantive

44 ~~MOOSA~~ From Page 1

constitutional negotiations on track again as soon as possible, but there was no question of rushing into situations that would not be successful.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has also said thorough preparation for the summit has to be completed to ensure its success.

Valli Moosa said: "We cannot allow the summit to fail which is why we are insisting on these obstacles being resolved first. We are very worried that at the end of the summit neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President de Klerk should say that there was not much progress."

He said this would be a disaster for the country and would intensify the atmosphere of gloom and doom and even lead to greater conflict and tension.

In the past week ANC sources have consistently pointed out that the release of political prisoners is the single most important demand. They stress that when rank and file members see friends and relatives freed from jail and fences erected around hostels they will back a return to negotiations with government.

be stopped ● Businessmen call for an end to violence



Mr Phineas Rakgabale (right) of Mahwelereng won R200 for displaying his Sowetan bumper sticker. Mr Johannes Monama of Tritex filling station in Potgietersrus gave him his prize.

Violence must 'be stopped'

CRITICAL PERIOD Premier boss

warns of effects of political instability:

By Joshua Raboroko

CERTAIN ACTIONS by political parties damaged the economy and would weaken the ability of the corporate world to help small business develop and create jobs for the disadvantaged.

Speaking at the Business and Entrepreneurial Development Conference in Midrand yesterday, the chief executive of the Premier Group, Mr Peter Wrighton, said black economic empowerment could not take place in an atmosphere of violence and political instability.

"We all know that the regeneration of

business cannot take place without peace and political stability. We plead with our leaders to act more like statesmen in this critical period of our history," Wrighton said.

He appealed to the corporate world to help township entrepreneurs.

"Big brother must help small brother grow," he said.

National Sorghum Breweries' Professor Mohale Mahanyele said one of the stumbling blocks to black advancement was lack of finance.

He said big business and the Government should pump money towards black economic empowerment.

Cosatu's appeal to employers

Deadline to taxes nears as protests increase:

By Ike Motsapi

THE CONGRESS of South African Trade Unions has set December 1 as a target date for employers to stop deducting the Pay As You Earn tax from workers' salaries.

Cosatu media officer Mr Neil Coleman yesterday said they expected companies to support the call as part of the ANC-led mass action.

Instead, employers would be asked to pay the tax into a fund for "peace and democracy" to be established soon.

The federation also agreed to step up the mass action campaign.

It would also call for the occupation of government buildings.

How Goldstone Works

STAR 17/9/92

274

HELEN GRANGE explains the workings of the Goldstone Commission network, set up to investigate various aspects of the protracted violence in South Africa.

Goldstone Commission

**Chairman: Mr Justice Richard Goldstone
Advocate Niel Rossouw, Cape Attorney-General
Lillian Bagwa, attorney from the Pretoria Bar
Gert Steyn, retired magistrate**

NEARLY a year has passed since the Goldstone Commission Concerning the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation was set up. Since then, the number of violent incidents has mounted.

The first fruits of the commission emerged earlier this year in the form of guidelines by Mr Justice R Goldstone on ways to prevent continued violence, pertaining especially to mass action and the way police handled conflict.

However, the findings of specific inquiries which continue to be held into bloody township battles and allegations of police complicity have yet to emerge.

The variety of the Goldstone Commission's work and the patchy publicity afforded to its committees' hearings has undoubtedly confused many.

The Star has tried to make the picture clearer. The Goldstone Commission's five permanent members, including chairman Mr Justice Goldstone, have spread their services to several committees of inquiry, each of which is assisted by advocates and attorneys co-opted as the need arises.

There are currently six committees, each concentrating on a separate issue.

● **The Mooi River violence**, focusing on conflict between hostel dwellers from Eresident Steyn mine and ANC-supporting residents. This inquiry is chaired by Professor Van Zyl Smit, dean of the law faculty at the University of Cape Town. The hearing continues later this month.

● **Taxi wars in the western Cape**. This inquiry is chaired by Cape Attorney-General Niel Rossouw, assisted by Professor Smit. The hearing resumes at the end of next month.

● **The role of hostels in violence in the Transvaal**. This inquiry is drawing much interest at the moment because of the huge

Current Inquiries

Mooi River violence
Chairman: Prof Van Zyl Smit, dean of the law faculty at the University of Cape Town. Hearing resumes later this month.

Role of Vaal Triangle police
Chairman: Mr Justice Goldstone. Hearing resumes later this month.

Role of SADF-trained KwaZulu men in Vaal Triangle violence
Chairman: Mr Justice Goldstone. Hearing resumes later this month.

Completed Inquiries

Violence in Tokoza
Chaired by Solly Sitthole, assisted by Lillian Bagwa and Bob Tucker. Report expected soon.

Role of Vaal Triangle police
Chaired by Solly Sitthole, assisted by Lillian Bagwa and Bob Tucker. Report expected soon.

Role of mass action in violence
Chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone, assisted by Prof Van Zyl Smit and Niel Rossouw. Report finalised and results published.

Future Inquiry

Alexandra taxi wars
Chaired by Niel Rossouw. Hearing begins September 30.

Completed Inquiry

Fatal shooting of 12 Inkatha members in Bomeia
Report being drawn up.

Future Investigation

Killing of 29 protesters during march on Bisho
Details still to be announced.

Five special investigative teams - made up of hand-picked policemen - are currently being set up to enhance the Commission's investigative powers.

GRAPHIC: Nicky Taylor

problems facing the Government in converting or upgrading hostels. The issue has proved to be a political hotbed. The inquiry is chaired by advocate Bob Nugent of the Johannesburg Bar, and the hearing

continues. ● **Train violence**, a widely publicised trend in the ongoing townships conflict. This inquiry is chaired by retired magistrate Gert Steyn, assisted by attorneys "Seun" Mashedi and a Mr

Ngoepe. The hearing continues later this month. ● **The Bopalong massacre**, which shocked the nation and the world. The importance of this inquiry is reflected in the members of the committee. It is

chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone and assisted by India's Chief Justice P N Bhagwati, Advocate-General Rossouw and advocate Solly Sitthole of the Pretoria Bar. The hearing resumes next month.

● **Allegations in The Weekly Mail** that 200 KwaZulu men were trained by the SADF in the Caprivi and at Mkuze training camp, relating to violence in the Vaal Triangle townships. This inquiry is chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone, assisted by Mr Steyn, Mr Rossouw and Mr Mashedi. The hearing resumed this week.

Three inquiries have already been completed, and reports are being prepared. They are: ● **An inquiry into the violence at Tokoza on the East Rand**, focusing on conflict between hostel dwellers and residents. A report is expected soon. The inquiry was chaired by Mr Sitthole and assisted by Durban attorney Lillian Bagwa and Johannesburg attorney Bob Tucker. ● **The role of Vaal Triangle police safe-houses in violence**, arising from allegations that they are used as launching pads for attacks. Advocate Rob Wise chaired this inquiry. A final report is being drawn up. ● **The well-publicised special inquiry into ways of preventing violence during mass action**, which saw the setting up of guidelines with the help of an international panel of experts including Professor Peter Waddington. Professor Peter Waddington has been highlighted in the wake of the Ciskei massacre. The events at Bisho last week, where 29 people were killed, is now the subject of another Goldstone Commission probe. It is not clear yet whether there will be a full-scale inquiry.

Investigations, whereby policemen selected by the commission undertake a probe and report back, are to become an important feature of the commission's work, and will enhance its investigative powers. The first of the commission's police investigations took place last week, when a policeman was appointed to look into the killing of 12 Inkatha Youth League members at Bomeia near Port Shepstone. At the time of going to press, five teams of hand-picked policemen, to be guided by international experts and monitored by the United Nations, were being briefed on the work they would be doing. An inquiry is to be held into the taxi war in Alexandra, near Sandton. It will begin at the end of the month. □

'Mass action more harmful than sanctions'

By AUDREY D'AVANGELO
Business Editor

SA has lost more through recent mass action and violence than from several years of international economic sanctions, Raymond Parsons, director general of the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) warned yesterday. And it no longer has "a cushion or margin" that would enable the economy to survive being used as a political battleground.

Urging political and business

leaders to face the facts of "the real SA" before starting to build a new SA, Parsons said action taken now would decide whether this country became a bread basket or a basket case.

Parsons was giving the keynote address at a conference organised by the Investment Analysts Society of Southern Africa in Johannesburg. He warned that there was a risk that the economy would go into a downward spiral if business confidence continued to be undermined.

"A lack of confidence has a potential

longterm dimension because it may be impossible to correct a tarnished image in the future, even when we have all agreed upon a new political dispensation."

Parsons said some ANC members justified mass action and a call for sanctions to be retained by claiming that the economy was already in such a mess that further disruption would make no difference.

"Such an attitude speaks at best of a complete misunderstanding of the resilience of a market economy — how-

ever flawed — and at worst of another agenda.

"Remarks about businessmen seeing 'their' economy crumbling must be interpreted in the same way."

Parsons said one of the reasons the ANC and the Government had been prepared to resume tentative negotiations in the past few days was "an increasing recognition of the growing costs of not talking."

"We must not underestimate the extent to which a strong economy is necessary to underpin political progress."

from Kempton Park travelled
night to escort the arrested
Johannesburg.
at one of the men will appear in
Magistrate's Court today.

CID chief to join Goldstone

JOHANNESBURG.
The head of the SAP de-
tective branch at Wood-
stock, Major A G
Campher, is the fourth
Cape Town man to be ap-
pointed to the Goldstone
Commission. (274)

He joins three lawyers
from well-known city
firms, Mr John van Nie-
kerk, Mr Noel Tunbridge
and Mr Max Hales.

Mr Justice Richard
Goldstone will head five
countrywide units to in-
vestigate and monitor
violence. (274) (274)

Major Campher was a
member of the Peninsula
Murder and Robbery
Squad before his trans-
fer to Woodstock.

The five units com-
prise 26 members —
nine attorneys, two advo-
cates, 12 policemen, and
three SADF members. —
Sapa

FTSE
their

urrency
gained
the de-
ed. The
ed Tues-
3, gained
e day at
d against
es. After
ession at
losed yes-

a victim of
ollar. The
it R2,8273
om a morn-
073 and an
The US cur-
gh the key
estors saw it

is as pound
Page 10

the nation in brief

Sowetan 17/9/92
Peace Accord chart (274)

SOWETAN, in conjunction with BP, will publish a colour chart depicting the National Peace Accord to promote peace in the workplace, home and country.

The chart provides an easily digestible version of the accord in language that can be understood by everyone. It explains in detail which actions violate or abide with the accord, the role the peace-makers should take and how acts of violence or complaints against the police can be lodged.

Sowetan believes that in the face of increasing violence, peace can be achieved by applying the principles and guidelines laid by the Peace Accord.

Employers are advised to order bulk copies of the chart, put it in the workplace or hand out copies to their employees with pay packets. Without peace, companies will be facing a bleak prospect. People are advised to order copies of the peace chart and encourage as many people as possible to read it. Bulk copies are available at *Sowetan*, 61 Commando Road, Industria.

Mr Justice Goldstone to ask them to drop protest plans



Mr Joel Leteki (right) of Mamaila village in Phaphadi displayed the new Sowetan bumper sticker at Mooketsi in the Northern Transvaal and won R200. Mr Thomas Mohlala of Buffelsberg filling station gave him his prize.

Doubts about Ulundi march

Sowetan 17/9/92.

PRECEDENT SET Reasons for discouraging march on Bophutatswana expected to be forwarded following Bisho massacre:

INTERIOR DECORATING COURSES

Become creative and decorate your own home. Classes on Tuesday or Wednesday evenings from 7.30pm to 9.30pm. Close to Louis Botha Avenue.

Tel: 440-9252

R8059

LOCAL leaders of the African National Congress expect Mr Justice Goldstone to ask them to drop plans for their march on Ulundi in Kwazulu.

But plans by the ANC and South African Communist Party to march on Bophuthatswana have been put on hold following the intervention of Mr Justice Goldstone.

Mr Justice Goldstone had appealed to the ANC not to go ahead with their march to Bophuthatswana on Saturday, pending the urgent inquiry by his commission into the Bisho shootings.

Government sources said the proposed Ulundi march would also be stayed for the same reason.

However, a Press report yesterday said that the ANC march to Ulundi was "still on".

Local ANC leaders said the Government had asked the ANC to avoid another major national crisis, as had occurred at the Bisho march.

Planning and preparation for such a

march was done at local level, but the ultimate decision whether to stage it was taken by the ANC's national working committee.

Preparation to mobilise ANC supporters to march on Ulundi had begun, local leaders said, but no date had been set.

They expected Mr Justice Goldstone to intervene at a later stage, as he had done in the Bophuthatswana march.

Local ANC leaders are mindful that to reach Ulundi they will have to bus people 100 kilometres into a territory controlled by the KwaZulu Police.

The ANC believes that IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is on the defensive and would pack the Ulundi area with supporters ahead of the march. ANC leaders are mindful that a massive bloodbath could take place.

However, there is a sentiment in local ANC ranks that a march on Ulundi would have symbolic value. There is, however, a feeling in local ANC circles that a joint ANC-IFP pro-democracy march should be held in Ulundi.

Shop

rd!

'Mass action hurts economy more'

Business Editor

SOUTH AFRICA has lost more through recent mass action and violence than from years of sanctions, says Mr Raymond Parsons of the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob).

He and Minister of Finance, Mr Derek Keys, have "warned" the ANC leadership that the already weakened SA economy could be

destroyed permanently by using it as a political battleground.

Sacob chief economist Dr Ben van Rensburg said yesterday: "Sacob saw Mr Mandela three times in a month to drive the message home that mass action could drive the economy into a black hole from which no government could save it. He said the message got home

that it is frightening foreign investors away and preventing SA business investing to provide more jobs.

The presentations given to Mr Mandela contained no surprises, he said.

"But it probably carried a great deal of weight with the ANC that these facts came from Mr Keys and Mr Parsons who can-

not be suspected of being politically motivated.

The ANC should be most concerned that people whose interests they are fighting for are running deeper into poverty, through lack of investment and the creation of jobs.

"It is a question of life and death for ANC and Cosatu members."

274
CT 7/9/92

5 for peace awards ²¹⁴

One of the largest ministries in the country — the International Pentecostal Church (IPC) led by Reverend Samuel Mosisi — has introduced awards to honour South Africans who contribute most towards peace in the country.

The Love and Peace Award of the Order of The Star of Silo will be presented to five South Africans including ANC

president Nelson Mandela on October 3 on an occasion to mark the IPC's 30th anniversary.

IPC media co-ordinator Peter Matshivha stressed the church had no political affiliations. He said the ANC president was selected for his initiation of the negotiation process and for advocating the spirit of forgiveness among all South Africans.

TEL STAR

ARG 17/9/92
**SA anti-tank
missiles (274)
found in drain**

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Four South African-made anti-tank missiles have been found abandoned in a stormwater drain near Garsfontein by a Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) road worker.

And in two other incidents around the country, police have found a mortar bomb and a cache of magazines and ammunition.

Mr Louis van Heerden from the TPA roads department made his discovery while doing routine repairs to the Welbekend road near Garsfontein. Bomb squads disarmed the devices.

On the East Rand two boys searching for earthworms at the Brakpan sportsgrounds found a cache of ammunition — two R1 magazines, two R5 magazines, one AK-47 magazine and one 20mm shotgun cartridge.

Police in La Lucia, Natal, confiscated an old 16mm mortar bomb used as an ornament in a man's house after it was found the mortar was still live.

KZP: No cards for non-members

PRETORIA. — The commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, General Jack Buchner, agreed before a Goldstone Commission committee yesterday that it would be "highly irregular" for people who were not KZP members to be issued with police appointment cards.

Gen Buchner was giving evidence before a Goldstone committee inquiry into a shooting incident involving IFP and ANC supporters during a funeral procession in Wesselton, near Ermelo, on August 11, 1990.

Asked by counsel for the ANC, Mr David Soggott, SC, if he was aware that about 200 KwaZulu citizens, who had been trained at Caprivi by the SADF, had been issued with police appointment cards even though they were not members of the KZP, Gen Buchner said the documents would be false if holders were not KZP members.

He said SAP members had suggested two KwaZulu policemen were suspects in the shooting because

shells found at the scene allegedly matched their KZP-issue firearms.

Gen Buchner said he later heard of firearms confiscated by the SAP belonged to two of his men, the firearms were handed over to a Capt Langeni, in the security section of the KZP.

Asked what action he took about a firearm of Constable Zweli Dlamini (one of the men allegedly involved in the shootings) being found in Wesselton, Gen Buchner said Brigadier Mathe had not been able to trace Const Dlamini for four months.

He said after four months Const Dlamini was asked to explain and he (Gen Buchner) believed there was an acceptable explanation.

He denied that a former ANC guerilla, presently an IFP organiser, Daluxolo Luthuli, was a member of the KZP.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who chaired the hearing, adjourned the sitting until October 16 for argument.

— Sapa (274) (152)

ANC gets blame for violence

PIETERSBURG. — A main reason for violence in South Africa was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable, South African Institute of Race Relations executive director Mr John Kane-Berman said yesterday.

Speaking to the Pietersburg Chamber of Business, he said the ANC's strategy of a people's war, formulated in the 1980s, focused on the government, but it was also aimed at parts of the black community.

Mr Kane-Berman said the ANC's shift in 1985 from an armed struggle to a people's war unleashed forces which had no command structures to control them. — Sapa

274 CT 18/9/92

ANC strategy blamed for violence

PIETERSBURG — A main reason for violence in South Africa was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable, SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman said yesterday. Speaking to the Pietersburg Chamber of Business, he said the ANC's strategy of a people's war was formulated in the 1980s to focus on the Government. But it was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community. — Sapa.

57002 18/9/92

(274)

FM 18/9/92

(274)

~~(274)~~

The arrival this week of United Nations observers may help to avert a catastrophe. Six are scheduled to be stationed in Natal, but the co-chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, M C Pretorius, believes it might be advisable for all 16 observers to come to Natal when the ANC march takes place (by Monday no date had been set).

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi fears the march will have grave consequences. He says that "the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance have said they want to march on Ulundi to carry out the plans they started in July 1990, when they called for stayaways and strikes to put pressure on President F W de Klerk to dismantle KwaZulu and to disband the KwaZulu Police."

But Buthelezi stresses that KwaZulu cannot be compared to any of the areas where marches have been staged. "There is already a low-intensity civil war between members of the ANC alliance and members of the IFP. So tensions here are higher than anywhere. The language used in Bisho by some of the leading members of the national executive committee of the ANC, such as Chris Hani, who called me a madman and other names, sets the tone of the spirit in which they will be coming here. The consequences of these provocative actions are too ghastly to imagine."

Buthelezi makes it clear that such a demonstration would be resisted, though he declines to comment on exactly how this will be done. "The KwaZulu administration was set up by law and if it is to be dismantled at all, this should be done legally. Marching in order to topple me is not a peaceful demonstration. It is up to the Zulu nation, which is being challenged, to decide how to react to this."

KwaZulu is indeed different from Bophuthatswana or Ciskei because it is officially part of SA, whereas they are recognised by Pretoria as independent, sovereign states. Buthelezi was an enduringly sharp thorn in the side of the previous National Party administration because he refused to accept independence. And, Buthelezi argues, "we were a sovereign kingdom before we were conquered as a nation. This cannot be said of any of the other self-governing territories. We are not independent — and we are, therefore, not what they call a bantustan in any sense."

Buthelezi's arguments have considerable force of logic. They are another illustration that this latest phase of ANC mass action is not aimed at homeland leaders but at those hostile to the ANC. Thus there is no talk of marching against Major General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei, which is just as much a bantustan as Ciskei, while Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope has been singled out

cont - D

MASS ACTION FM 18/9/92

Dangerous fiction (274) (18/9/92)

If worst fears are realised, the killings at Bisho and the forthcoming ANC march on Bophuthatswana could turn out to have been mere curtain-raisers to the kind of showdown that is possible when the ANC alliance marches on Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital.

FM 18/9/92

(274) ~~(18/9/92)~~

for "toppling". The fact that KwaZulu is not independent may be helpful. It means that the SA Police can be deployed, after the necessary consultations between Pretoria and Ulundi. And it seems fair to hope that the SAP would be rather less quick on the trigger than the Ciskei soldiers were at Bisho.

What is clear is that De Klerk must grasp the homeland nettle and accept what the rest of the world and most South Africans have known for years — that sovereign independence for the "national states" has always been a dangerous absurdity. ■

FM 18/9/92

(274)

~~(101)~~

The arrival this week of United Nations observers may help to avert a catastrophe. Six are scheduled to be stationed in Natal, but the co-chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, M C Pretorius, believes it might be advisable for all 16 observers to come to Natal when the ANC march takes place (by Monday no date had been set).

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi fears the march will have grave consequences. He says that "the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance have said they want to march on Ulundi to carry out the plans they started in July 1990, when they called for stayaways and strikes to put pressure on President F W de Klerk to dismantle KwaZulu and to disband the KwaZulu Police."

But Buthelezi stresses that KwaZulu cannot be compared to any of the areas where marches have been staged. "There is already a low-intensity civil war between members of the ANC alliance and members of the IFP. So tensions here are higher than anywhere. The language used in Bisho by some of the leading members of the national executive committee of the ANC, such as Chris Hanu, who called me a madman and other names, sets the tone of the spirit in which they will be coming here. The consequences of these provocative actions are too ghastly to imagine"

Buthelezi makes it clear that such a demonstration would be resisted, though he declines to comment on exactly how this will be done. "The KwaZulu administration was set up by law and if it is to be dismantled at all, this should be done legally. Marching in order to topple me is not a peaceful demonstration. It is up to the Zulu nation, which is being challenged, to decide how to react to this."

KwaZulu is indeed different from Bophuthatswana or Ciskei because it is officially part of SA, whereas they are recognised by Pretoria as independent, sovereign states. Buthelezi was an enduringly sharp thorn in the side of the previous National Party administration because he refused to accept independence. And, Buthelezi argues, "we were a sovereign kingdom before we were conquered as a nation. This cannot be said of any of the other self-governing territories. We are not independent — and we are, therefore, not what they call a bantustan in any sense."

Buthelezi's arguments have considerable force of logic. They are another illustration that this latest phase of ANC mass action is not aimed at homeland leaders but at those hostile to the ANC. Thus there is no talk of marching against Major General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei, which is just as much a bantustan as Ciskei, while Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope has been singled out

cont — D

MASS ACTION FM 18/9/92

Dangerous fiction (274) (101)

If worst fears are realised, the killings at Bisho and the forthcoming ANC march on Bophuthatswana could turn out to have been mere curtain-raisers to the kind of showdown that is possible when the ANC alliance marches on Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital

FM 18/9/92

(274) (101)

for "toppling".

The fact that KwaZulu is not independent may be helpful. It means that the SA Police can be deployed, after the necessary consultations between Pretoria and Ulundi. And it seems fair to hope that the SAP would be rather less quick on the trigger than the Ciskei soldiers were at Bisho.

What is clear is that De Klerk must grasp the homeland nettle and accept what the rest of the world and most South Africans have known for years — that sovereign independence for the "national states" has always been a dangerous absurdity. ■

FW raises hopes for peace summit

ANC 18/9/92

274

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk today raised fresh hopes of an early meeting between him and Nelson Mandela.

He also launched a scathing attack on political leaders and groupings — including the ANC, the far right, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party — for “condoning or encouraging political violence”.

Addressing the National party's Transvaal Congress at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg, Mr De Klerk said he had had “a penetrating discussion” with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday.

In spite of the Codesa deadlock, negotiations were continuing with friendly parties, he said.

The State President said there were “signs of a turn-about” in negotiations with the ANC about a summit on violence, the key to a return to formal constitutional talks.

The government and the ANC are very close to agreement on the three ANC conditions for the summit — the release of political prisoners, a ban on the carrying of danger-

ous weapons and greater security at hostels — according to sources close to the negotiations.

High-level delegations of the ANC and government met yesterday and another meeting is expected today, at which a date could be set for the summit. It could be as early as next week.

Mr De Klerk told the National Party congress today that the party and the government could not be blamed for the political violence racking the country and had “done what was needed” to end it.

He said the blame for the violence should be placed on “important political leaders who condone it or encourage it — either directly or indirectly”.

These included the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, the PAC, the extreme rightwing “and even Inkatha”, who assaulted, intimidated and murdered political opponents.

Violence was also invited through demonstrations and mass action as well as inflammatory rhetoric.

Reproaches directed at the NP by Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer were pompous and unjustified.

By blaming the government and the ANC for the violence, Dr de Beer was whitewashing the ANC's disruptive behaviour.

Violence would come to an end only when all the leaders of all important political groupings rejected it “with conviction, also within their own ranks”.

● Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday that legislation was being drawn up to clip the wings of the homelands, including the possible absorption of their defence forces.

The four “independent” TBVC homelands could become merely non-independent self-governing territories, he said, or certain of their powers — such as defence — could be surrendered to South Africa.

He denied reports that the government intended to appoint blacks in the cabinet under the present dispensation.

This was not the intention of proposed legislation allowing non-MPs to serve on the cabinet, Mr Meyer said.

The purpose was to legalise the position of Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys — who is not an MP — without holding a by-election.

Emissary's mettle will be tested

Star 18/9/92

274

Some consider new UN envoy Virendra Dayal more a bureaucrat than a diplomat, reports MIKE LITTLEJOHN from New York.

VIRENDRA Dayal, the special envoy of UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali now on a mission to South Africa, made his name as the consummate "bureaucrat's bureaucrat".

With 17 years' experience in the Indian Administrative Service, known for its punctiliousness, he was ideally equipped for eventual high office in the UN secretariat and ascended to the rank of undersecretary-general.

Hitherto, negotiation has not been among his more conspicuous skills — in part, perhaps, because he has worked mainly as an oiler of the wheels in New York rather than as a field operator.

His discussions in coming days with senior South African officials and others involved in the National Peace Accord will test his mettle.

Those who know him well are confident that he will rise to the occasion. Still, he has big shoes to fill in succeeding former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in the South Africa assignment.

Mr Dayal served for more than nine years as Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's chief-of-staff, the pinnacle of a UN career stretching back to 1965. Replaced after Mr Boutros-Ghali's accession, he accepted a handsome tax-free lump sum and a generous pension and was expected to



Virendra Dayal . . . conjecture about his ability to fill Cyrus Vance's shoes.

retire to New Delhi, where the Indian government had bestowed its highest civilian honour and awarded him a sizeable cash prize.

However, the new secretary-general evidently thinks so well of him that Mr Dayal has remained in New York

ready to respond to his bidding — as he did in helping to draft "An Agenda for Peace".

This is an important series of recommendations to the membership mandated by the first-ever summit meeting of the Security Council, held in January.

Still, the South Africa mission breaks new ground for an official generally known for his extreme caution.

He has not always been so discreet. When the important post of UN High Commissioner for Refugees fell vacant, Mr Perez de Cuellar nominated his chief-of-staff to fill it — in part, apparently, to retain the relatively young Mr Dayal in UN service after a new leader came in.

Mr Dayal is only 57 and the normal pensionable age is 60, although staff may retire at 55.

Incidentally, Mr Dayal had seen previous service with the refugee agency as head of its New York office before joining the UN special political affairs department.

But the US and Britain, among others, questioned whether he had the clout to raise the large sums needed by the agency or the expertise to supervise its worldwide operations, and Mr Perez de Cuellar somewhat testily withdrew the nomination.

Uncharacteristically, Mr Dayal called in a group of reporters to complain angrily that his rejection was racially motivated and that if he were a western European, there would have been no problem.

In fact, the job went eventually to a Japanese woman, Sadako Ogata who has handled the difficult post with extraordinary skill.

Educated in Delhi and at Oxford, Mr Dayal has the accent and manners of the Indian upper class. A workaholic by nature — one who maintained a grinding schedule as chief-of-staff — he suffered a mild heart attack some years ago, but appears to have fully recovered his stamina. □

Can SA look forward to some after-mass-action satisfaction?

Star 19/1/92

214

UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

SHAUN
JOHNSON



THE week has ended optimistically, just like it began. That's quite something to be able to say about South Africa in these times, and it is well worth repeating: A *whole week* in which hope outweighed dread. It is an indication of how low we had sunk that we are, correctly, feeling buoyant simply because the politicians are putting out signals of reason and responsibility. They've not acted upon them yet, of course, but the national psyche is being soothed.

There is now a chance that the De Klerk-Mandela summit on violence could take place within a matter of days. If it does not, we should all insist on knowing why not. Things are now somehow different in the aftermath of Bisho, that shame might be encouraging us to demand higher standards from those who presume to speak in our names.

But Bisho has created one unrealistic expectation among those outside the ANC, and it should be clarified before it leads to inevitable disappointment and another fit of depression. The fateful march did not mark the end of mass action, despite the calling off of the Mmabatho protest.

The ANC was fiercely attacked, and quite rightly so, for going beyond the bounds of peaceful demonstration and entering the realms of outright insurrection in Ciskei. The comparisons with the students of Tiananmen Square or the crowds which toppled the Romanian regime simply do not apply: neither group had entered into an agreed process of negotiations with its enemies, as the ANC has done.

In his interview with The Star this week Nelson Mandela indicated that this message had penetrated. We should expect him to make sure that the fatal line is never crossed again; the ANC has now seen in close-up the consequences of such recklessness, and it knows that tin-pot tyrants will react with deadly fusillades. But this does not, and cannot, mean that the democratic right to peaceful protest has now

IF the De Klerk-Mandela summit on violence does not take place within a matter of days, we should all insist on knowing why not.

been surrendered. It is a pity that protest is still a part of our lives, but that is because we are still far from being a democratic society, and those who haven't full democratic rights think that's a greater pity. Therefore they will insist on using the only means available to them, in the absence of the vote, to apply pressure on recalcitrants who refuse to allow free political activity.

Those of us who have no need to resort to demonstrations now would be foolish indeed to withdraw that right from others — it would justify similarly illiberal attitudes in some future society where power-balances had shifted. The establishment of free political activity in every area of the country is a *sine qua non* for democracy. There can be no free and fair elections if political "no-go" areas such as Brigadier Gqozo's Ciskei continue to exist.

From the ANC's point of view, this means that when someone like Chief Buthelezi threatens "civil war" if his opponents so much as dare to protest in his fiefdom, that is total confirmation of the need to protest. As a matter of principle, the ANC must have the right to orga-

nise its supporters in a peaceful, orderly and non-provocative demonstration anywhere it likes, and against whoever it likes.

But in exercising this right, the ANC assumes some important obligations as well. First and foremost, it has a solemn, principled duty to extend such freedom, in daily practice, to everyone else. This means that a peaceful march on ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, by whoever feels like it, is acceptable. It means that if the IFP or National Party want to set up a branch in Transkei, or Sebokeng, or wherever, the ANC must make sure that its members do not interfere with their opponents' rights.

I have said that the nature of protest must be carefully controlled: if you go to someone's stronghold with the stated purpose of "overthrowing" him, you have perverted the principle. The ANC has to draw the line and stay behind it.

There are other obligations, dictated by the peculiarities of our situation in this country rather than overarching principle. Mandela has accepted that the economy is in a parlous state, and has undertaken to protect it, as far as possible from further damage. This view must impact on all decisions regarding mass action: organisers must at every turn ask themselves whether it is absolutely necessary, and how the desired ends can be achieved while causing the least damage to the economy, and avoiding potential outbreaks of violence.

All negotiating avenues must of course be utilised before taking to the streets.

Mandela said this week that all mass action could fall away when agreement is achieved on interim government. That is a bright prospect. He also criticised De Klerk for having agreed at Codesa to ensure political freedom throughout South Africa, and not delivering. This is manifestly true. We cannot expect a sudden end to mass action until these obstacles have been overcome, and we must look to a political summit, soon, to do precisely that.

City lawyers on task force

Staff Reporter

THREE senior attorneys from well-known Cape Town legal firms have been appointed to serve on a local task force to monitor and investigate violence under the Goldstone Commission.

(274) CT 19/9/92
They are Mr John van Niekerk of Silberbauers, Mr Noel Tunbridge of Findlay and Tait, and

Mr Max Hales of Syfret Godlonton-Fuller Moore.

A local policeman is also expected to be appointed to Cape Town's task force on Wednesday.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on Saturday announced the establishment of a high-powered team of 26 advocates, attorneys, policemen and SADF members to head five special investigation units answerable to his commis-

sion, reports Sapa from Johannesburg.

If the ANC and its allies went ahead with plans to march on Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu in the coming weeks, the teams would "obviously" be available, Judge Goldstone said. But he hoped the mere existence of the teams would "assist in changing the conduct of people".

Peace rap for ANC

STWes 2019/92

IN its first finding against political organisations, the National Peace Committee has ruled that the ANC breached five sections of the Peace Accord.

The SACP contravened a single clause, section 2.4, by using language that could incite violence or hatred.

The findings, issued on Friday, stemmed from two complaints — from the government and the IFP. The first to mock trials held in Maritzburg on June 26 and the second to a newspaper article published on April 18 which quoted ANC Midlands regional chairman Harry Gwala.

The NPA adjudication panel ordered the ANC and SACP to remedy or distance themselves from the actions in Maritzburg by September 30. Mr Gwala

would have to take similar measures.

Neither the ANC nor the SACP attended Friday's hearing.

At the Maritzburg mock trials 11 Inkatha leaders — including Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — were "sentenced to death".

Video

The SA flag was ripped from a flagpole and burned, a coffin was burned and posters were displayed by the SACP that the committee found contained "language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred".

The adjudication panel was composed of Law Society nominees Anne Stern, Christo Stockenström and Johan Gresse.

A police video of the mock trials and an account by a British jour-

nalist of an interview with the ANC's Natal Midlands leader, Harry Gwala, were submitted as evidence. A letter Mr Gwala wrote to the adjudication panel as an explanation for the "trial" was also found to violate the spirit of the Peace Accord.

In his letter, Mr Gwala said Inkatha was lucky because only its leadership was being killed, whereas all ANC people were under attack. "We kill the warlords when they attack us, but we don't go out of our way to attack them," he said.

"I've always said we should defend ourselves from attack, we will not hesitate to kill those who come to attack us. Defence of our people and property is not inflammatory."

The mock trials led to Inkatha suspending its participation in local dis-

pute resolution committees, particularly in the Midlands — such as Mooi River — which have been hit by violence.

Inkatha held that the Peace Accord was meaningless if its opposites in dispute resolution committees could hold public gatherings where they "sentenced them to death".

After the hearing IFP leaders returned to Natal

and announced they would rejoin local dispute resolution committees.

The panel held that the ANC contravened the preamble of the Peace Accord which condemned violence and called for ways to create peace. It also contravened section 2.2 by failing to encourage compliance by its followers to principles of democracy and political tolerance and 2.1 which called for re-

spect for the activities of other political parties and organisations.

It contravened section 2.3 which dealt with threats, intimidation and hindering the rights of others to support opposing political groups.

The ANC also contravened section 2.5 by failing to notify public authorities of its decision to hold the gathering and taking into account local sentiment.

World intervention welcomed

By MOSES MAMAILA

INTERNATIONAL bodies which spearheaded the campaign to isolate SA are now flocking to the country at the request of the government and opposition groups.

The United Nations has sent a high-powered delegation to SA to monitor the political situation and ongoing violence.

UN special envoy to the country, Virendra Dayal, arrived at Jan Smuts airport on Wednesday to promote resolution 772 which contains Cyrus

Vance's recommendations on SA.

Dayal would liaise with the 18 UN observers currently in the country. The observers, who jetted in at the weekend, have been allocated to the country's 11 regions, according to National Peace Secretariat official Anton Venter.

Venter said more UN representatives were expected soon but he could not give a date.

He said there were also representatives from the Organisation of African Unity currently in the country.

CIPREN 20/9/92
The Commonwealth has also sent a delegation of three to observe the situation.

On Thursday, World Council of Churches president Emilio Castro also arrived and is expected to pay homage to the victims of the Bisho massacre.

Mediate

The apparent intervention of international bodies follows repeated calls by various political organisations that they should mediate between the contesting forces.

While most of these organisations appear to be observing, they're being prompted to actively participate in the resolution of the country's political problems.

Reacting to the presence of the international bodies, Azapo secretary general Don Nkademeng said his organisation regarded this as the first step towards full international involvement in the resolution of the conflict, of which violence was only a part.

"The sooner political organisations realise that

they cannot be mediators in their own dispute, the better for the country," said Nkademeng.

The PAC and ANC have also gone on record calling for international participation in the transformation period to democracy.

Although initially the government was opposed to international participation, saying it was not necessary, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has requested the UN to help get the peace and negotiations process back on track.

ANC probes claims of breach of Accord

■ **Government, IFP file complaints:** (274)

Sowetan 21/9/92
THE ANC will today study the conclusions of the National Peace Committee which say it has allegedly breached five sections of the Peace Accord.

The findings were the result of two complaints made by the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party.

"There is no immediate response, as the findings, which were made available to us only on Saturday, need to be investigated first," ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said.

Choice between negotiations and turmoil, UK warns

STAN 21/9/92 (274)

Chaos was the alternative to negotiations on nonracial democracy, and the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres were a taste of what awaited the country unless talks resumed, Britain told South Africa on Saturday.

"Time is running out," Britain's Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker said in a speech prepared for delivery in Durban to the British-South Africa Conference, a forum designed to encourage bilateral ties.

She said she was encouraged at recent signs that leading political players were turning back to negotiations, and urged all parties to show the flexibility needed to resume talks before it was too late.

The killings at Boipatong, Ciskei and elsewhere had persuaded some that there was an alternative to talks, she said.

"If the talks are not resumed, we will have seen in Boipatong and Ciskei a foretaste of the fate that awaits the whole of South Africa."

Mrs Chalker said bitterness over apartheid had undoubtedly played a part, but it was irresponsible to blame the violence simply on legacies of the past.

The Government had to maintain law and order impartially, and be seen to do so, she said.

She added that police units throughout the country, including the homelands, must be properly controlled.

Commenting on the Ciskei massacre, Mrs Chalker said: "Whatever the provocation, the response at Bisho was out of all proportion to the threat posed by the demonstrators."

South Africans, Mrs Chalker said, had to tackle the issues of carrying dangerous weapons

and the security of migrant-worker hostels, said by the ANC to be launching pads for violence.

These issues, and the release of political prisoners, are ANC conditions for the proposed summit on violence.

Mrs Chalker's party made her speech available to reporters in Durban in advance of her speaking on Saturday.

Hours before she spoke, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Commonwealth peace monitors visiting KwaZulu: "There are no prospects of establishing a sound transitional government in the climate created by the upward spiralling of violence we see around us."

He said the ANC, by retaining its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, made political violence seem respectable to black people. — Sapa-Reuter.

While leaders talk, people die

Star 21/9/92

274

274

THE Boipatong massacre left 40 people dead and shocked South Africa, even though the country had become numbed by endemic violence. Memorial services were held, strong commitments were made, international assistance was sought, in order to start negotiations afresh and in the hope that this would end the violence.

Despite all the pious commitment, the strong declarations, the new initiatives, South Africa continues to bleed. Now another slaughter has taken place, this time in Ciskei.

Since Boipatong, almost 1 000 people have died and at least 1 200 have been injured. Most victims of violence are women and children.

The figures are chilling: 58 people died and 54 were injured in the PWV, Natal and the Western Cape between August 26 and September 1 alone. We are supposed to be encouraged when we read that the weekly death toll in the PWV area has dropped from an average of 54 from March to July to 25 in mid-August. In Natal, the weekly death rate has risen from 23 on average from March to July to 45 in mid-August.

Against this background, what are the political leaders in Natal saying? Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi is on record that "the ANC must be buggered up", and when Dr Mdialose is challenged on television, he concedes that the statement was made but that it really meant that the ANC must be "buggered up" peacefully!

Harry Gwala, a prominent ANC leader in Natal, is given a standing ovation by a large number of students at the University of Cape Town when he declares that "violence is not taking place in Natal.

What is happening is a liberation war".

In addition to that, he warns that the ANC may be forced to return to the "armed struggle".

Elsewhere, despite the fact that the PAC in recent weeks has been meeting with the Government to seek common ground for negotiation, their spokesmen continue to emphasise that "the armed struggle" is part of the strategy to end apartheid.

As preparations were made for the march on Ciskei despite the volatile climate which exists there, ANC leaders were quoted as saying, "we are prepared to die in the attempt to secure freedom for our people".

The question is, was the death count in Ciskei on September 7 really necessary? Is this the price the people must pay for freedom? Meanwhile, despite all the prot-

estations by the Minister of Law and Order, the overwhelming perception of blacks who are subject to violence almost every day of their lives, is that some elements in the police and security forces are playing a sinister role in the continuing violence. It hardly inspires confidence when deaths in custody continue at an ever-increasing rate.

What is being done to stop the violence? The National Peace Accord under the indefatigable leadership of John Hall continues to hold meetings, to discuss strategies, to strengthen their forces. And whilst they deliberate, people are dying. Monitoring agencies seek co-ordination, more teeth and whilst they monitor, people continue to die.

On the negotiation front, South Africans are told that it is impossible to restart formal negotia-

tions because the Government and the ANC cannot agree on the release of political prisoners and the ending of the violence! So while they talk about ending the violence and about the release of political prisoners, people die.

Is it asking too much from the Government and the ANC to appoint an independent arbitrator to resolve a matter such as the release of political prisoners which has been on the agenda for years?

Is it well known that the causes of violence are legion and that the socio-economic situation of the majority of South Africans is a major cause.

Nevertheless, it is clear that more and more lives are being lost in the ideological battle being fought between the ANC and Inkatha.

The carnage taking place cries out for political and community

leaders who are prepared to condemn violence in word and deed. Must South Africa bleed to death for the want of political statesmen and women who can lead the country away from confrontations to the new possibilities of genuine negotiations and above all, peace. There is no certainty that any initiative is going to end the violence. All we can hope is for initiatives and men and women who will mount these initiatives so that violence is at least curtailed and controlled. Must we fold our arms and count our dead whilst we wait for negotiations to resume so that elections can be held and an interim government put in place? □ Alex Boraine is Executive Director of Idasa. This article appears in the current edition of "Democracy in Action"

STAN 2119/92

ANC considers NPC findings

Political Reporter 274

The ANC will today be studying findings by the National Peace Committee (NPC) that it breached the Peace Accord.

The Government complained about the ANC's mock trials in Maritzburg on June 26 and Inkatha objected to comments on the trial by ANC regional chairman Harry Gwala.

The NPC ordered the ANC and SACP to distance themselves from the actions in Maritzburg by September 30.

The mock trial sentenced 11 Inkatha leaders to death.

Pages 6-12. [unclear] Board Chairman Pieter Coetzee said last week the [unclear] assets.

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, September 21 1992

ANC 'to study' rulings on peace accord breaches

THE findings by a national peace accord committee that ANC mock trials in Maritzburg and statements by Natal leader Harry Gwala breached the accord, would be studied, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday. *Blom 2/9/92*

The findings, issued on Friday, said the ANC had breached five sections of the accord. The findings were the result of two complaints, made by the IFP and government. *(274)*

Niehaus said there was "no immediate response as the findings, made available to us only on Saturday, need

to be investigated first". The ANC would react this week.

An accord adjudication panel has ordered the ANC and SACP to remedy the situation or distance themselves from the actions of their members. During the Maritzburg mock trials, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and 10 other Inkatha leaders were "sentenced to death" and a coffin was burned.

The committee found that these actions, and posters displayed by the SACP, contained "language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred". Statements made by Gwala in

a newspaper interview, and the letter he sent to the committee to explain these statements, violated the spirit of the accord, the committee found.

In his letter, it is believed Gwala said the ANC would not hesitate to kill those who attacked them.

The ANC had contravened the preamble of the accord, failed to encourage compliance by its followers to the principles of democracy and political tolerance, and contravened a section dealing with intimidation. The ANC had also contravened another section about failing to notify public authorities of its decision.



CITY LODGE | TOWN LODGE

City Lodge Hotels Limited

(Registration number 86/02864/06)
(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)
("City Lodge" or "the Company")

Proposed listing on The Johannesburg Stock Exchange

Introduction

Finansbank Limited is authorised to announce that the directors of City Lodge have resolved formally to apply for the listing of City Lodge on The Johannesburg Stock Exchange ("the JSE"). Since City Lodge is not in need of additional equity capital, the listing will be implemented by way of offers for sale of ordinary shares and unsecured compulsorily convertible subordinated debentures ("debentures") to selected institutions, employees and business associates.

Information on City Lodge

The City Lodge group operates high quality economy hotels targeted mainly at the business community at room tariffs below those of full service hotels. The group was founded in 1985 by Mr Hans Enderle ("Enderle") in partnership with Mine Officials Pension Fund and Mine Employees Pension Fund (jointly Mines Pension Funds ("MPF")). The group today owns and operates seven City Lodges and one Town Lodge strategically located in all the major metropolitan areas. A further three hotels, City Lodge, Morningside (Sandton), City Lodge, Victoria & Alfred Waterfront (Cape Town) and Town Lodge, Sea Point (Johannesburg), are

F
P
W
P
P
W
i
f
i
k
P
o
v
e
i
w
S
f
i
t
d
a
s

MK attackers 'target Inkatha people'

JOHANNESBURG — Inkatha members and supporters were the targets of attacks by the ANC military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), an IFP statement said yesterday.

The MK issue was being

discussed by the ANC and the government but the government was not the focus of MK attacks.

Issued here by IFP youth leader and Transvaal organiser Mr Themba Khoza, the statement said the MK issue was just one matter Inkatha

274 CT 22/9/92
believed had to be resolved.

Regarding weapons, it said traditional weapons, "not pangas, knives and domestic axes", accounted for less than two percent of killings, "whereas the ANC's AK-47s were responsible for about 60%". — Sapa

35 killed in latest unrest

STAR 22/9/92 (274) (105)

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

At least 35 people have been killed in violence which has continued to rack South Africa and Ciskei since Friday, police have confirmed.

An 18-year-old youth was killed in Ciskei on Sunday, Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) chief Brigadier Marius Oelshig said yesterday.

The youth died of his injuries after being assaulted by a mob in Mdantsane.

He was the seventh person to be killed in the homeland since Friday's funeral for marchers killed by CDF troops in Bisho on September 7.

At Dimbaza, Ciskei police fired at suspects tampering with an electrical distribution box, Brigadier Oelshig said.

One suspect was wounded and two others were detained.

Brigadier Oelshig said seven arson attacks had been directed at CDF or Ciskei police members.

Damage estimated at well over R2-million has been

caused in Ciskei since Friday in arson attacks targeting homeland government property.

Two attacks on the homes of ANC members in Dimbaza were also reported on Monday, with no easing of tensions in the area within sight.

● Police reported 19 people killed in separate attacks in Natal at the weekend and yesterday.

In the latest attack, a man and two women were shot dead by gunmen posing as policemen near Inanda, north of Durban, yesterday morning.

KwaZulu police told Sapa that 14 people, including a policeman, had been killed since Saturday.

● In separate attacks yesterday, two Golden Arrow bus drivers were shot dead and a third driver and four passengers injured in Khayelitsha and Nyanga near Cape Town.

Another man was burnt to death when his shack in the White City, Soweto, squatter camp was set alight on Saturday.

● Six people, including a baby, were killed in separate attacks across the Reef at the weekend.

Selective quotations damage Jeffery's credibility

STIM 22/9/92.

CONSIDERABLE publicity has been given to Dr Anthea Jeffery's report, "Spotlight on disinformation about violence in South Africa", in which she accuses three human rights organisations of depicting political conflict in a selective and misleading manner.

Dr Jeffery's attack on reports by Amnesty, the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission, was published by the South African Institute of Race Relations. It has been endorsed by the institute's director, John Kane-Berman.

She concludes that the reports of these groups on political violence are, at best, "one-sided and simplistic" and, at worst, "amount to disinformation — deliberate attempts to mislead".

We suggest Dr Jeffery is guilty of the same sins for which she criticises others. But, more importantly, her venture is largely irrelevant and unhelpful in addressing the current problems of violence.

Her main gripe is that they all three organisations allegedly ignore certain strategies of the ANC, such as fostering "ungovernability" through mass action, refusing to disband its armed wing

and refusing to cease establishing of self-defence units.

She also argues that the methodology adopted by the organisations evinces a disregard for the "rules of evidence and the safeguards of due legal process".

It is important that reports of influential organisations be subjected to scrutiny. Had Dr Jeffery's efforts been limited to this, they would have had some value.

But other criticisms are trivial and speculative. In addition, she proceeds from the erroneous premise that the legal rules of evidence must govern reports of this nature. The suggestion is ludicrous. International monitoring bodies do not purport to be legal commissions of inquiry. To expect them to operate as such would render their work impossible.

Dr Jeffery herself pays scant regard to the rules of evidence that she suggests are so important. Her criticisms are often unverified, based upon hearsay and sometimes erroneous speculation. In courts of law, only relevant evidence is admissible and strict tests are laid down for the drawing of inferences. Here Dr Jeffery fails miserably.

First, the question of relevance.

In her report the question of what is causing the violence is subversive to proving a conspiracy among three independent bodies. Accordingly, methodological precision gives way to inferential inexactitude. Space constraints permit only two examples.

In dealing with the HRC's report on the Crossroads massacre, Dr Jeffery writes: "The HRC... attributes the Crossroads massacre — in which 23 sleeping members of the IFP (including a woman and two children) were killed by Xhosa-speaking men, allegedly from an ANC squatter camp — to 'vigilante related action'. It defines such action as attacks by (or in defence against) surrogate forces of the State, in the form of 'vigilante' private armies formed by homeland administrations or black local authorities. Deaths thus laid at the door of the State are said by the HRC to include the deaths of these 23 IFP supporters."

The least Dr Jeffery could have done was to quote the exact passage from the relevant HRC report. It reads: "The victims were caught unawares by the attackers

who were armed with guns, petrol bombs, pangas and spears and some of the victims died in their burning homes. The area was for- cefully taken over by Inkatha sup- porters in August 1990 and has re- mained an Inkatha stronghold since then. Among those killed were a woman and two children.

Witnesses reported that the at- tackers came from the direction of the Holomisa Camp. The ANC disputed this, reporting that the attackers had got off a train near Crossroads at 10 pm and launched the attack at 10 45 pm."

This is a far more factual ac- count than Dr Jeffery would have the reader believe by her selective quotes from different sections of the HRC report.

In dealing with intimidation, Dr Jeffery writes: "Opinion surveys confirm the high percentage of black people in metropolitan areas who have been coerced into participating in consumer boy- cotts, stayaways and rent boy- cotts. These surveys also show a strong correlation between coer- cion and political affiliation. Thus, those who support the IFP or the Azanian Peoples Organisation have been subject to intimidation

far more often than supporters of the ANC and its allies."

When Dr Jeffery's references are examined, the surveys to which she repeatedly refers turn out to be one study conducted by the Institute of Race Relations! On the basis of these "surveys", she makes the following "scientific" claim. "If these survey findings from the representative sample canvassed are extrapolated to the total metropolitan population, it can be assumed that some 1,75 million metropolitan blacks experienced coercion or intimidation in the context of mass action during 1990/1."

In the context of this tenden- tious reasoning the question re- mains: What is the relevance of the exercise? Is it simply to count- er what John Kane-Berman has claimed is a worldwide smear campaign against IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi?

This perception is fortified by a second aspect of Dr Jeffery's en- terprise: her scarcely disguised attempts to fit her criticism into a conspiracy of disinformation Here she would do well to study the rules of inferential reasoning Some of her arguments are

remniscent of the evidence given by "total onslaught" theorists in the heyday of the security trials. For example, she claims "reports which are seen to be one-sided can easily fan the flames of violence". This was the kind of justification used by the P W Botha regime to ban a range of publications and organisations in the 1980s. Is Dr Jeffery suggesting town- ship residents are so influenced by the Amnesty report that, armed with a copy in their back pockets, they proceeded to engage in the acts of violence which characterise contemporary South Africa? It seems extraordinary that so much energy can be used to legit- imate a particular political posi- tion rather than helping to throw light on the causes of violence. When it comes to apportioning blame it is unhelpful to quibble about inaccurate reports of vio- lence. Surely the greatest respon- sibility must be borne by the Gov- ernment whose policies Mr Kane- Berman concedes are at the root of the violence? Surely, too, the resources of the SAIRR are better utilised in formulating construc- tive suggestions to curb abuses of power by the State? □

SLOW-moving, reluctant bureaucrats could be the single biggest factor limiting progress towards ending political violence.

While the President and his Ministers acted promptly in accepting the recommendations made by institutions like the Goldstone commission, the same cannot be said for those charged with implementing them.

Government bureaucracy moves slowly enough on its own. The process of consulting the bureaucracies of other organisations has created a treacle-like procedure that often obscures the tragic reality of daily unrest deaths.

The issue of continuing violent attacks on commuters is a case in point. Goldstone commission recommendations, which went so far as to comment on changes to the physical structure of train coach doors and windows, were accepted by government.

But since that gesture a month ago more than 30 people have died on trains and very little has been done, even at a superficial level, to improve security at some of the stations where violence has occurred.

Bureaucrats frustrate good intentions

8/10/91 22/9/92

A visit to Johannesburg station the day after a commuter had been shot dead on a train in the vicinity bore this out. Not only were the two policemen at the station lounging in the sun outside the building, but private security guards were nowhere near boarding trains. There were no searches, no metal detectors and no guards.

The problem does not lie with the intentions of SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC) managers, who are obviously sincere in their concern about passenger safety. But instead of direct, immediate action, they are bound by the slowness of their own bureaucracy and a series of snail-pace consultations with police, the ANC and its allies.

The last two meetings between the parties to discuss train violence illustrate the point well. The first meeting was postponed after police could not say how many officers

RAY HARTLEY

were deployed to protect commuters or how they were deployed.

The second meeting made no decisions, but reached agreement on a further meeting in three weeks time to discuss guidelines for train security. Parties did not have enough time to discuss guidelines for train security developed by the SARCC. And the police finally produced their statistics — including the amazing figure of five arrests for 195 train killings.

It is no longer trite to wonder how many commuters will be shot, hacked and bludgeoned to death because meetings had to be postponed.

Another case in point is the implementation of the Goldstone commission's recommendations on securing hostels which have become flash-

points for violence in surrounding communities.

Last week a detective was shot by inhabitants of the Wolhuter hostel in Jeppe Street. A few weeks ago residents of Kwamadala hostel — from which the Boipatong massacre was launched — fired on policemen arresting a rapist.

A spokesman for Iscor, which owns and runs Kwamadala, later admitted that residents were not searched for arms when entering the premises, despite the fact that a massive steel fence had been erected around the hostel for "security". Police said they did not have the personnel to conduct the searches, which were Iscor's responsibility anyway.

Somewhere between the laudable decisions of leadership and the inertia on the ground there lies a series of procedures that blunts and ultimately buries good intentions. If effective action is to be taken, these

short-circuited.

Interminable meetings need to be transformed into action-orientated task groups with the financial backing of government, so they can focus their energies on problems and pursue them with urgency.

Judge Richard Goldstone set an example for this when he announced his new investigative unit. The unit will be unencumbered by the procedures, traditions and rigmarole of police structures. Instead they will be focused on the priority of establishing the causes of violence and will report directly to Goldstone.

Goldstone's accelerated inquiry into the Bisho massacre, which will now be completed in October, is another example of the kind of prioritising that is required.

But the Goldstone commission, however streamlined and responsive it becomes, is nothing if the legislative and executive arms of government and the processes of consultation they are involved in cannot match its urgency and decisiveness. Goldstone's bark must be matched by government's bite.

REVIEW

SA urged to hold election

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — It was imperative to hold elections in South Africa as soon as possible to gauge the support of various political parties.

Speaking at an ecumenical breakfast here yesterday, visiting British human rights lawyer and violence monitor for the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) Mr John Macdonald, QC, said he accepted that President F W de Klerk's government is concerned about ending violence in South Africa.

Mr Macdonald, who headed an ICJ delegation to South Africa last year and earlier this year, said he accepted there may be a third force operating in the country. But he doubted whether it was "an organised body taking directives from the top".

'Change-around'

Previously, said Mr Macdonald, members of the ICJ group were uncertain whether the government was really concerned about ending violence.

Apart from the Boipatong and Bisho massacres, he was encouraged by the appointment of the Goldstone investigation unit and the acceptance of outside observers to monitor violence.

He described the presence of outside observers, especially those from the UN, as a "very, very significant change-around" of previous government thinking.

ET 22/9/92

(274)

Kriel rejects ANC criticism of probe

B/DAM 22/9/92
PRETORIA — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday accused the ANC of "selective morality" for insisting that SAP members who had committed crimes should be brought to trial but not ANC members.

In a hard-hitting speech to the Johannesburg Press Club, Kriel set out to justify the SAP focus on crimes allegedly committed by senior ANC and SACP members.

Kriel said he agreed that SAP members who allegedly committed crimes should be investigated thoroughly. "But when ANC members are investigated to determine their involvement in the murder of women and children, then this is perceived as standing in the way of negotiations.

"In other words, prosecute policemen for murder, but don't touch ANC members — especially not national executive committee members."

The crimes were committed during the same war, so why the distinction, he asked. Why were some people regarded as untouchable and others

as prosecutable?

The SAP was accused of not being impartial, but when it investigated political crimes across the political spectrum, something other than impartiality was expected of it.

Police could not grant indemnity to any member but were expected to grant unofficial amnesty to members of certain political organisations.

He denied ANC charges that the SAP was involved in a strategy to obtain amnesty for members of the security forces by investigating crimes allegedly committed by senior ANC members to force a trade-off.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the investigation of senior ANC members appeared to have gained new momentum only because people who had information about crimes committed some time ago were back in the country.

TIM COHEN

● Comment: Page 14

and
A
that
R
day
ahe
A
fir
end
D
only
denc
mar
ity
T
Bank
A
the
just
J
Schap
con
tro
Th
think
avail
gene
in ci
long
appo

RY ENT

d
e
s
e
e
n
l
y
d
y
r

Court to rule on conscription

~~STEPHANE BOPHMA~~

A FULL bench of the Pretoria Supreme Court will be asked tomorrow to decide on the validity of conscription of national servicemen in terms of the Defence Act.

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) has filed legal action against the Defence Minister and the chief of SADF, attacking the legality of the Act.

Counsel for the ECC will argue that the repeal of the Population Registration Act — to which the Defence Act refers for its definition of "whites" — has rendered the whites-only call-up legally invalid. *B/DAM*

If the ECC application is successful, all call-ups issued since the repeal of the Population Registration Act will be invalid, and there will be no legal basis for conscripts to continue military service. *22/9/92*

"Even if the application is unsuccessful, it will focus attention once again on the anomaly of a racially selective military call-up, at a time when racist legislation has largely been phased out," ECC Johannesburg chairman Chris de Villiers said yesterday.

Government wanted a citizen force mass mobilisation option, he said.

Su
Bott
com
and
peric
Al
elec
revo
abho
been
most
histo
Ar
viou
prec
stres
ques
A
and
bring
settle
and
Kh
belie
ful m
Kwa
Con
spoke
PI
OK
BR
E

Sowetan 22/9/92
'An act of protest'

THE ANC's proposed march on Ulundi was not a declaration of war but rather an act of protest against the lack of political freedom in KwaZulu, ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr. Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

He was responding to statements made by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the TV programme *Agenda* on Sunday night.

"This march is to highlight the point that political tolerance is unavailable in KwaZulu. It's not a declaration of war," Radebe said.

Ulundi was not "sacrosanct", he said, adding that people had the right to protest against the denial of civil rights.

Violence claims 19 lives since Monday

CF 23/9/92
274

JOHANNESBURG. — Nineteen people were killed in unrest-related violence countrywide since Monday, bringing to 44 the number killed in political or other turmoil since Friday.

The worst-hit province was the Transvaal, with 10 deaths.

In the most recent attack, a passenger was reported killed and 15 others injured after a handgrenade was thrown into a bus near Heidelberg.

Six people, including a six-month-old baby, were killed and five were wounded when gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles opened fire on a minibus travelling on the Eastern Transvaal Springs/Secunda road on Monday, a Witwatersrand police spokesman said.

Police suspected the attack was part of the continuing Springs taxi war and was not politically motivated.

In a second attack on a taxi on Monday, a woman was killed and four men were wounded when a gunman armed with an AK-47 rifle shot at a minibus in Orlando, Soweto.

Also in the Transvaal police found the burnt body of a man in Alexandra and the body of a man who had been stabbed in Sebokeng.

In Natal six people were killed in two separate shooting incidents, one near Umlazi and the other near Inanda.

Meanwhile fears of violence on Sunday's Shaka Day in KwaMashu township, north of Durban, are mounting. — Sapa

Summit on violence in the balance as govt, ANC battle to strike deal

THE planned summit on violence between President F. W. de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela hung in the balance late yesterday as government and ANC teams battled to reach agreement on conditions for the meeting.

An announcement on whether the summit will go ahead will probably be made later today and the weekend has been suggested as the best time for it to be held.

While Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and their respective teams were locked in hard bargaining,

BILLY PABDOCK

He said that any further delays or deaths would result in more deaths and destruction.

Mandela reiterated that government locks would result in more deaths and destruction. He said that any further delays or deaths would result in more deaths and destruction.

He said that by late yesterday there was still no clarity on the resolution of the issues of releasing political prisoners, securing hostels and controlling weapons carried in public.

While the release of prisoners remained the major obstacle, a government source said other problems had arisen with regard to the hostels and weapons.

national executive committee, the ANC national working committee would have to decide on the issue today.

Should the summit get the go-ahead today, the weekend is regarded as the most likely time for it as De Klerk and Meyer are essential participants at the NP Natal congress tomorrow and on Friday.

Failing a conclusive agreement within the mandate given to Ramaphosa by the

An ANC source close to the principals earlier yesterday that it appeared further problems had cropped up during discussion of the three primary issues.

Mandela increased the pressure by saying government was "dragging its feet" after speaking at ANC headquarters, he expressed optimism at progress so far but warned that if Meyer and Ramaphosa did not strike the deal by last night, it was not likely the organisation would discuss the issue with government again before Mandela left for a two week trip abroad next Wednesday.

Mandela said yesterday's talks were "decisive and crucial... but I am sorry the government is dragging its feet."

R W Johnson tells of a lesson that must be learnt, and quickly, by all our politicians

Bisho the start of new era in massacre-politics

SM 23/1/92

(274)

IN one sense the tragedy at Bisho was just one more laughter of the innocents of the world which has punctuated South Africa's recent history; but it signified more, too. For we have our own ghastly politics of massacre — and Bisho signals that those politics have changed. In the highly ritualised style of our polity his change is a portentous event, or the confrontation between white and black has been powered along for a generation now by the magery and impact of massacre.

Even today, 32 years on, the power of Sharpeville is not spent. The shootings at Sharpeville and Mangoch resulted in the banning of the ANC and PAC, the UN arms embargo against South Africa, the first real moves towards economic sanctions and the adoption of the armed struggle by both the PAC and ANC. South African politicians gawped as the lesson sank in that less than a minute's undisciplined shooting had accelerated the entire political process by many years and given it an enormous push towards confrontation. The country was, however,

Allister Sparks is away this week. His column will appear as usual next Wednesday.

by Umkhonto we Sizwe towards terrorism on the other. Again, a massacre had accelerated history by years, had reinforced the confrontationist mode and had greatly weakened the white regime.

Both sides took stock. Even so limited and pig-headed a politician as P W Botha grasped the fact that Soweto had to be the last white-on-black massacre and, indeed, that massacres in general were a poor idea. If you made intelligent use of states of emergency plus police/army power you could actually get along quite well without massacres.

The imagery of massacre — by definition the ultimate expression of victimhood — appealed hugely to a liberation movement already fixated on its own victim status. It learnt the peculiar dialectic of ex-

ploring one's weakness as a form of strength. You could rage on about MK's heroic role from the platform but this was purely a matter of rhetoric and provocation. In practice it was better to avoid arms for it was vital to stay weak, to retain the "unarmed civilian" status which would be so vital in the media reports if shooting began. The penalties for the regime of a public massacre were so great that provided (foreign) TV cameras were present you could push boldness beyond limits, facing the regime with unacceptable choices whatever it did. This strategy worked over and over again in the 1980s — but at Bisho it failed. "We never thought," the organisers said, "that they would open fire with the international media there."

For the politics of massacre have changed. There have, since February 2 1990, been over 50 massacres (that is, in which 10 or more people died), too many for us even to remember the place names — who remembers the massacres at Eyraton or Dobsonville, Nancefield or Daveyton?

South Africa is now a country which can quite easily produce a massacre a week, even a massacre a day, if that's what's required — the dry tinder is all around. (Contemporaneously with Bisho, hit squads in southern Natal have been killing fearsome

Secondly, the true rarity now is for whites to kill blacks. Massacres are now quite uniformly black events — and the power struggle between contending black groups is fought with a ruthlessness which has rendered the old political symbolism obsolete.

The continuous attempt to find a white hand behind the township violence is in part a desperate effort to recapture the symbolic simplicity of the old-style massacres. Similarly, in the wake of Bisho there have been attempts to focus attention on white officers seconded to Oupa Gqozo's army, to suggest, as at Boipatong, that F W de Klerk somehow personally pulled the trigger; and even to discover, belatedly, that the whole massacre was a pre-planned white plot.

But the most hopeful sign was that domestically and internationally both sides at Bisho attracted roughly equal blame. That is, massacres no longer operate to anyone's particular political advantage — now they are just tragedies, pure and simple. This lesson needs to be learnt by politicians of every stripe. We have already seen, at Soweto, the awful price the country paid for politicians being slow learners; the price this time could be far, far higher. □

numbers of IFP members and officials.) The real political art now lies not in risking massacre by playing either the victim or the generalissimo, but in using all one's skills to prevent the massacres which will come unbid.

But the most hopeful sign was that domestically and internationally both sides at Bisho attracted roughly equal blame. That is, massacres no longer operate to anyone's particular political advantage — now they are just tragedies, pure and simple. This lesson needs to be learnt by politicians of every stripe. We have already seen, at Soweto, the awful price the country paid for politicians being slow learners; the price this time could be far, far higher. □

© R W Johnson is a Rhodes Scholar and don at Magdalene College, Oxford, and a commentator on South African affairs for *The Times of London*, *The Independent*, and *New Statesman*. He is on sabbatical at Natal University, Durban.

Jakkie Cilliers discusses how the world can help SA solve its security problems

Violence must be key issue

STAGE 23/6/92

274

~~274~~

In terms of the settlement process, recent months have witnessed a considerable improvement in South Africa's chances for a durable settlement.

For months there has been an over-emphasis on the need for a political pact, without adequate recognition of the requirement for pacts on how to deal with the violence (a security pact) and the economy.

Without a wide-ranging accord on how to get the economy going and how to deal with the violence, any political agreement becomes untenable. In both these instances there has been some movement.

While the success of the National Peace Accord structures is questionable, it, and the Goldstone Commission, have managed to act as catalysts for the start of struc-

tural and attitudinal reform in the SA Police. The Goldstone Commission has also come to be accepted as a neutral arbiter.

The central problems that we have to address are firstly the crisis of trust and legitimacy in our security forces and secondly, particularly with regard to the police, an equal crisis in professionalism.

The security forces have to deal with unprecedented levels of criminal and political violence, mass action and protest, all of which place severe strain on organisations burdened with particular history, internal policies and often inappropriate doctrines and organisation. It bears little repetition that both the SADF and the SA Police need to be reoriented and, to some degree, restructured. The crisis of trust developed

over many years. Structurally it is the corollary of a policy which attempted to target the largest section of the population as hostile to the "national" interests.

The lack of trust and legitimacy is greatly aided by the campaign of vilification, intimidation and murder that has been launched against these forces. We are reaping the fruits of strategies that were adopted in the mid-'80s to make the country ungovernable.

The Government has tried to remove the SADF from any involvement in the settlement process, arguing that these forces are essentially professional and apolitical and that any changes in them should, for the time being at least, occur unilaterally.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance fear that these actions hide the re-

tention of apolitically loyal military as an instrument for repression of the last resort, should negotiations break down or come to an unacceptable conclusion. The alliance supports a campaign to undermine, weaken and disrupt the security forces, publicly and in more clandestine manners. In this atmosphere, effective policing becomes virtually impossible.

The first requirement is to reach agreement between the major negotiating parties that the scourge of violence is potentially so disruptive that it requires a common approach — that the issue of law and order and containing the violence should be removed from the political struggle for power. Such removal implies that policy control of both the SADF and the SA Police be tem-

porarily vested in a neutral body such as either the National Peace Accord structures or the Goldstone Commission, pending multi-party policy control by an interim government. Such agreement should also call for active involvement of select foreign countries in assisting in the transformation of our security forces. We need training teams attached to our police and military colleges. We need access to and vacancies on military and police colleges in the West. We need serving police and military officers and academic experts to come to South Africa, to involve themselves not only in finding out "who is guilty" but what to do to improve our capacity to deal with these matters.

The crucial requirement for any increase in involvement is neu-

trality, which, in South Africa, has come to be equated with a multi-party approach or request. These are essentially three vehicles for such requests for foreign assistance, namely directly from the various parties, through a forum such as Codesa once negotiations resume, or through either the National Peace Accord structures or the Goldstone Commission. Given the present state of negotiations and the track record of the National Peace Accord structures, that leaves us with the Goldstone Commission to act in this role, assisted by various international experts and monitors. □

● Dr Cilliers is co-director of the Institute for Defence Politics. This is an edited version of a talk delivered at the British South African Conference at the weekend.

Summit on Saturday if Magoo's bomber is freed

McBride key to talks

STA2
23/9/92
By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

(274)

The release of Magoo's bomber Robert McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres has emerged as the key to the calling of the all-important meeting on violence between President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

It is understood that the Government is ready to release about 80 ANC political prisoners and has dropped its previous insistence on linking this to a general amnesty — which would include security force offenders.

But at talks with the ANC this week, it dug in its heels about releasing McBride and two other ANC cadres — Mzoncdeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncubi — convicted of several counts of murder in connection with a Messina landmine explosion and the subsequent shooting of policemen.

ANC sources said they were insisting that the three should also be freed and believed that they had been excluded because their victims were white. Others convicted of similar offences involving black victims had already been freed.

The violence summit is most likely to take place on Saturday if this last remaining obstacle can be removed. It is understood that agreement in principle has been reached on the two other obstacles — hostel security and dangerous weapons.

Sources close to Government-ANC talks to set up the violence summit said Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were meeting late into last night to try to secure agreement by today — effectively the deadline if the violence summit is to take place before Mr Mandela goes abroad on Tuesday for two weeks.

They said agreement could either be reached late last night or could be held over until today to be finalised by the Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee.

But they said it was also possible that the talks could be suspended for a while and that the summit could then take place after Mr Mandela's return from Pakistan and China.

ANC sources said this would not be a problem to them.

In meetings with diplomats yesterday, Mr Mandela was reported to have expressed pessimism about the likelihood of an agreement being reached in time for the meeting on violence to take place before he left.

And he told journalists after meeting foreign ambassadors that if no agreement was reached on the three outstanding issues yesterday, the violence summit would not take place.

Mr Mandela said he was "sorry the Government is dragging its feet" in this week's negotiations.

But sources close to the talks said they believed progress had been made since Mr Mandela's pessimistic remarks and that the summit could still take place this week.

Mr Mandela said earlier yesterday that the summit had to take place soon because the country could not afford further delay.

Every day the deadlock continued meant more deaths and greater destruction of the economy, he said.

the nation in brief

Tariff hikes

THE Atteridgeville Council is facing a deficit of more than R33,3 million for this financial year and the Pretoria City Council, which administers the township, is set to approve tariff increases.

The Pretoria City Council was due to meet last night to debate the proposed increases.

Last week it announced it would increase rates in Atteridgeville to reduce the shortfall and prevent the total collapse of services in the township. *Sowetan 23/9/92*

"It is proposed that tariffs be increased from the R103,30 flat rate to R220 a household a month," the deputy chairman of the management committee of the Pretoria Council said. He said the R33,3 million accumulated deficit did not even give the full picture of arrears.

Summit is on

THE much talked about summit on peace between Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk will be held this weekend. *(274)*

This became clear yesterday but both Government and ANC officials refused to confirm this before top level meetings today to ratify the decision. *Sowetan 23/9/92*

The ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) and the Cabinet assembled early today for their respective Wednesday meetings where agreements reached between their top negotiators are expected to be ratified.

The meeting would have to take place before next Wednesday when Mandela is scheduled to leave on a two-week visit to Asia.

No motive murders

A Mamelodi, Pretoria, businessman was gunned down at his home this week while relaxing in his

lounge.

Mr Peter Mopeloa of Mamelodi Gardens, owner of a hair salon in Mamelodi West, died instantly after being hit by five bullets from a 9mm pistol.

Police said the motive for the attack was unknown and nothing was taken from the house. No arrests have been made.

In Soshanguve the body of a 25-year-old woman was found at Wallmansthal Secondary School by a pupil. She had two head-wounds but police believe she was throttled.

HIV on the increase

A total of 157 people have died of Aids at Engwelezane Hospital near Empangeni in northern Natal this year. *Sowetan 23/9/92*

The hospital's medical superintendent, Dr Peter Haselau, yesterday expressed concern at the number of patients who tested HIV positive and confirmed 423 patients were being treated at the institution.

He said about 60 percent of the women and 40 percent of the men who had visited the hospital this year had been infected with the killer disease. *(S)*

Foreign observers

A five-person ecumenical eminent persons group arrived in South Africa yesterday to observe the country's difficult transition period to a democracy. *(S)*

They are the first church-based organisation to visit South Africa in this capacity. *Sowetan 23/9/92*

Earlier observers were from international organisations such as the OAU and the UN.

Meanwhile, a group of OAU observers arrives in Cape Town today. The PAC announced yesterday that the group would meet its regional leadership and that of the ANC. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

Sat

ARI

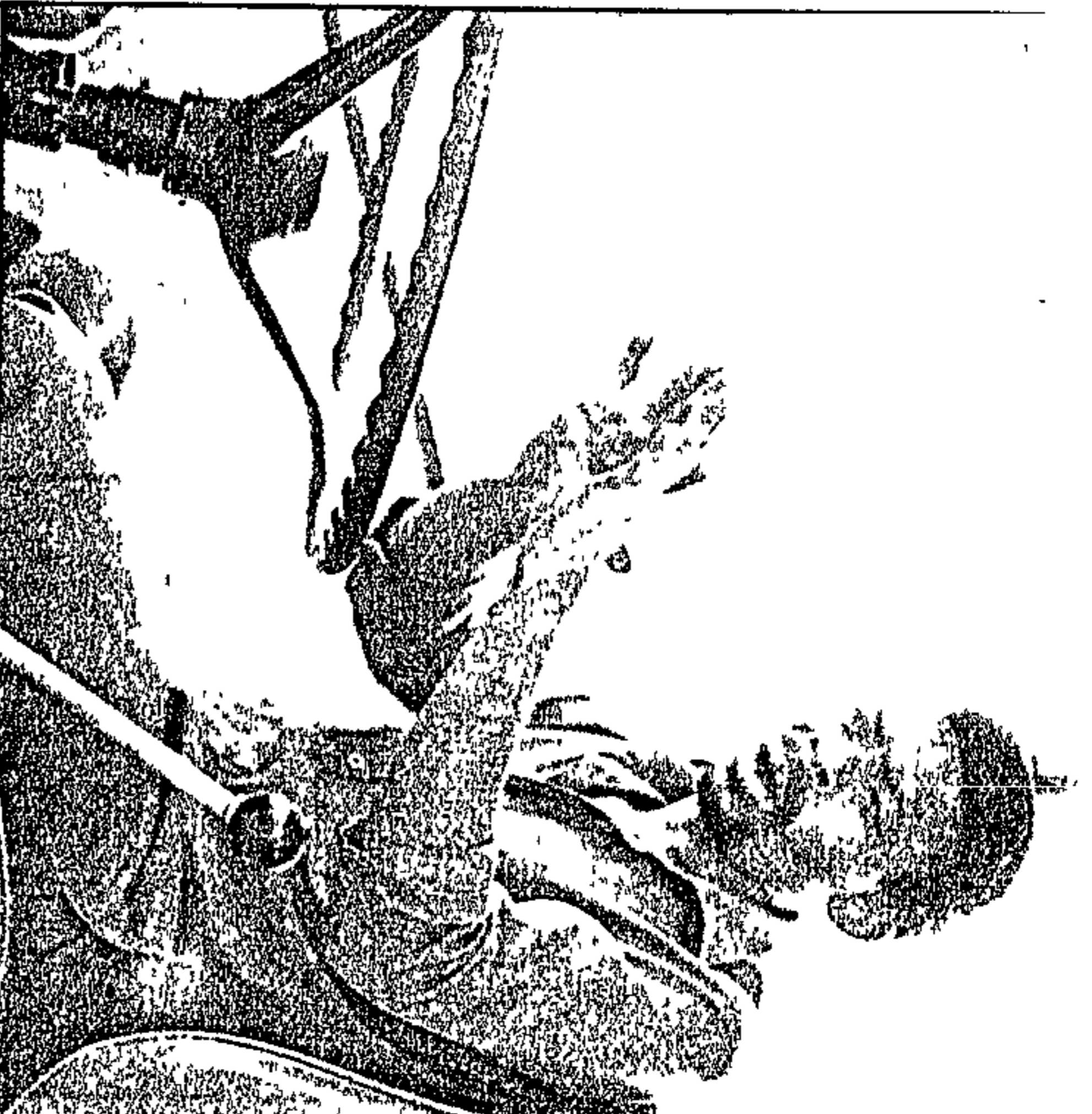
sun

Career





Lucky to be alive .. A survivor of yesterday's bus ambush, Mr David Mslza, having a meal at Heidelberg's AG Visser Hospital where he and other bomb victims received treatment.



Bus driver Mr. Andries Shabalala tells of his narrow escape in the grenade attack on the bus in Rathanda, Heidelberg. One person was killed and 15 injured. PICS. SELLO MOTSEPE



Gunmen Kill 13

RANDOM ATTACKS Armed men cause havoc

as they attack taxis and buses across the country:

- FOUR women and a 6-month-old baby were among 13 people killed and 30 injured when gunmen attacked buses and taxis on the East Rand and in Cape Town and Natal on Monday and yesterday
- In Heidelberg one person was killed and about 15 injured;
- Six people, including a 6-month-old baby, were killed and five seriously injured on the Springs-Secunda highway,
- Three people were killed and a woman injured when a taxi was ambushed in Natal;
- A woman was killed and four men wounded when a gunman shot at a minibus in Orlando, Soweto.
- Two bus drivers were killed in separate shooting incidents in Khayelisha

See story page

2

*274
26/11/92
Mintjans*

Another 40 die in violence and taxi feuds

Blom 23/9/92
PRETORIA— Eighteen people have been killed in politically motivated violence countrywide since Monday, bringing to 40 the number of people killed since Friday. The most recent attack was in Natal early yesterday, when three men were killed and a woman was injured when gunmen opened fire on taxi commuters in Umlazi near Durban.

Earlier, in the Transvaal, a passenger was reported killed and 15 injured when a hand grenade was thrown into a bus near Heidelberg.

THEO RAWANA reports eight people were killed on the Reef in the past three days in taxi violence.

Gunmen armed with AK-47s killed five

people in Springs on Monday in the latest incident in a long-running feud which has claimed 52 Springs Taxi Association members' lives since July last year. A baby died yesterday from wounds sustained in the attack.

And three men, also armed with AK-47 rifles and travelling in a car with a Durban registration, opened fire on a taxi at Baragwanath taxi rank on Monday, killing one person and injuring three.

A Soweto Taxi Association source said yesterday the attack at Bara-City Taxi Rank could be related to a feud that began at Durban railway station.

Springs Taxi Association secretary

To Page 2

Violence

Blom 23/9/92
Simon Mokotong claimed his organisation had lost 52 members at the hands of the Sina Muva, a Piet Retief-based long-distance taxi organisation that sought to crowd them out of the market.

"The men demanded that we should stop ferrying our passengers outside Springs, while they had easy access to both local and long-distance routes. If we wanted to enjoy this privilege, we should join them, they insisted."

The latest flare-up, which began with the killing of Springs Taxi Association treasurer Solomon Mabena last Thursday, came as the two organisations were planning to make peace and form one organisation.

In another attack on a taxi on Monday, a woman was killed and four men were wounded when a gunman with an AK-47

rifle shot at a minibus in Orlando, Soweto, yesterday's official unrest report said.

In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, police found the burnt body of a man. In the same area, a man was seriously wounded when gunmen opened fire on him.

The body of a man who had been shot was found by police in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng.

Two Golden Arrow bus drivers were killed in separate shooting incidents in Khayelitsha near Cape Town on Monday.

In the same area, a man died when his shack was burnt to the ground.

In Natal on Monday, at Umzinyathi squatter camp, near Inanda, three people were killed when gunmen fired into a shack. Two men, who reportedly posed as policemen, were arrested. — Sapa.

From Page 1

Wednesday September 23 1992 SOWETAN

SOLO ES recn'lece' v'gabeneW WATEIWOE

NEWS Bisho plan hatched in Pretoria, says Hani

Violence part of a political plan

274

Sowetan 23/9/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ **BLOODY CARNAGE** State using

US methods to 'wipe out ANC':

THE SACP has produced an interesting argument to substantiate the tripartite alliance's allegation that the Government was busy with a low-intensity war against the ANC and its allies.

By way of example, based on American military strategies, the SACP explains that the bloody carnage in the country was a direct result of "a strategic use of violence for political ends" by the Government.

Reflecting on the Bisho massacre, the SACP secretary general Mr Chris Hani says it is becoming increasingly clear the slaughter was not an accident.

"The triggers were pulled in Bisho but the plan was hatched in Pretoria.

"Why did the heavy SAP escort that accompanied us from King William's Town suddenly melt away minutes before the massacre, only to return after the firing had stopped.

He points out that the Government did not once voice critical opposition to the actions of the CDF.

"From about August 1990, until

some time this year, De Klerk was successfully projected, at home and abroad, as the man of peace, the negotiator, while the ANC (and Inkatha Freedom Party) were seen by many as culprits in a spiralling and mindless 'inter-ethnic', 'black on black' war.

"If it was 'inter-ethnic' violence, then what were the original killing fields in Natal in which thousands of Zulu-speakers murdered other Zulu speakers?

"If it was just political rivalry, then who was behind the train massacres? These are random killings in which party affiliation or ethnic background are absolutely irrelevant.

"And who was benefiting from the violence, strategically? Certainly not the ANC-led alliance," the SACP secretary-general says.

Sketching recurring patterns in the violence, Hani explained that the violence ostensibly came in two forms - "general mass destabilising violence (such as) train massacres (and) attacks on vigils (which are) designed

to disrupt and terrorise, and the more professional surgical assassinations of key second and third-layer leadership in the township".

"The brand of violence that we have been seeing in our country is known in US military parlance as 'low-intensity war'... it involves the extensive deployment of proxy rather than US (or in our case SADF) forces.

"Its objective is political victory. It aims to destabilise and then impose a political settlement on a war-weary people.

But violence has permeated South African society and is not inherently political. More than 11 000 people died violently in South Africa, he says, and more than 8 000 were not politically related.

"We have the highest known per capita rate in the world for other violent crimes as well, notably rape.

"These are the symptoms of a radically sick society. This is the legacy of apartheid and decades more of segregation," Hani says.

13 die in bus, taxi ambushes

■ **INFANT DEATH** *Sowetan 23/9/92* Six-month-old baby and four

women among the dead:

(274)

By Tsale Makam

FOUR women and an infant were among 13 people killed and 30 injured when gunmen attacked buses and taxis in the East Rand, Cape Town and Natal this week.

The latest attack was in Heidelberg early yesterday morning in which one person was killed and about 15 injured after a grenade was lobbed at a bus.

The victims were rushed to the AG Visser Hospital. They all reported seeing two men who hurled "something" at the bus.

Also in the Transvaal, six people, including a

six-month-old baby, were killed on the Springs-Secunda highway on Monday night and five seriously injured in an AK-47 attack. It is suspected to be part of the ongoing taxi feud between long and short distance taxi associations in Springs, according to police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman.

Another taxi was ambushed in Natal early yesterday when unidentified men wielding AK-47 rifles opened fire and killed three men and injured one woman.

In another attack on a taxi on Monday, a woman was killed and four men wounded when a gunman, armed with an AK-47 rifle shot at a minibus in Orlando, Soweto.

Sowetan 23/9/92

Civil war warning

THE Inkatha Freedom Party predicted unprecedented levels of violence and possibly a civil war if the ANC's proposed march to Ulundi takes place. (27) (14)

In a press statement issued in Johannesburg on Monday the IFP condemned the ANC's decision to close down hostels and its referring to traditional weapons as a propaganda issue.

The Inkatha Freedom Party called for the disbanding of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, and the Transkei government, claiming that they play a major role in the political violence in the black community. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

EC calls for peace accord to cover homelands

The Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has called for South Africa's National Peace Accord to be extended to cover the home-

lands after the Bisho massacre. Speaking for the European Community in an address to the UN General Assembly, he also appealed to the South African government to exercise

firm control over security forces throughout the nation.

Mr Hurd reaffirmed the EC's support for South Africa's peaceful transition to a democratic, united society.

(274)
APR 13/1992

More monitors on the way

Political Staff (274) ARG 24/9/92
AN advance mission of five eminent people, led by New Zealander Sir Paul Reeves, is due to arrive in Cape Town tomorrow night.

It is part of an international ecumenical monitoring mission and will work with other monitors already in South Africa.

The group, which arrived in the country this week, is due to visit Khayelitsha and to have talks with the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, independent monitors and civic organisations.

Other members include Bishop Malvin Tolbert, Ms Christine Davis and Mr Jorgan Estrup.

Night shelter plan for Guguletu

Staff Reporter

A NIGHT shelter for destitute people in Guguletu is to be established soon, said Haven night shelter spokesman Ms Moira Mouton.

Land for the erection of the shelter had already been identified and a steering committee formed to co-ordinate the pro-

~~ject~~ ^{At a} ~~at~~ ^{24/1/92} ~~The~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{24/1/92} Haven Night Shelter annual meeting last night.

In her report, Guguletu community worker Mrs Justina Si-gege launched an urgent appeal for a haven in Guguletu, where many vagrants had no accommodation and slept next to cemeteries, rubbish dumps and old cars.

More monitors on the way

Political Staff

²⁷⁴ ~~A~~ ^{24/1/92} ~~mission~~ ^{of} ~~five~~ ^{eminent} ~~people~~, led by New Zealander Sir Paul Reeves, is due to arrive in Cape Town tomorrow night.

It is part of an international ecumenical monitoring mission and will work with other monitors already in South Africa.

The group, which arrived in the country this week, is due to visit Khayelitsha and to have talks with the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, independent monitors and civic organisations.

Other members include Bishop Malvin Tolbert, Ms Christine Davis and Mr Jorgan Estrup.



Last-minute hitch in ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ *bowetun 24/9/92* peace talks

■ **Release of political prisoners
remains biggest obstacle:** *(274)*

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE National working committee of the ANC will meet again today to temper the agreements reached in almost two weeks of planning for a peace summit between President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela

After almost two weeks of negotiations behind the scenes crucial meetings of the Cabinet and NWC yesterday, the news from both camps is that nothing concrete has been achieved and task will continue today.

Great expectations rested on the ANC and Government yesterday as both parties studied details of the deal.

The deal, raised by the ANC as a prerequisite for the summit, could see the release of political prisoners, the securing of hostels and an undertaking by the Government to ban dangerous weapons.

The details of the deal were drawn up by the ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, during two weeks of delicate deliberations, which ended close to midnight on Tuesday.

US 'ready to send its own monitors to SA'

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

274/20

WASHINGTON — The United States may soon send its own team of observers to South Africa to monitor political violence and the transition to democracy, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, announced today.

He told the Africa sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he favoured the idea, "if the South African Government and the ANC would accept them" but gave no indication of how large

the team might be or when it might be dispatched.

US observers would join the 50 observers already committed to South Africa by the United Nations. The European Community has decided to send 15 observers and a further 12 were due to arrive from the Commonwealth. The Organisation of African Unity also intends sending observers.

In testimony to the sub-committee, Mr Cohen criticised the South African Government for "having been lax in reforming the police force". In the past its primary function had been to

STAR 24/9/72
protect whites from blacks and it had little ability to deal with the challenge of conflict and violence.

Mr Cohen said the Government and the ANC had a duty to secure peace.

"As leader of the Government, President de Klerk bears special responsibility to take effective steps to address the continuing violence. We hold the South African Government ultimately responsible for the actions of the defence forces of the so-called independent homelands"

He said: "Mass action aimed

at confrontations that add to the already unacceptable level of violence are clearly ill-advised. This is particularly the case when mass action proceeds from the false premise that easy victories can be gained on issues already the subject of serious negotiations. The ANC must contribute to creating a constructive atmosphere for resumption of the talks."

The US welcomed the ANC's decision to postpone marches into Bophuthatswana and Kwa-Zulu, "demonstrations that would have led to further bloodshed".

King-sized job for UN team leader

5792 24/9/92
By Jo-Anne Collinge

Angela King, head of the United Nations observer group in South Africa, touched down at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday morning, ready to get down to the daunting task of helping check political violence.

No, she had not for an instant considered refusing the South African assignment, said Mrs King. "I was asked — and I'm an international civil servant."

Besides, as a seasoned and senior member of the UN secretariat, she associated herself with the "new image that the UN is getting as more oriented towards peace-keeping".

Among those at Jan Smuts to meet her were National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, Minister of Education and Training Sam de Beer and Mrs King's deputy Ismat Steiner, who has been in South Africa for about two weeks.

The full UN team here will eventually number 50.

LABOUR UPDATE Rolling mass campaign gathers steam

Mass action rolls on with new moves

By Ike Motsapi

PHASE FOUR of the rolling mass action campaign of Cosatu, the ANC and SACP began in earnest this week with a series of events planned for up to year's end.

Some of the planned action includes selective consumer boycotts in certain areas.

Tomorrow Cosatu will march to the Mozambican border to demand the de-electrification of the border fence.

The march is part of the tripartite alliance mass action campaign aimed at installing a new democratic government by the end of the year.

Dismissed workers

And as from October 1 until the end of the month, Cosatu plans to occupy the national headquarters of companies that have dismissed workers.

Other tactics still to be decided and finalised by Cosatu, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party will be used to force employers to reinstate those workers.

During mid-October Cosatu members will support a strike by its affiliate, the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union for centralised bargaining.

The October 11 to 19 period will be

ELECTRIC FENCE Cosatu will march to Mozambique border in further action:

regarded as a week of action for political and violence demands.

Large scale occupation of Government buildings and blockades of all cities and towns are to take place on October 12 during the opening of Parliament.

Cosatu is considering holding the people's assembly on that day.

Proposals for a work stayaway on this day is to be discussed by the affiliates and finalised at a special central executive committee of Cosatu on October 1.

On October 11, which is regarded as the International Day of Political Prisoners, Cosatu plans to march to prisons throughout the country to demand that prisoners be released.

Free activity

Cosatu also wants to intensify its campaign for free political activity in all the homelands.

Some of the points to be considered are:

The need to intensify the struggle so as to move as speedily as possible to the holding of elections for a democratic

Constituent Assembly;

A climate has to be created for the holding of such elections, meaning that the alliance should intensify the campaign for free political activity and an end to violence;

Solidarity action in support of dismissed workers and workers affected by violence;

Selective boycotts

Companies implicated in attacks on Cosatu members must be given ultimatums after which they must be targeted for selective boycotts;

Cosatu to investigate the implications of a judgment against the Numsa strike for the right to go on strike;

The need to finalise the Workers Charter campaign and ensure that the workers summit takes place before the end of the year;

Cosatu to assist in the establishment of structures in drought affected areas, including helping to establish public works programmes; and

Intensify and revive the campaign around VAT and lower food prices.

Gun runners getting US arms into SA

W/Mail 18 | 9-24 | 9192

274

By PAUL STOBER
DOCUMENTS in *The Weekly Mail's* possession have revealed a huge illegal trade in weapons from the United States to South Africa — and there are fears that many of these arms may have found their way to war-torn Natal.

The Africa Fund, a US anti-apartheid pressure group, has started a civil action in New York against the US Department of Commerce. It wants the courts to force the department to release more than 1 000 pages of documents detailing illegal arms transactions.

The documents, outlining some of these transactions, reveal that hundreds of semi-automatic pistols, revolvers, rifles, magazines and hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition, worth millions of dollars, left the US but never arrived at their stated destination of Harare, Zimbabwe. The weapons were to have been shipped via Cape Town.

The US Justice Department, along with the Department of Commerce, is investigating the possibility that companies in the US and southern Africa

forged documents and gave incorrect information about the final destination of the arsenal.

US law and the 1977 United Nations arms embargo still forbid the export of military arms to South Africa. In the US, the export of weapons with civilian uses is governed by federal controls.

US district attorney Peter Sobol, who is investigating possible charges against US companies, says some munitions did not arrive at the destination stated on their export licences or were transferred to South Africa after their arrival at their destination. The Commerce Department's investigation covers the period from 1972 to the present, and is being conducted both in the US and southern Africa.

The department has refused public access to the documents saying it needs more time to complete its investigation.

"The documents we're investigating are cumbersome. It takes weeks and months to verify. The investigation is national and international. It just takes time," Sobol said.

Accusing the Department of Com-

merce of not taking the arms embargo seriously and of trying to cover up lax licensing procedures allowing the munitions through in the first place, The Africa Fund has demanded that it be allowed to examine the documents.

Africa Fund members are incensed that the arms may have reached South Africa, especially since shotguns, made by US companies, are reported to be used in violence in the South Africa's townships.

On May 14, this year, a sergeant in the kwaZulu Police, Siphwe Mvuyane, was arrested by members of the South African Police in connection with an arms cache which included a shotgun made by the US gun manufacturer Mossberg and Sons of Connecticut.

Although the importing of over 50 tons of munitions was spread over four years, it is the large quantity of weapons involved which has served to harden suspicions that the weapons have been used to fuel the violence in the South Africa.

According to the manager of A-Rosenthal, a gun dealership whose

export licence was revoked by the US Commerce Department, small private concerns could not be responsible for arms trading on any large scale. "There is just no way they could finance it," he explained.

According to *The Weekly Mail's* documents, most of the munition orders were placed by a Harare-based firm, Tatos Brothers.

A director of the company, Dhiru Desai, has denied placing at least two of the orders and said that his company has not received a foreign currency allocation, from the Zimbabwean government, to import munitions for several years.

The US State Department, which is responsible for the investigation in southern Africa, is looking into a possible link between a former owner of the company, Fred Tatos, and the false orders.

Tatos, now based in Cape Town, works at a gunshop, Suburban Guns. Earlier this year, Suburban Guns was named in documents revealing how private concerns purchased arms, ammunition and chemicals for Armscor.

Observer

2661 437
1 OCT 1992

80c PWV (90c OUTSIDE PWV, NATAL R1)

FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 25 1992

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
SALDRU LIBRARY

VIDEO
M-FI & TELEVISION
STAX SUPER STORES
D568374

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Last-minute intervention by ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk has brightened prospects for a summit on violence to take place tomorrow.

It is understood the Government has undertaken to fence certain hostels and to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

It has also put up new proposals for the release of ANC political prisoners, including

Violence summit breakthrough a step closer

STAR 2579192

274



274

Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, Mzondela Nondula and Mthethela Mncube. The leaders have been in telephonic contact several times since Wednesday night Mr Mandela earlier said his organisation would attend the summit if the Government gave an undertaking committing itself to "practical" steps on these three issues.

An announcement on the summit is expected today. The Government's undertakings were discussed yesterday at an ANC national working committee (NWC) meeting, but no statement was issued afterwards. It is understood Government and ANC negotiators remained in contact last

night in a day of hard bargaining, proposals were exchanged between the Government's negotiations policy group and the NWC. Earlier, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had set the ball rolling. At 6.30 pm the Government was waiting for a re-

sponse from the NWC to its latest proposal. It is understood the core issue was still the ANC's demand that the Government unconditionally release McBride and the two MK cadres, held for their part in landmine explosions in the northern Transvaal, in accordance with an earlier undertaking to release them. The Government's position

had been that it would only release them in terms of proposed legislation that would enable it also to pardon offenders of other parties — effectively a general amnesty. Tight-lipped negotiators would not divulge whether and how either party had shifted from these positions. If no agreement was reached last night, it was unlikely the violence summit

could be held tomorrow as planned. It would then have to be postponed for more than two weeks, until Mr Mandela's return from a visit to China and Pakistan. This would mean that the summit would take place after the October 12 start of the short session of Parliament. This in turn would create new complications for negotiations. It might close one option which the Government has offered as a solution — releasing McBride in terms of new legislation.

focus on Ulundi

5/11/25
 Gwefam 25/9/92

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS plans to go ahead with its march on Ulundi in protest against "the absence of free political activity" in the area.

On the other hand, KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that if the ANC went ahead with the march there would be a bloodbath "that would make Bisho look like a Sunday school picnic".

The ANC has responded by saying it is the inalienable and democratic right of every man, woman and child to protest publicly.

This particular exchange - between Buthelezi and the ANC - ironically puts the Government's role as the protector of the life and liberty of its subjects in the spotlight.

In democracies around the world (and traditionally) the government of the day will see to it that the right to life and liberty of its citizens is protected.

The fact, then, that Buthelezi has threatened to repeat the Bisho massacre - in as many words - and bearing in mind the alliance between him and Pretoria, means that it is the South African Government that will go on trial when the ANC marches on Ulundi.

The ANC believes that as a creation of apartheid, the actions of KwaZulu remain the "direct responsibility" of the Government.

Having said this, the Government finds itself in the precarious position of having to protect its opposition (ANC) from its biggest ally (Buthelezi).

Turning, then, to the Government, it is significant to note that President FW de Klerk is fond of saying he is a democrat.

His government is also one of the staunchest supporters of a bill of fundamental human rights for a new South Africa.

Such a bill should, if one looks for examples from the American one, include:

- Freedom of speech, expression and the Press;
- Freedom of religion;
- Freedom of assembly and association;
- The right to equal protection by the law; and
- The right to due process of the law and fair trial.

Can or will De Klerk's Government enforce what it supports within the proposed bill of rights?

The reality in South Africa is that the Government has not derived its (just) power from the consent of those it governs.

One should note, incidentally, that a mere six percent of the governed voted for the ruling National Party in the last election in 1989.

And looking at the Government's response to the Bisho massacre - no formal protest was made - and bearing in mind the political alliance Pretoria has with Ciskei, just thinking about what can happen at Ulundi is frightening.

Walking through the devastation in the after-

The Government is faced with a dilemma as one of its allies threatens to make the Bisho massacre look like a "Sunday picnic" while it is duty-bound to protect its citizens, argues **Ismail Lagardien**, Political Correspondent:



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... bloodbath if march goes ahead.



FW de Klerk ... In a dilemma.

math of Bisho, the following scenario can be drawn: Only South Africa regards Ciskei as independent.

For the sake of argument, let us assume that Ciskei is "another country".

It can also, then, be assumed that when the Ciskei defence force opened fire on South African citizens, the first thing Pretoria should have done was to rush to the rescue of its subjects.

It did not. Instead it blamed the victims.

The issue is perhaps still sub judice but where was Pretoria's police force when it was meant to protect its people?

The answer might not be the ideal one but Pretoria needs Ciskei to secure its political objectives, so it is unlikely that the Government will "declare war" on the homeland for having brutally killed South Africans.

What then about Ulundi and the ANC's proposed march on the KwaZulu capital?

As is the case with Ciskei, nobody but Pretoria

recognises the sovereignty of KwaZulu, and by implication, its security establishment.

The question here is: Will the South African Police be there to protect the lives of its citizens from the security forces of the area?

As with Ciskei, the answer is the same.

Pretoria needs KwaZulu, too, to secure its political objectives.

Where, then, does that leave Pretoria's citizens?

Clearly between the barrel and the wall at this stage.

If one pulls together all the above it is clear that the people of any - even emerging - democracies have a right to protest, and the government of the day is duty-bound to protect them.

Also, if Ciskei can be used as a yardstick, the people who did not vote for the present Government stand a very serious chance of being shot down in the street.

VOSLOORUS' Local Dispute Resolution Committee (LDRC) may not have the power to move heaven and earth but it has contributed in some small way to bringing peace and stability to the east Rand township.

"Come the future, we'll be able to reap the fruits of this meeting," said a member after *The Weekly Mail* had attended a four-hour LDRC executive meeting at the Vosloorus council buildings on Wednesday morning.

Discussions got under way an hour late after several of the committee members arrived in dribs and drabs, probably because of the cold weather. However, the South African Communist Party and police were on time as usual — a practice interim chairman David Storey said was probably due to "military precision".

A sense of optimism was shared by all those present from the African National Congress, an interfaith church group, SACP, chiefs (representing hostel Indians), taxi association, the United Workers' Union of South Africa, the Internal Stability Division and the Crime Intelligence Service — covering most of the influential interests in the area.

Storey had the difficult task of chairing a meeting which on occasion showed a tendency to become bogged down in individual complaints — and he had to mediate between representatives of organisations which still harboured some mistrust towards one another.

Overall, however, committee members seemed imbued with the desire to bring peace to the township despite past differences.

Storey recalls when, earlier this year, the idea of consensus politics was a novel concept. Problem-solving and negotiating skills had to be imparted during training workshops. "For some organisations it was the first time they had ever sat down with each other."

Storey is aware he was initially seen as the "white chair from the outside". That perception was inevitable, he said, as "the level of trust in black communities is justifiably low".

Because security is a problem, he always has to drive around with LDRC and National Peace secretariat stickers on his white car — the colour of several unmarked cars driven by the police.

How one community gives peace a chance

2519-110192
274
 Structures established in terms of the Peace Accord are slowly beginning to bear fruit. **LINDA RULASHE** attended a meeting of the Vosloorus Local Dispute Resolution Committee



Keeping the peace — Chairman David Storey and members of the Vosloorus Local Dispute Resolution Committee. Photo: SARAH PRALL

He has also often been told that he looks like a policeman. But there's a bright side to it: "The stickers have helped to give a great peace visibility in the area."

Storey is not the only committee member with such problems.

Enoch Khumalo, of the Hostel Residents' Association, complained bitterly during the meeting at what hostel dwellers perceived as the police's "lack of respect", saying after he had "disarmed" three men at the taxi rank who had a pranga, "I was later told to f—k off when police arrested me for being in possession of the weapon. This was a member of the local LDRC".

The police eventually suggested weapons of any sort be immediately handed over to them.

Unusual "alliances" have developed at the LDRC where organisations

which have traditionally been antagonistic have found a mutual interest on certain matters.

For instance, similar complaints were raised by the ANC, SACP, Inter-denominational Ministers' Fellowship and the Hostel Residents' Association, whose constituency is largely Inkatha-based.

Numerous complaints regarding the frequent searches by police of hostel dwellers and township residents; damage to property and lack of respect for community members were reported by these organisations.

While Khumalo expressed his concern about the damage often caused by police during raids, the ANC's Absolom Moloi said he was upset these raids should be conducted at an ungodly hour.

Khumalo said: "Just because we are staying in the hostel does not mean we

are animals. We are human beings." He complained about police forcing locks, barging into rooms and waking people up at gunpoint. Personal items of hostel residents were also alleged to have gone missing.

Moloi said the way police handled house raids was "harmful to harassment. There cannot be peace of mind if people are searched at midnight," he added, saying while such exercises may be appropriate in some situations it could not continue indefinitely.

In response, Captain Sias Smith, of the Internal Stability Division, said it was normal procedure when searching hostels to go to an induna first, who would then accompany policeman on the search. He then said if this had not been taken place, he would promise to look into it immediately.

Locks were replaced, he said, and the keys handed over to the police station

where owners of the rooms or houses could fetch them.

Lieutenant Marius Swart, of the Crime Intelligence Service, said the police could not "conduct a thorough search if they didn't open the door and find out what was behind it", but he reassured that in future they would try to ensure that damage was kept to a minimum.

The forum has ensured that the actions of all the parties involved are always under scrutiny.

Police have had to give report-backs of investigations into cases committee members had expressed concern for. At the same time, police have placed on the agenda issues they wanted discussed, mainly "self defence units, Unkhotko weSizwe members involved in crime, and the recruitment of police by and for political organisations".

Is the LDRC process working?

Some committee members have managed to avert potentially violent situations during the monitoring of marches and funerals — particularly during mass action week in August.

Most committee members feel they will never be able to do a proper job unless they have the necessary infrastructure.

The SACP's Faith Nkosi said a lot still had to be done in the community. "With more papers, placards and flags we can get the publicity we've been screaming for since we started."

"I also feel the Peace Accord should be revived and it would help if signatures went back and recommitted themselves to it."

Reverend Themba Zungu, of the Inter-Denominational Minister's Fellowship said the forum was born at the right time but that residents would have to give it time, although many often said people were still dying despite the Peace Accord.

Moloi pointed out a structural weakness in the LDRC: "No powers have been bestowed on it. We do not have disciplinary powers that can deal with committee organisations which have transgressed or breached the accord."

"It has, however, managed to bring together different parties and has created new relationships and a rapport. It has also resulted in tolerance and respect for one another."

Magoo's Bar bomber 'goes free' to pave way for talks tomorrow

274
CT 25/9/92

Summit is on

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

A SUMMIT on violence between President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is on and is likely to be held tomorrow.

Final arrangements for the meeting are being made today at talks between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, government and ANC sources confirmed.

A joint statement is expected later.

Part of the deal between the government and the ANC is that three controversial prisoners — Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride, and Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncubi, who were convicted for planting the Messina landmines — will be released on parole and a number of other "political" prisoners will be freed.

The ANC may also have given undertakings on its mass action campaign.

Obstacles linked to migrant worker hostels and the banning of dangerous weapons have been overcome. A number of problematic hostels are to be fenced and people who wish to carry traditional weapons for cultural purposes will have to apply for permission.

A breakthrough in the "talks about talks" came yesterday after an exchange of letters between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

The State President proposed that the three ANC fighters should be conditionally released and apply for parole.

Legislation on the release of prisoners may have to be introduced at next month's short parliamentary session in Cape Town. Prisoners who are not ANC members may also be affected.

There has been a wrangle between the government and the ANC over a general amnesty for all people involved in crimes with a political undertone, but the ANC is now understood to have given some assurance that it would back an amnesty once a transitional government had been installed.

The summit agreement comes after a fortnight of virtually non-stop negotiations.

These followed an urgent plea by Mr De Klerk on September 10 for a summit with Mr Mandela to prevent the country sliding into uncontrolled violence.

His invitation followed the Bisho massacre and ANC threats of further mass action.

Mr Mandela said yesterday that he was determined to go ahead with the summit only if he felt hopeful of announcing the resumption of constitutional negotiations at its conclusion.

If agreement is not reached in the first round of talks, they will resume when Mr Mandela returns from a two-week visit to Pakistan and India, which starts next Wednesday.

The first indication that the summit was on came from UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who said last night that Mr Mandela had told him obstacles had been overcome and that the meeting would take place "imminently".

He warmly welcomed this development and praised Mr De Klerk and the ANC leader for their perseverance and leadership.

Churches ~~rethink~~ rethink role in peace ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ accord

w/mail 25/9 - 11/10/92

By PAT SIDLEY

SOUTH AFRICAN churches which helped broker the National Peace Accord are to meet today to review the church's role in the peace accord.

On the agenda for discussion is the widespread disillusionment with the accord and the possibility of churches withdrawing from it.

The meeting, hosted by the South African Council of Churches, will consist of all church-based members serving in the peace accord structures, which include local and regional dispute resolution committees, the Peace Secretariat and the National Peace Committee.

The meeting comes in the wake of a high degree of scepticism at grassroots level on the working and effectiveness of the peace pact.

According to church sources, some of whom articulated these views at the recent SACC annual conference, many feel that they cannot trust the motives of the government funding and assistance of peace accord structures.

At the SACC meeting, several delegates queried the newly passed legislation designed to beef up the peace accord structures by using government resources.

Delegates involved in the peace accord, such as Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, who will be present at today's meeting, had urged the need for the legislation and for the resources — but others were more sceptical.

Additionally, the church sources say, there is a marked lack of trust on the ground in committee meetings where, as one put it, "people complain about the police, while the police are on the committee sitting there and taking notes".

Other participants in the meeting, however, will argue for the need for the accord and all its structures.

They say, from their own involvement in the structures, that where committees have worked well, violence has declined markedly.

Methodist Bishop Peter Storey, who will chair the meeting, said: "The National Peace Accord is a document quite unique in all the world, and has within it a powerful potential to bring an end to violence. But this depends on the integrity and commitment of all parties involved."

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DEATHS AND INJURIES

(274) W/Mail 25/9-1/10/92
A TOTAL of 71 people were killed and 68 injured mainly in the PWV and Natal. According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) the figures are slightly higher than the previous week's total of 47 deaths and 63 injuries.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

W/Mail 25/9-1/10/92 (274)
ON September 17, Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel declared several eastern Cape districts as unrest areas. They are: Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. Twenty-two townships in the PWV and 10 other districts in the eastern Cape also remain unrest areas.

DETENTIONS

(274)
ACCORDING to a police report, 55 people are being held under the Public Safety Act including a hunger striker at the Leeuhoof Prison, Louis Parden. In Bophuthatswana, seven students arrested on September 18 are being detained under Section 25 of the the homeland's Internal Security Act.

SECURITY FORCE ACTIONS

W/Mail 25/9-1/10/92
A TOTAL of 767 people were arrested and one injured in Ciskei, Border and eastern Cape.

VIGILANTE ACTIONS

(274) W/Mail 25/9-1/10/92
FORTY-FIVE people were killed and 56 injured in the PWV and Natal. The week's flashpoint is the East Rand where 18 people died and 20 injured.

Peace Accord 'alive, well and kicking'

JOHANNESBURG. — The efficiency of the National Peace Accord and its sub-structures were vigorously defended by National Peace Accord chairman Mr John Hall yesterday at a South African Council of Churches-arranged one-day national consultation on the NPA.

"The NPA document is still alive and well and kicking today, despite some recent comments to the contrary," Mr Hall told delegates. The National Peace Secretariat remained the engine room of the accord. Its regional and local sub-structures were working effectively and had made major contributions to the curbing of violence, particularly during mass action, Mr Hall said. Referring to further attempts to curb political violence, Mr Hall said political tolerance agreements

should be reached in which political leaders would allow normal election-eering activities in their territories. Specifically pointing at the Kwa-Zulu and Bophuthatswana leaderships, Mr Hall said the normalisation of free political activity in these territories would negate the need for mass action.

"The top leadership has the power to stop clandestine activities in exchange for the freedom of political activity in territories such as Kwa-Zulu and Bophuthatswana." Mr Hall stressed that the church was one of the driving forces behind the NPA, but added that the church could act more vigorously in the peace process. He called for the "troublesome" voice of the church to be heard more loudly. — Sapa

26/9/92 (274)

Hostels report issued

JOHANNESBURG. — Not all hostels are associated with violence and it would therefore be inappropriate to fence them all off, according to the interim report on hostels of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said a preliminary report by the committee investigating the issue had led to the withdrawal of the commission's earlier recommendation that all hostels be fenced off.

According to the report "not all hostels are associated with violence, and the problem should properly be

seen as one of criminality in a limited number of hostels."

Mr Justice Goldstone's interim report, dated September 21 and released by the State President's Office yesterday, was issued urgently in the light of talks between the government and representatives of, among others, the African National Congress, concerning hostels.

At the commission's request, the Human Sciences Research Council has begun a project aimed at assisting sensitive future development of hostels. — Sapa

CT 26/9/92

(23) (270)

VIVA
ANC

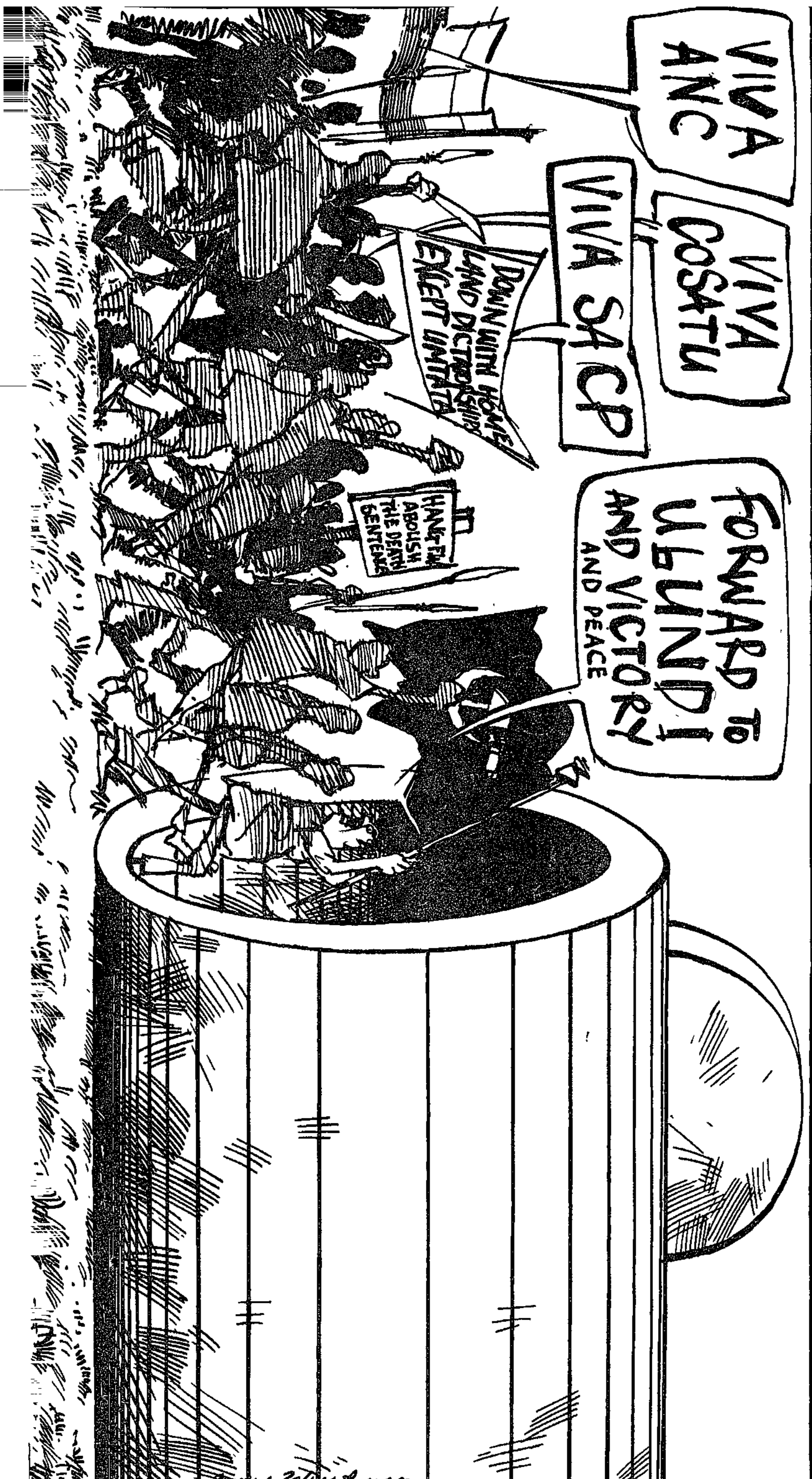
VIVA
COSATTU

VIVA SACP

FORWARD TO
ULUNDI
AND VICTORY
AND PEACE

DOWN WITH HOUSES
LAND DISTRESS
EXCEPT UNITATA

HANG FUL
ABOUT THE DEATH
SENTENCE



Trends of violence

(714)
A225 26/9/92

DEATHS in South Africa's frightening spiral of political violence reached a total of more than 6 200 within the last two years — an average of just over eight killings a day.

Twice as many people — about 12 000 — were injured.

These are among findings of the Johannesburg-based Human Rights Commission (HRC) in a report on political violence and destabilisation between July 1990 and July this year.

The figures reflect the pattern of violence that occurred largely since the launching of President De Klerk's peace initiative and the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations early in 1990.

The report pinpoints four main sources of political violence which, it says, had an impact on communities throughout the country during the two-year period. These are:

- Security force action, responsible for 352 deaths (5,7 percent of the total);
- Vigilante-related action, responsible for 5 060 deaths (81,2 percent);
- Hit-squad attacks, responsible for 126 deaths (2 percent); and
- Rightwing attacks, responsible for 44 deaths (0,7 percent)

There were another 576 deaths (9,2 percent) about which there was insufficient information to determine a source.

However, contrary to claims by some analysts and politicians, the report does not mention mass action as a source of violence.

The latest analyses of political violence in South Africa show alarming new trends — and a growing spectre of failure by political leaders to stop the carnage. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** reports . . .

It is clear from the statistics that vigilantism is by far the dominant factor in the carnage.

"It is no exaggeration to say that vigilantes have been the shock troops of community destabilisation."

By far most deaths were recorded in the PWV area (3 670 or 58,9 percent) and Natal (2 008 or 32,2 percent), compared with 551 (8,9 percent) in other areas, including the Western Cape.

In its interpretation of the pattern of violence, the commission accuses the government and the security forces of being partly responsible due to failure, omission and neglect, on the one hand, and certain official operations including undercover activities on the other.

"The fact that over 6 000 South African citizens have died in political violence over the past two years, with twice that number injured, is a measure of the extent to which the security forces have failed in their duty.

"This failure can be ascribed either to inability, or to passive complicity, or to active promotion of violence, or to combinations of all three."

The commission notes that the Waddington

report on police investigations into the Boipatong massacre of June 1992 had found them to be "woefully inadequate", "incompetent" and suggestive of "an unaccountable police force."

Other findings of the HRC include:

■ Vigilantism — responsible for more than 80 percent of the violence — arose directly out of the formation of homelands administrations and black local councils, which were essential components of the "grand design of apartheid".

■ In contrast to the use by vigilante groups of widespread and indiscriminate terror, hit-squads were highly focussed on their objectives, which were to eliminate identified and designated political opponents, and to cripple or disrupt targeted organisations.

■ Among 5 700 incidents of violence monitored by the HRC over the two years, there were 49 "major massacres" (in which 10 or more people died). The first of these occurred on July 22 1990 at Sebokeng, around the launch of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the area, and was referred to by the HRC as "the event which opened the floodgates of violence in the PWV region". The recent Boipatong massacre was just a few kilometres from Sebokeng.

The 49 massacres accounted for 1 250 lives, or an average of 25 deaths each. In 15 cases, the death toll was higher than 25.

Natal accounted for 11 massacres, costing the lives of 167 people, while the PWV area accounted for 38 massacres costing 1 083 lives.

The commission also found the ANC and township residents were the victims in 40 of the massacres, while the Inkatha Freedom Party were victims in three of them. In six it was not possible to determine which party was the vic-

tim and which was the attacker.

Commuters on trains, buses and taxis had been coming under increasing attacks and were daily being exposed to the danger of losing their lives while simply travelling to and from their places of work.

More than 100 of the victims of alleged hit-squad attacks listed by the commission were claimed to be clearly identifiable as belonging to the anti-apartheid camp. Of these, 87 were officials, members or supporters of the ANC and its related organisations, nine were members of civic associations, four were trade unionists, and five were members of the Pan-Africanist Congress. Eleven victims belonged to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The commission said a disturbing new trend was the assassination of witnesses and of participants in Peace Accord structures. The list of hit-squad victims included six witnesses (or their relatives) who were assassinated before they could give evidence, and at least two people who were active in dispute resolution committees.

The commission said: "Finally, note should be taken of the practically non-existent record of success in solving these murders and bringing the perpetrators to book."

■ Some of the HRC's findings and interpretations of political violence statistics have come under fire from Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Explaining his criticism during an interview with Weekend Argus, Mr Kane-Berman said: "We have criticised the HRC on the grounds that they jumped to conclusions without adequate supporting evidence."

What was decided

BY MIDDAY yesterday President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had rubber-stamped a broad range of agreements reached by key negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa over the past few weeks of intensive negotiations.

On a CONSTITUTION MAKING BODY it was agreed that:

- There will be a democratically elected constituent assembly which will serve as an interim parliament;
- It will draft and adopt a new constitution. It will sit as a single chamber and take decisions by special majorities;
- It will be bound only by those principles agreed to beforehand;
- It will operate for a fixed time and will be elected within an agreed time frame;
- It will have deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

On an INTERIM GOVERNMENT it was agreed that there will be an interim government of national unity, operating in terms of an interim constitution.

On POLITICAL PRISONERS it was agreed that:

- One hundred and fifty will be released before Monday — 148 have already been released;
- Only prisoners who committed offences prior to October 8 1990 will be released;
- Robert McBride and the two Messina bombers will be released on Monday in terms of a parole application approved by prison authorities on Friday;
- The remaining political prisoners — about 250 — will be released by November 15. After the summit, they will be categorised — not in terms of their crime, but rather its political motivation;
- Legislation will be introduced in October concerning prisoners serving life sentences. Once passed, McBride and the others' parole conditions will fall away;
- The question of a general amnesty will not be linked to the release of political prisoners. The ANC gave a verbal undertaking that it would be dealt with by an interim government of national unity.

On the control of DANGEROUS WEAPONS it was agreed that:

- The public display of dangerous weapons, which includes traditional weapons, will be banned;
- A proclamation to this effect will be drafted with the assistance of the Goldstone commission. It will set out guidelines under which exemptions will be granted by magistrates. These could include gatherings such as Shaka day.

By lunch time, the question of SECURING HOSTELS was still being discussed. However, the draft detailed agreement between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer identifies more than 24 hostels, primarily in the PWV region, that need to be dealt with urgently. They agreed that:

- Security will be implemented in terms of recommendations contained in the latest report of the Goldstone commission;
- There will be security patrols and a police presence outside the hostels involved;
- Hostels will be adequately fenced.

THE ANC's Natal region has vowed to go ahead with its march to Ulundi, despite the threat of a bloodbath on the scale of the Bisho massacre.

And Inkatha leadership has not minced its words, saying outright that the Bisho massacre would be like a Sunday school picnic if the ANC went ahead with the march to Ulundi.

Spokesmen for the ANC's three Natal regions have said everything would be done to prevent a repetition of Bisho and that the planned march was about free political activity in KwaZulu.

Any thinking person will tell you this is a recipe for disaster, given the history of bloodshed between the two.

Every political group should have a right to express its point of view and of course, no one, least of all leaders of the discredited homelands, has the right to declare no-go areas for political activity. We have no vote and it is acceptable that we vote with our feet. Chief

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiyana

A march into the lion's den



Mangosuthu Buthelezi is well placed to understand this.

He is a man who carved his niche in the annals of black history by steadfastly rejecting homeland independence on the grounds that Nelson Mandela was imprisoned and black political organisations were banned.

When people like Matanzima, Mphahlele, Sebe and Mangope rushed to please Pretoria by accepting "independence" Buthelezi refused to be browbeaten by PW Botha to further oppress his own people. Buthelezi sells himself all over the world as a man of peace, a Christian, a committed leader of his

people and a man who upholds true democratic values.

If he is such a man, why does he make blood-curdling utterances? Why does he suppress free political activity when it threatens his position? And why has he been unable to stop almost nine years of violence in Natal?

Why does he use ethnicity to deal with a political matter when he himself has claimed that Inkatha is not just a Zulu organisation?

Only Buthelezi knows the answers to these questions. He is a seasoned and astute politician. But nor can the ANC

and its allies, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, be exonerated.

Their ambition to gain political support in the homelands, whose populations constitute nearly half of the future electorate, seems to know no bounds. But at what cost?

Once they have established a political stronghold in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, they can be fairly confident of the support of Holomisa (Transkei), Ramushwane (Venda), Zitha (KaNgwane), Mahlangu (KwaNdebele), Ramodikwe (Lebowa) and Ntsanwisi (Gazankulu). Frankly, I doubt the ANC will go ahead with its

march to Ulundi. The ANC has nothing to lose but everything to gain by postponing the march. It is only a matter of time before an interim government is put into place and the ANC looks sure of a strong following in Natal anyway.

More than 100 000 people turned out to hear Mandela's "throw your spears and pangas in the sea" speech - indication enough of ANC support in Natal.

Marching to Ulundi would be venturing into the lion's den and would endanger the lives of ANC and IFP supporters alike. The scale of such a clash is too awful to contemplate. Buthelezi is not a man to be taken lightly, especially when he thinks his chips are down.

But, of course, the most pathetic thing is that the government and those unaffected by the violence are smiling all the way to the political bank as black people destroy one another on the eve of their political independence. We warn the ANC to rethink the strategy and direction of mass action.

CMATA CMTA/7/71



By **QUINTON RHODES**

WITH tensions mounting in the KwaZulu homeland in advance of planned ANC marches aimed at securing free political expression in the territory, the spotlight again falls on the structures of the National Peace Accord.

It is precisely the kind of potentially explosive violence which now pertains in the homeland - ANC supporters claim they are being harassed and planned marches on KwaMashu and Ulundi threaten to turn into bloodbaths - which the Peace Accord was designed to deal with.

Yet, at the time when it is most needed, the credibility of the NPA has fallen to its lowest ebb to date.

Incidents

Two recent incidents involving structures associated with the Accord illustrate some of the questions which are being asked.

One, as reported by current affairs newsletter *Southscan*, concerns the role played by Peace Accord structures in the recent crisis which grew up in the Ciskei early this year.

In March, NPA chairman John Hall abandoned his usual neutrality to strongly condemn ANC protests and mass actions in the Border region, describing them as being potentially inflammatory and contrary to the spirit of the Accord.

However, at the time, the following situation pertained in the area:

- Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo had used his Internal Security Act in November 1991 in order to ban the ANC from organising in Ciskei;
- He had prohibited the Border Regional Dispute resolution Committee from meeting in the territory; and
- ANC Peace Accord representatives were banned - on pain of detention - from coming into the area.

All of this was in contradiction not only of the spirit of the Peace Accord, but also of its letter. The unanimous position adopted by the RDRC at this point was that Gqozo was in breach of the accord.

However, in assessing the situation, Hall neglected to make any mention of Gqozo's violations of the Peace Accord, and chose instead to focus on the ANC's plans for mass action, planned as peaceful and avowedly aimed at securing a climate of free political expression - both of which are specifically approved in the Accord.

Border RDRC chairman Reg Mason, a consultant with Mercedes Benz, felt so strongly about what he perceived as a misrepresentation of the true situation that he resigned from his post in protest. This moved Hall to apologise, regretting the unfortunate omission of any reference to Ciskei's breaches of the Accord.

But by this stage the RDRC lay in tatters. Gqozo was quick to capitalise by attempting to set up his own "friendly" RDRC structures without ANC representatives.

Later, on the occasion of the first ANC march in Bisho on August 3, Gqozo compounded his flouting of the NPA by refusing entry into the territory to Peace Secretariat representatives, as well as UN monitors and other mandated observers. The reason for the ban was that one of the Peace Secretariat party was ANC representative Thomas Smit.

Even at this point Peace Accord structures failed to publicly censure Gqozo.

Nor has the situation improved in the wake of the September 7 Bisho Massacre. There still exists a list of

NPA fails

C/Pres 27/9/92
to deliver
The goods

peace accord representatives who are refused entry to the Ciskei.

The second incident involving Peace Accord structures which calls its credibility into question concerns the recent Peace Accord judgement that Natal Midlands ANC vice-chair Reggie Hadebe had been guilty of breaching the Peace Accord in holding a mock-trial of 11 Inkatha members, during which they were allegedly "sentenced to death".

Last week a panel appointed by the national Peace Secretariat found that Hadebe had breached the accord and held him in contempt of its provisions.

However, as trials go, the trial of Hadebe was hardly less of a kangaroo affair than the one he was accused of presiding over. Hadebe had not been allowed to give evidence in his own defence; he had been in hospital recovering from an assassination attempt when the hearing was due to take place. And though a second date was set for his evidence, he was not informed of it, Hadebe insists.

But neither the substance of the counterclaims of Hadebe nor the fact that the NPA tribunal had not heard his side of the story, stopped it from recording its own verdict of "guilty".

Yet the NPS released its report on the Hadebe incident this week - despite the fact that earlier an embarrassed Hall had agreed to reopen the hearings in view of the omission of evidence.

Other incidents which call the Peace Accords structures into question are:

- Peace Accord structures are administered exclusively by officials seconded from the State civil service;
- A confidential NP Transvaal document advises members to get involved in Peace Accord structures as a means to gleaning black votes; and
- United Nations violence monitors (15 at present with a further 35 expected shortly) have been careful to distance themselves from the structures of the Accord.

Although originally mandated to work in conjunction with Peace Accord structures, they have instead established their own offices in Johannesburg and Natal.

New grouping

A new grouping of proven local violence monitors to be launched in November - the Network of Independent Monitors - represents an alliance of 70 violence monitoring centres including the Human Rights Commission, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Democratic Party's violence monitoring structures.

This is in response to what established monitoring agencies perceived as an attempt on the part of Peace Accord-linked groupings to hijack the monitoring process to its own ends.

The initial Peace Secretariat version of violence monitoring would have bound monitors into a pact of silence by stressing intervention in tensions other than attempting to discover the causes.

This would have been achieved by means of a code of conduct which was drafted around a central information centre which would collect, date and presumably act upon information - without making the information public.

Peaceful protest is a right

STimes

27/9/92

FRANK CHIKANE says Christians who oppose peaceful mass action have capitulated to the forces of violence

(274)

THE right to seek freedom has erupted into a major debate among Christians because of the dangers of mass action.

Some argue that if the door to negotiations is wide open there is no reason to kick it down.

But are we to ignore and climb over the bodies of suffering people who lie in front of the door? Others say mass action is too risky to be supported, for people's lives are at stake.

In some places in our country freedoms are taken for granted which do not exist in other places.

Irresponsible

Even in countries where freedom does exist it has never been a reason to prevent the lobbying and peaceful demonstration which take place in every free society from London to Washington. Mass political protest is a democratic right, and sometimes a duty.

For years many church leaders said: "Violence is wrong; we must not take up arms", and urged the liberation movements to abandon the armed struggle.

The ANC did suspend the armed struggle in 1991, and engaged in normal peaceful action. Now some Christians are saying this is irresponsible because peaceful protest is too risky. This negates what they said before and creates a situation which could revert to violence.

Peaceful protest has a long history and great theological credibility. The church was so committed to it that, when the government prevented peaceful protest in February 1988, the church protested verbally and actively.

Leaders of all the churches put a pencil through their diaries, flew to Cape Town and marched on Parliament in the face of military opposition. They were attacked with water cannon and sent to prison.

Subsequently, we campaigned to demonstrate to all South Africans the supreme importance of non-violent action, and we strongly defended freedom of public expression of political dissent.

In the present crisis this same reality faces us.

To state that peaceful protest is not acceptable if it might be subjected to violent

attack is to capitulate to the forces of violence.

Have we allowed the violence to undermine our belief in the efficacy of non-violent action? That is to draw back from the Cross.

If violent response to violent repression is not permitted, and non-violent response to violent repression is also not permitted, what option do we have?

There is no morality in making ideological distinctions which leave people in their chains. We have destroyed our people's freedom to act in any way at all.

If we deny people methods of responding to the violence which is persecuting and killing them, we can never again suggest that those who take up arms have a peaceful alternative. Are we telling them that the only solution is to resume the armed struggle?

If we do not defend the rights of people to peaceful protest now in this present crisis, how shall we be able to maintain that right in future, whatever government is in power?

Our task is not to castigate those who protest peacefully against violent regimes; but

to overcome the evil with good. We must defeat the threat of violent action with the reality of peaceful action, and if necessary suffer the violence.

The apartheid regime has always found it necessary to support itself by violence, and still does. The necessity for demonstrations against it will end only when the structures it is necessary to defend by violence are removed.

Injustice

For two-and-a-half years people have been told to refrain from action because the door is open to negotiation, while 10 000 have been killed to undermine the ability to go through that door.

Many more lives are now at stake. Repeated crises will occur while illegitimate regimes rule us. Has the time come again for Christians to unite in proactive peaceful action, defending the basic freedom of our people to insist on the removal of injustice and the swift establishment of a democratic regime in every part of our land?

● Rev Chikane is the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

(274)

Mandela pays tribute to Gandhi

STAR 28/9/92

The Gandhian philosophy of peace, tolerance and non-violence may be the key to human survival in the 21st century, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his first public address since the summit with President F W de Klerk on Saturday.

Officially opening the Gandhi Hall in Lenasia yesterday, Mr Mandela was given a standing ovation when he said negotiations between the ANC and the Government had resumed.

He said the Gandhian philosophy began in South Africa as a powerful instrument of social change.

"South Africa has a legacy of racism and violence perpetuated by decades of apartheid rule," he said.

"If the Mahatma was here today he would tell us that the root cause of the violence in our country is apartheid. He would have warned us not to allow the philosophy of divide-and-rule to sow seeds of division in our midst, but to unite and restore human freedom to all South Africans."

Mr Mandela said the ANC had spearheaded "the path to lasting peace" in South Africa.

"Our initiative to negotiate with the Government and the suspension of our armed struggle arose out of our desire to bring about an end to the systematic violence that apartheid created — indeed, to bring an end to the racial division apartheid implanted upon us.

"We have established that we, the ANC, want to have freedom for all in this country but, I has-



Mahatma Gandhi . . . lessons for the present.

ten to add, not at any price.

"Political prisoners have been used as hostages for too long. The question of weapons of death has been addressed in part, and the hostels, which have been the centres of the low-intensity warfare waged against our communities, are to be fenced and phased out," he said.

"We will continue to talk and press forward towards an interim government of national unity and a constituent assembly, which must be elected by all South Africans."

Mr Mandela was given an enthusiastic welcome at the large, newly built hall, which was packed to overflowing. His hosts were the Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj.

"Gandhi pledged 21 years of his life to the development of nonracialism and democracy in our country," Mr Mandela said before lighting a torch of peace.

"It is our duty to ensure that we not only remember his deeds but that we emulate and uphold them." — Sapa.

STAR 28/9/92.
**Church group
will keep eye
on violence**

Staff Reporter

(274)

The Eminent Church Persons Group yesterday launched the Ecumenical Monitoring Programme to monitor violence on an ongoing basis.

At a press conference at Khotso House in Johannesburg, before leaving after a six-day study of violence, the group said the first team of monitors would arrive next month.

According to the group, at every place they visited, including Soweto, Durban, Ulundi, Port Shepstone, East London, Bisho, Mdantsane and Fort Hare University, people affirmed the need for monitors.

The members of the group are the Rt Rev Sir Paul Reeves, Anglican observer at the United Nations; Christine Davis, president of the Council of Churches in Britain and Ireland; Bishop Melvin Talbert of the United Methodist Church; Jorge Estrup, member of Parliament in Denmark; and Bishop Boniface Tshosa Setlalekgosi, the Catholic Bishop of Gaborone and member of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.



National peace committee chairman John Hall, left, and Bishop Peter Storey at a weekend church consultation on the national peace accord.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Churches back 'flawed' accord

RAY HARTLEY

CHURCHES would continue to take part in and support the national peace accord in spite of it having some key weaknesses which had emerged over the past year, the Methodist Church's Bishop Peter Storey said at the weekend.

Storey said at a media briefing, after a church consultation on the accord, that the original committee of churchmen who initiated the pact a year ago, would reconvene shortly to re-evaluate it.

Among weaknesses Storey cited were:

- Peace committees in some regions lacked balance and were dominated by government or business;
- The SADF had not followed the example set by police and signed the accord's code of conduct; *Blom 28/9/92*
- Peace accord structures were "helpless in exposing and identifying the perpetrators of covert action";

SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane said earlier he supported the defiance of laws which negated basic human rights.

Referring to the proposed march on Ulundi, he said the church would find itself in a "very serious contradiction" if it urged people not to protest non-violently.

IFP dashes new hopes raised at peace summit

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ **NOT BINDING** Buthelezi says ANC black-
mailed Government and will reject agreement:

HOPES for peace and an early resumption of negotiations, raised after the Kempton Park peace summit, sank yesterday when Inkatha Freedom Party announced its withdrawal from talks.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also rejected the agreements reached between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk at Saturday's summit.

Buthelezi said the ANC had held the Government "up to ransom" at the summit.

"The IFP and the KwaZulu government will not be bound by any decisions reached in bilateral negotiations between the Government and the ANC

"I declare that any laws which the South African Government may be able to pilot through Parliament giving legal effect to bilateral agreements between itself and the ANC will be rejected as spurious and illegitimate by the IFP and the KwaZulu government," Buthelezi said.

The Government agreed to prepare and pilot legislation through Parliament in October which will make it possible for the release of more political prisoners.

The summit itself was made possible by an agreement - placed as a pre-requisite by the ANC

- by the Government to release all remaining political prisoners.

The release of at least 150 started on Friday night while Robert McBride (30), Mzondelele Nondula (29), and Mthethelele Mncube (32) are expected to be released today.

As many as 250 others will be released by November 15 in terms of the legislation which will go before Parliament next month.

Other agreements reached at Saturday's summit includes a ban on the possession and public display of weapons and the fencing of hostels - both will be done in terms of guidelines established by the Goldstone Commission.

While these were the ANC's central demands, other agreements reached included consensus that a democratically elected constituent assembly would draft a constitution within a pre-determined period in terms of principles agreed beforehand and with effective deadlock breaking mechanisms firmly in place.

The Government and the ANC also agreed that there would be an interim government of national unity that would govern in terms of an interim constitution.

A "bosberaad", called a lekgotla by Mandela, will be held between the Government and the ANC where four "outstanding issues" will be discussed. These are:

- A climate for free political activity.
- Repressive security legislation.
- Covert operations and special forces.
- Violence.

The ANC said in return that it would reconsider mass action and consult with its regions.

In announcing the agreements, De Klerk and Mandela said a firm basis was laid for the resumption of negotiations that were initially collapsed at Codesa 2 in May and later suspended by the ANC after the incidents at Boppatong.

In conclusion, Mandela said: "It is the duty of all South Africans to ensure our efforts today and the sacrifices of so many are not in vain

"Let us move forward with courage, honesty and determination to build upon and consolidate today's summit to create a peaceful, just and democratic South Africa."

Meanwhile, it was reported yesterday that the Government will release mass murderer Barend Strydom, possibly today

28 Transvaal, Natal hostels to be fenced

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

JOHANNESBURG. — The government undertook at the summit on violence to start fencing 28 hostels in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereenging area and Natal before October 22 and to complete the work by

November 15.

The details are outlined in the implementation programme agreed to at Saturday's talks between President De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Hostels are to be fenced "to prevent criminality by hostel-

dwellers and to protect the residents from external aggression".

Two-metre fences with limited access points "shall be maintained until the situation has stabilised to the satisfaction of the Goldstone Commission", according to the programme.

Bettina Schmidt and Paul Drechsel
comment on a strange refusal to learn

Going further down the low road

SM 29/9/92

THE first thing that strikes foreigners visiting South Africa is the unending violence, and the seeming unwillingness of a wide section of the population — black and white — to learn the lessons of this century's economic and political history.

The situation is complex but reveals a five-point paradigm which seems to underpin political intolerance in this country.

First, there is the belief that South Africa can solve its problems on its own. Secondly, there is the belief that South Africa is a special case and cannot be compared with any other country. Thirdly, there seems to be a conviction that the best way to solve the most urgent problems is to destroy all political and economic preconditions for a solution of these outstanding problems. Fourthly, there is hope that a mighty godfather — in the form of bureaucracy — will solve all the problems. Finally, there is a dream that democracy means the power of the people and only if they are in power, will all problems be solved.

All these aspects have different implications for black and white — yet with similar consequences.

Since the beginning of this century, white South Africa has isolated itself. It has created the ideology of a singular and unique society in the world. It has, despite industrialisation and economic growth until the 70s, demolished all political and economic conditions for a better life for all South Africans. It has created a centralist super-bureaucracy, as the godfather for supposedly all South Africans, and it has implemented exclusive democratic institutions. The power of whites was believed to be the precondition for the well-being of all South Africans — blacks included.

Blacks, based on ANC policy, aim at isolating themselves by choosing a revolutionary path in the struggle for power. They emphasise the ideology of a singular unique society. They stress the aim for the regulation and redistribution of wealth which will destroy the weak, yet functioning economy. A hopeless isolation of the country will be the logical re-

sult, achieving once more something similar to sanctions, but this time not imposed externally. The creation of an all-embracing super-bureaucracy as the best godfather is a declared aim.

Finally, they want to establish democracy through one-person one-vote, as a precondition for a new unified centralist power on behalf of all South Africans.

Is there a fundamental difference between these two belief systems? The more realistic approach for a system to address the problems would be to open up society to world-wide competition and discussion, accepting that South Africa is not a special case in the world, freeing the economy in a decentralised open market economy with competition, and reducing the bureaucracy and making it serve the people, not being their master, and finally, accepting that one-person one-vote is not necessarily a sufficient condition for democracy.

In former socialist countries, they had a kind of one-person one-vote. Democratic voting in a centralist system as existing in South Africa, could mean voting once again for totalitarianism.

Thus a solution would be a non-centralist form of voting (one person, many votes) which means an electoral system based on regional voting, which presupposes a regional focus on productivity in the form of a decentralised, non-monopolist industry, agriculture and markets and a regionalised bureaucracy securing opportunities for individual wealth-creation. Only a kind of democratic federalism can bring South Africa out of the mess.

One-person one-vote should give South Africans the tool to control leaders, and especially those in power, and not only serve as a means to bring them into power. But control means devolution of power, institutionally and regionally. □

● Dr Paul Drechsel and Bettina Schmidt are anthropologists from University of Mainz, Germany, currently attached to Wits University while doing research on the economic and socio-political transformation of South Africa.

ANC to decide on mass action strategy

RAY HARTLEY

ANC national leaders have begun a series of meetings with militant regions about their mass action plans, following a weekend agreement with government to return to talks and review planned protests.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu met the ANC's southern Natal and Natal Midlands regions yesterday and was expected to meet officials from the northern Natal branch today to discuss a planned march on Ulundi.

The ANC's western Cape region is scheduled to meet national officials this week to discuss a planned blockade of the October 12 opening of Parliament by President F W de Klerk.

It is believed the regions will argue for the continuation of mass action.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe said mass action and negotiations could not be divorced from one another.

In another development, Hadebe yesterday rejected a national peace committee offer to reopen the inquiry which found him guilty of violating the peace accord during a mock trial which sentenced Inkatha leaders to death.

Hadebe said the panel would have to publicly apologise for its judgment before he would consider testifying.

Meanwhile, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose asked ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday to answer questions on manipulation of the ANC by radicals, including the SACP's Ronnie Kasrils.

In a strongly worded statement, Mdlalose accused the ANC of "a covert programme to dovetail with its overt one" which included "incitement, intimidation, sabotage and assassination".

Political violence: death toll soars

274
South 26/9-30/9/92

THE NUMBER of people killed in political violence countrywide last week increased alarmingly.

Seventy-one people were killed during the week from September 16 to 22, compared to the previous week's toll of 47.

In addition, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) reports that 68 people were injured, compared to the previous week when 63 people were injured.

"Vigilante-related actions accounted for 45 deaths and 56 injuries, with incidents reported only in the PWV and Natal," the HRC points out.

"The death toll in the PWV region exceeded that in Natal, which accounted for 21 deaths and 14 injuries."

With the controversy still raging over deaths in police custody, two more deaths behind bars were reported during this period. This brings to 93 the number of people who have died in police custody so far this year.

Six prisoners at an East London prison, who were jailed for murders committed during unrest in 1986, have gone on a hunger strike to draw attention to their demand for immediate release as political prisoners.

A Correctional Service spokesperson said the six, who claimed to be members of the ANC, were eight days into their hunger strike. They were in a "satisfactory condition".

During this period three people were killed and four injured in separate incidents in Khayelitsha and Nyanga.

In the Ciskei eight people were killed and seven injured in separate incidents in the same period.

However, the HRC adds that reports were received of attacks in the Ciskei in which no injuries were recorded but extensive damage was caused to properties.

NEWS Police adm

news in brief

Sowetan 1/10/92 (274)

Attacks cause transport freeze

RESIDENTS of Ratanda near Heidelberg yesterday entered the second day of a stayaway following a handgrenade attack on a bus transporting workers on Monday.

One person was killed and 33 others injured when two men threw handgrenades into the bus as it passed the Ratanda Hostel. Local ANC branch chairman Mr Obed Nkosi said yesterday the protest was complicated by the withdrawal of transport by bus and taxi owners for fear of further attacks.

Sowetan 1/10/92 (274)

Buthelezi, Tutu exchange views

SOUTH Africa's political leaders should observe a moratorium on vituperative attacks on one another, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in a joint statement yesterday.

The two met for about two hours at Ulundi to exchange views on the church's role in bringing about political unity and peace.

The statement said Tutu would pursue the idea of a moratorium further. Tutu also raised the issue of the IFP's withdrawal from negotiations.

Strikers to meet

■ All those who were dismissed urged to attend:

Sowetan 1/10/92

THE Johannesburg Central Local branch of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa will meet at the Neac Centre, Dobsonville on Saturday.

The branch chairman, Mr Aubrey Thomas, said: "The meeting is very important. We are calling on all our members including those who were dismissed during the strike.

"We also call on any member who was a victim of any mass dismissals to attend the meeting."

A series of important issues are scheduled for discussions.

Lennox Hinds of the union

Exiles group threatens ANC with violence

Sowetan

1/10/92

THE Returned Exiles Committee (REC) has again threatened violence against the African National Congress -

this time to pressure the ANC into releasing dissidents allegedly held in detention camps outside South Africa.

"We foresee the possibility of reaching a stage whereby we will be forced to resort to violence as a means of pressuring the ANC to release our prisoners should an agreement not be reached peacefully," said REC chairman Mr Patrick Hlongwane.

In a statement on Tuesday, Mr Hlongwane emphasised that "we do not

■ Returned exiles group calls on the Red Cross and the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments to visit 'hell camps'

wish to resort to the violent means used by the ANC to pressurise the government into releasing ANC prisoners."

Mr Hlongwane was broadly criticised for stating his organisation would kill ANC leaders allegedly responsible for the deaths and torture of dissidents

In his statement on Tuesday, Mr Hlongwane also requested the International Red Cross to pressure the ANC and the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments into allowing the Red Cross to

visit the ANC's "hell camps" in those countries.

"Based on the ANC's previous record we feel that our comrades are in danger of losing their lives should this matter not be attended to in the near future."

Hlongwane also asked the Red Cross to request State President FW de Klerk to negotiate the release of ANC captives "in view of the fact that we are in the process of releasing all political prisoners in South Africa". - *Sappa*.

274



Chaos edges nearer

SOUTH Africa could plunge into Somalia-type chaos, starvation and civil war unless its leaders quickly negotiate peace and disarm warring factions, Mr John Allwood, local director of World Vision, said yesterday. (274) (247)

Alwood said the region was becoming a powder-keg with the young taking up arms to get bread.

"That is what is happening in Somalia today. Sowetan 1/10/92

"It could happen here tomorrow unless the politicians step in to solve the problems and do something to halt the murderous international traffic in arms. Chaos is even nearer home than we think," he said.

Meiring claims ⁽²⁷⁰⁾ MK plan sabotage

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSiswe, has plans to undertake acts of sabotage against government installations and infrastructures during the fourth phase of its mass action programme, SA Army chief Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring said.

Available information made it clear that MK members would be deployed among mass action participants during "exitgate" to provoke the security forces of SA and the TBVC states, General Meiring told a military parade in Voortrekkerhoogte on Wednesday.

His speech was released to the media yesterday.

ANC spokesman Mr. Carl Niehaus last night rejected General Meiring's claims as "utterly untrue" and said the ANC was committed to a peaceful campaign of mass action which would be conducted within the parameters laid down by the Goldstone Commission and the National Peace Accord.

R W Johnson examines the issues behind the homeland marches

NO-go areas abound as micro-regions mushroom

STW 11/01/92

(274)

THE Star got it nearly all wrong on the Bisho massacre ... The Star did not deal with the real issue ... The real issue in the Ciskei, and in Bop ... is straightforwardly political freedom.

On the face of it, this claim — advanced as the rationale for marches on Bisho, Mmbatho or Umhudi, and repeated in The Star's letter column last week, seems not unreasonable: the Ciskei is a military dictatorship and even if Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana government has issued from elections of a sort, democratic standards in Mmbatho have reached a less than Athenian level.

But at that point the argument peters out. There are 10 bantustans and the rhetoric about marching-for-freedom was only used in the case of four of them — oddly, only one of the three military dictatorships was targeted. This makes it difficult to believe political freedom is "the real issue". The argument remains important despite the weekend agreement to end mass action

(when one reads that the ANC agreed to "examine" its mass action campaign, one assumes this is movement-speak for "stop").

Whether the motive behind the marches was ever "political freedom" remains in some doubt. If it were so, why would the marchers have queued their own pitch by declaring that their objective was to topple Gqozo/Mangope/Buthelezi? Such rhetoric was bound to result in the diminution of political freedom, not its enlargement, as the targeted homeland rulers inevitably cracked down harder in the atmosphere of heightened threat. Either the march organisers didn't mean such threats, in which case they were stupid, or they did mean them, in which case their argument for political freedom is disingenuous, even cynical.

The truth would seem to be that in the current feverish climate a lot of people are saying and doing a lot of wild and foolish things. One sees it in personal lives: the strains of living in a violent society, with negative growth and

an uncertain future, are very great.

Lots of private difficulties can be traced to social tensions and it's hardly surprising that a lot of current political behaviour is unbalanced, overhyped and confrontational. If only it were possible, everyone needs to calm down.

If one looks calmly at the homeland record, one is struck by a paradox. Under John Vorster and P W Botha the country was unfree, but Bophuthatswana provided an island of relative liberalism. The Bop media were more progressive than the SABC and many a radical academic sought refuge at Umhlo. And Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the best anti-apartheid record of any homeland leader, refusing independence and campaigning for Nelson Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC.

Then, when F W de Klerk freed things up across the country, new alliances emerged and we were asked to accept that President Mangope and Chief Buthelezi, far

from being the most progressive homeland leaders, were actually the most reactionary.

But what has changed most has little to do with principle: it is that we have now entered an era of alliance politics. Take the coloured Labour Party, for example. It drew ANC fire when it joined Chief Buthelezi's Black Alliance, but is now happily accepted as an ANC ally — even though the LP continues to sit in the tricameral parliament, which the ANC (and Inkatha) reject on principle!

The "real issue" here is plain enough: it has little to do with freedom, everything to do with power. But what of political freedom? ANC marchers into Mmbatho or Umhudi would clearly be taking their lives in their hands. It is deplorable that this should be so, but it is so.

For the truth is that South Africa is full of no-go areas for one party or another. Chief Buthelezi was nearly killed when he tried to attend Robert Sobukwe's funeral in the Eastern Cape, and ANC

militants have prevented Mr de Klerk from speaking on the Cape Flats and at Boipatong.

There are scores of communities in Natal or on the Reef where ANC "comrades" would be killed virtually on sight, scores more where the same applies to the IFP. The PAC complains of being on the receiving end of ANC violence in other communities. In some areas Inkatha shacklers fight one another for territorial control, in others rival gangs of ANC "comrades" do the same.

Deplored this lack of civil rights is a good, liberal response to this situation, but it is not enough. What we are witnessing is the territorialisation of politics, only some of which stems from the monopolist tendencies inherent in African nationalism. "All of us who live in Chester-ville are ANC, 100 percent" says a friend of mine. "It's good that way — it means no fighting."

Sadly, you can see his point: political homogeneity equals security and some prospect of improve-

ment. Given current levels of insecurity, you can't blame people for choosing security over choice. People who live in the nearby IFP-dominated Lundelani say much the same, as do many of the residents of Cape Town's squatter fields, and the residents of many a homeland.

This is the other, unmentioned side of the federalism debate. While the debate rages on over nine or 10 regions and what powers those regions should have, the reality on the ground is that South Africa is fast fragmenting into hundreds of micro-regions, often exercising powers far more tyrannical than anything mentioned in the federalism debate.

Getting from that to a democratic unitary state may well be short-term impossible. Just getting from there to a working federal state will tax all our resources. □

R W Johnson is a Rhodes scholar and Oxford don, currently on sabbatical at the University of Natal

R W Johnson examines the issues behind the homeland marches

No-go areas abound as micro-regions mushroom

SMC 11/19/72

(274)

THE Star got it nearly all wrong on the Bisho massacre ... The Star did not deal with the real issue ... The real issue in the Ciskei, and in Bop ... is straightforwardly political freedom.

On the face of it, this claim — advanced as the rationale for marches on Bisho, Mmbatho or Umtata, and repeated in The Star's letter column last week, seems not unreasonable, the Ciskei is a military dictatorship and even if Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana government has issued from elections of a sort, democratic standards in Mmbatho have reached a less than Athenian level.

But at that point the argument peters out. There are 10 bantustans and the rhetoric about marching-for-freedom was only used in the case of four of them — oddly, only one of the three military dictatorships was targeted.

(When one reads that the ANC agreed to "examine" its mass action campaign, one assumes this is movement-speak for "stop"). Whether the motive behind the marches was ever "political freedom" remains in some doubt. If it were so, why would the marchers have queered their own pitch by declaring that their objective was to topple Gqozo/Mangope/Buthelezi? Such rhetoric was bound to result in the diminution of political freedom, not its enlargement, as the targeted homeland rulers inevitably cracked down harder in the atmosphere of heightened threat. Either the march organisers didn't mean such threats, in which case they were stupid, or they did mean them, in which case their argument for political freedom is disingenuous, even cynical.

The truth would seem to be that in the current feverish climate a lot of people are saying and doing a lot of wild and foolish things. One sees it in personal lives: the strains of living in a violent society, with negative growth and an uncertain future, are very great. Lots of private difficulties can be traced to social tensions and it's hardly surprising that a lot of current political behaviour is unbalanced, overhyped and confrontational. If only it were possible, everyone needs to calm down.

If one looks calmly at the homeland record, one is struck by a paradox. Under John Vorster and P W Botha the country was unfree, but Bophuthatswana provided an island of relative liberalism. The Bop media were more progressive than the SABC and many a radical academic sought refuge at Umtata. And Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the best anti-apartheid record of any homeland leader, refusing independence and campaigning for Nelson Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC.

Then, when F W de Klerk freed things up across the country, new alliances emerged and we were asked to accept that President Mangope and Chief Buthelezi, far from being the most progressive homeland leaders, were actually the most reactionary. But what has changed most has little to do with principle: it is that we have now entered an era of alliance politics. Take the coloured Labour Party, for example. It drew ANC fire when it joined Chief Buthelezi's Black Alliance, but is now happily accepted as an ANC ally — even though the LP continues to sit in the tricameral parliament, which the ANC (and Inkatha) reject on principle!

The "real issue" here is plain enough: it has little to do with freedom, everything to do with power. But what of political freedom? ANC marchers into Mmbatho or Umtata would clearly be taking their lives in their hands. It is deplorable that this should be so, but it is so. For the truth is that South Africa is full of no-go areas for one party or another. Chief Buthelezi was nearly killed when he tried to attend Robert Sobukwe's funeral in the Eastern Cape, and ANC militants have prevented Mr de Klerk from speaking on the Cape Flats and at Boipatong. There are scores of communities in Natal or on the Reef where ANC "comrades" would be killed virtually on sight, scores more where the same applies to the IFP. The PAC complains of being on the receiving end of ANC violence in other communities. In some areas Inkatha shack-lords fight one another for territorial control, in others rival gangs of ANC "comrades" do the same. Deploring this lack of civil rights is a good, liberal response to this situation, but it is not enough. What we are witnessing is the territorialisation of politics, only some of which stems from the monopolist tendencies inherent in African nationalism. "All of us who live in Chester-ville are ANC, 100 percent" says a friend of mine. "It's good that way — it means no fighting."

Sadly, you can see his point: political homogeneity equals security and some prospect of improvement. Given current levels of insecurity, you can't blame people for choosing security over choice. People who live in the nearby IFP-dominated Landelam say much the same, as do many of the residents of Cape Town's squatter fiefdoms, and the residents of many a homeland. This is the other, unmentioned side of the federalism debate. While the debate rages on over nine or 10 regions and what powers those regions should have, the reality on the ground is that South Africa is fast fragmenting into hundreds of micro-regions, often exercising powers far more tyrannical than anything mentioned in the federalism debate. Getting from that to a democratic unitary state may well be short-term impossible. Just getting from there to a working federal state will tax all our resources. □

R W Johnson is a Rhodes scholar and Oxford don, currently on sabbatical at the University of Natal

'Now if only Ciskei had

listened

The Bisho massacre could have been averted if the Ciskei authorities had acceded to the pleas of the SA Government, the SAP and the National Peace Secretariat to allow a peaceful and negotiated mass demonstration. Co-operation between local authorities and the SAP and the organisers of mass demonstrations had before almost invariably led to disciplined marches and meetings, some involving tens of thousands of people.

This type of mass demonstration was the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans who remain disenfranchised.

Defining what it called "responsible mass action", the commission said mass action must be organised to take all reasonable steps to avoid violence.

That could be achieved only by removing the risk created by unpredictable conduct.

Organisations should distinguish between action designed to make a political statement and mass demonstrations

Use of lethal force 'was never contemplated'

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

On September 7 thousands of ANC supporters marched on Bisho, capital of the nominally independent Ciskei homeland. At the Bisho stadium just inside the Ciskei the Ciskei Defence force opened fire, killing 29.

This is a shortened version of how the Goldstone Commission described the sequence of events leading up to the shooting.

On August 31 the ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance notified the relevant authorities of their intention to gather at the Victoria Sports Grounds in King William's Town in South Africa and from there to march to nearby Bisho.

The South African Government, the SAP and the NPS urged the Ciskei authorities to allow a peaceful march to Bisho on September 7. The authorities would not agree.

The ANC then applied to the King William's Town municipality for permission for the march, which was approved.

On the day of the march there were about 1 200 marshalls and



Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, met march organisers

executives from 200 branches of the Alliance responsible for maintaining crowd control.

People were to be searched for weapons on entering the Victoria Sports Grounds.

However, the commission noted, that even if these precautions were carefully observed, it would not have been possible to search those who joined the march after it left the Victoria Sports Grounds.

On the evening of September 6, the Ciskei authorities brought an urgent application in the Ciskei Supreme Court for an order prohibiting the march.

The Chief Justice of the Ciskei granted an order declaring

that it would be unlawful to hold the march without the consent of the Chief Magistrate.

The Chief Magistrate granted permission in the early hours of September 7 on condition that marchers were to gather in the Bisho stadium between noon and 4 30 pm and were not allowed to be armed.

The counsel for the Alliance told the commission that the Alliance decided it would not comply with the Chief Magistrate's order as by that time it was already firmly committed to the march.

According to the Alliance's counsel, although it was appreciated that the Ciskei Security Forces might attempt to prevent the assembly taking place, it was never contemplated that they would use lethal force.

Some Alliance leaders went ahead of the march to reconnoitre the situation at the border.

There they noticed the road had been blocked by rolls of razor wire to prevent the protestors from marching along the road to Bisho.

The march leaders met National Peace Secretariat chair-



Cyril Ramaphosa, leaders would consider options

man Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and the chairman of the National Peace Committee, John Hall, and other observers.

Mr Hall and Dr Gildenhuys informed the Alliance leaders — including Cyril Ramaphosa, Chris Hanu and Ronnie Kasrils — that the Ciskei authorities were determined that the protestors would not be allowed into any part of Ciskei other than the Bisho stadium.

"The Alliance leaders indicated they did not accept that the Ciskei Security Forces had any right to frustrate their plans."

Alliance organisers went into the Bisho stadium where they

noticed that a section of the outer fence of the stadium on the northern side had been flattened for a distance of about 10m.

The gap provided an unobstructed route out of the stadium.

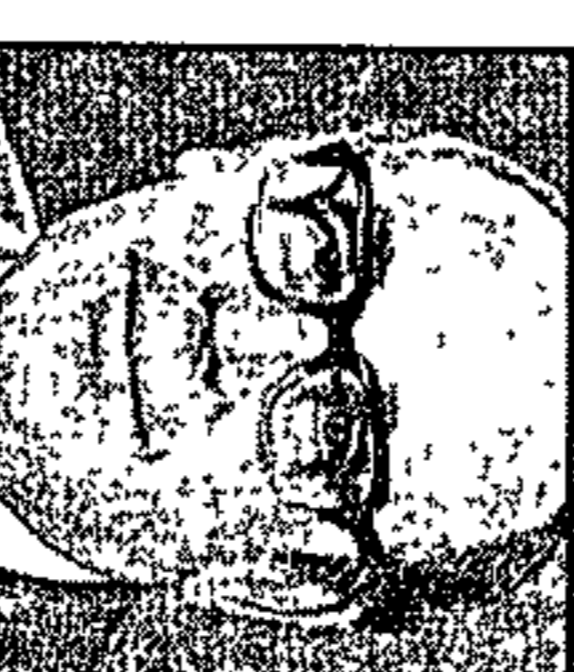
According to the Alliance version, CDF members could be seen about 250 m away on the eastern side of the area in front of the gap in the fence.

On the western side there appeared to be no soldiers.

Counsel for the CDF suggested that those soldiers must also have been visible to the Alliance organisers. The Commission said, though, that the fact that Alliance protesters later ran through the fence in the direction of the soldiers suggested they were unaware of their presence.

At about 1 30 pm, the front of the march reached the razor wire barrier, about 20 m from the SA/Ciskei border.

The crowd was spread over a wide area on both sides of the border, and "those on the left under the active leadership and with the encouragement of Mr Kasrils began running with him into the stadium grounds



John Hall... acted as a go-between for peace.

"The NPS representatives were not informed of the intention to lead demonstrators out of the stadium grounds."

The group led by Mr Kasrils moved out of the stadium and ran to the left in the direction of Jonglanga Crescent.

The soldiers towards whom they were running then stood up and opened fire.

"One sees from the video the moment firing began, every one of the demonstrators turned around in unison and ran back in the direction of the stadium."

The demonstrators were approximately 100 to 150 m from the soldiers. These soldiers fired 185 rounds of ammunition and four grenades.

The Alliance said the demonstrators were peaceful and unarmed and posed no threat to the soldiers or buildings. But the CDF said the first shots fired were from the group of demonstrators running at them.

The overall commander of the CDF received the message the soldiers were under fire.

He asked for confirmation and it was given to him. He then gave the order that the soldiers in the Jonglanga Crescent area could open fire.

Almost at the same time the Ciskei soldiers in front of the Fort Hare campus — which is on the southern side of the stadium — and those who were at the national assembly, also opened fire, without orders.

The CDF alleged that three shots were fired at them from this part of the crowd.

"One of the soldiers in the Fort Hare campus was shot and fell."

The CDF also alleged that handgrenades were thrown at them. They then opened fire "for a prolonged period and quite indiscriminately."

"They shot people who, in compliance with the order of the Chief Magistrate were in the stadium."

Tutu: Govts' right to defend overthrow

MMABATHO. — Governments had the right to refuse mass action where the express purpose of the participants was to overthrow the constituted authority, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was quoted as saying yesterday.

He was quoted in a statement released by the Information Service of Bophuthatswana after a meeting with President Lucas Mangope.

Archbishop Tutu was quoted as saying mass action aimed at underscoring the lack of free political activity, where the participants abided by the laws of the country and which remained disciplined and non-violent, should be tolerated. CT 2/10/92

He said the ongoing violence was causing all right-thinking South Africans considerable concern. — Sapa (274)

Pressing on towards peace

Guardian [W] [W] (mail) 2/10/81-8/10/92, 274

IN SOUTH Africa, negotiation is still the chosen route towards majority government. Scores of people are being murdered every day. For many blacks, the biggest question is whether they will make it through the night. They are not very interested in constitutional settlements. But talking, as F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are still striving to show, continues to be the preferred way of doing business.

Moreover, the main parties seem to agree on many things. They all accept universal suffrage. They all want election by proportional representation. They all say that regional power will be essential to both the curbing and the viability of the central government. They all loudly believe in the importance of a Bill of Rights as the crucial unifying guarantee of the rule of law.

Nor is this like putting up their hands for motherhood. The two parties around which all this revolves have made concessions that are not always comfortable. De Klerk's National Party accepts that the horrendous thought of majority rule is the only way forward, and is whistling to keep its courage up with the line put forward by the irrepressible foreign minister, Pik Botha, and others. As the new party boss in the Transvaal, Botha brags that the Nats will actually win the first election with black voters, which ought to take place some time in the next 18 months.

The ANC's most visible concession is of a different order. It is intellectual. Since I was here in 1990, the leadership has acquired a clearer grasp on economic reality. They understand that foreign investment must be lured here, and that socialistic nationalisation can no longer coexist with it. They also see that time is running out. The how and the how-much of economic redistribution, an absolutely unavoidable component, are impossible to promise. The militant ideologues who fence Mandela in on one side do not recoil from a scorched-earth outcome. But after they overplayed their hand at Bisho and were accessories to a massacre, the realists began the process that took them back towards the conference-table.

A deeper reality conduces that way, sooner or later. For everyone knows, do they not, that there is no other way? The Nats see it as their only hope. Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki, the two ablest men around Mandela, utterly understand it. What is

more, it is expected in the streets. Many blacks think a new life beckons. The white business community, small or large, talks with the blind fatalism common to business people everywhere. Things should be all right, they tend to say, "when those politicians have got themselves sorted out". This is a developed country, whose future cries out for a rational deal. It's also an underdeveloped country with the same irrefutable need. The skyscrapers and the shanty-towns equally proclaim that the politicians cannot fail.

Their task, however, is a challenge to more than rationality. Although the negotiating machine stops and starts, it is driven forward by these compelling realities. Yet behind them are other realities which have the power to overwhelm the most rational and obvious compulsion.

For one thing, although the consensus

'This is a developed country, whose future cries out for a rational deal'

sounds grand and is in historic terms amazing, it masks large areas of dissent. There is not even the beginning of agreement on the following essentials: how and where to write the constitution, when and for what body to have the first election, of whom and for how long a transitional government should be composed, what are principles and what are details when it comes to writing a constitution, what sort of proportional voting would be sensible, what sort of rights a Bill of Rights should protect. This list could be extended by another hundred elementary items. Perhaps most critically, the truly federal government the whites now regard as vital to their power-sharing ambitions is far removed from the merely regional government the ANC is prepared to settle for.

They are at the very start, in other words, of a process which, perhaps because it began by engaging hundreds of people and many fragmentary interest groups, has arrived at exceptionally few decisions. The formality of constitution-making is intertwined with an incessant power-struggle, the need to make compromises flawed by total uncertainty about the willingness of those no longer at the table to accept them. These, the excluded parties to the deal, have a vile reputation.

This is no doubt another necessary part of the process. If Afrikaner Conservatism and Zulu separatism had had to be accommodated before de Klerk and Mandela got to work, nothing whatever would have happened. Their power of veto is relegated to the back of the negotiators' minds for this again would impede all progress if anyone paid it too much attention.

Yet their veto, on peace if not on a deal, emphatically exists. Chief Buthelezi may be a discredited figure, but he has a few legions behind him, all aware — such is the co-option of the ANC into the fashion of the moment — that the slaughter of Inkatha Zulus seldom gets a fraction of the attention the international media give to deaths among the ANC. The Conservative Afrikaner, excepting the wild men already running their own militias, is a voice that has yet to be heard. He waits and watches. People say he will never sacrifice his BMW for the impoverished white sub-state of which he seems to be dreaming. He is unlikely to be put to this test, because the idea is outlandish. But the Afrikaner is born to fight, and we haven't seen him fighting yet.

Nor can anyone imagine he will be alone. Another note the negotiators have no space for is a note of caution. They have bound themselves to the only wheel that destiny allows them, which is supposed to be progressing, as far as most blacks are concerned, towards the promised land. But generations will live and die before it gets there: an obvious platitude, yet one that the charismatic liberator at their head, perhaps understandably, does not choose to emphasise. Even if a deal is done and the ANC comes to power, the fury as expectations are not met is bound to be horrific. The Bill of Rights may be essential. All parties say as much. But it is hardly a sufficient bulwark against the culture of the outlaw which can be sensed a millimetre below the skin of this society.

What's happening here is an attempt to meet peacefully a price that history is exacting. It is a valiant effort. Men of intelligence and belated goodwill have seen what they must do, and have bent themselves to the task. It is trite to say they must succeed. Of course they must. But the enterprise is asking more of history's victims than they have paid in any other country, and more of history's winners than they have ever been known willingly to offer up.

POLITICAL DEALS

FM 2/10/92

One Wit Wolf, one bomber

There are extremely disquieting elements in the deal struck by F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela at the weekend. The release from prison of Robert McBride and Barend Strydom is bad enough — an obscenity which the nation is supposed to swallow for the sake of a pious reconciliation which is far from happening.

But again — as we suggested last week — one is struck by how quickly our leaders are moving away from genuine democracy. There is nothing propitious in this release for our future freedom, happiness and security. The entire affair was stage-managed to precede yet another of Mandela's foreign fund-raising jaunts and almost immediately contradictions emerged.

Let's consider some.

Now that they have been forgiven for their murders, McBride and Strydom — both young men — have been received back into their markedly segregated and mutually hostile communities. Neither has shown any remorse; rather, they have been glowing with an idiotic triumphalism and McBride has said he would be prepared to "do it again" (blow up civilians) in the same circumstances as 1985. This so that "peace and democracy" will prevail.

We do not yet know what Strydom thinks, since he has sold his story exclusively to *Rapport*. But clearly he, as much as McBride, is a hero to some.

The victims thus brushed aside, we are enjoined to consider the big picture — the national interest. These points arise:

□ Government has finally indicated that it will move on certain glaring catalysts of violence, specifically the carrying of weapons of death in public and the monitoring of volatile hostels. These matters, one would have thought, should have long since been dealt with firmly — before Boipatong. The suspicion exists that they were left unattended for so long not because their potential for violence was unknown, but because they became chips in a bargaining process.

The cost of such neglect has been many deaths. In addition, there is the alienation of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who now seeks an alliance with the likes of Oupa Gqozo.

□ The ANC can with some justification claim that mass action has worked — it brought government to the point where it had to act on public weapons and hostels as a kind of concession.

This supports the suspicion that government has all along had a hidden agenda in negotiation which, at the least, it backed with a dangerous tolerance of black-on-black vio-

lence. Yet, in employing the means of mass action to achieve this end, the ANC has shown itself prepared to sacrifice ruthlessly its followers for propaganda. They dutifully went straight into the death trap at Bisho.

□ The issue of amnesty for "political" crimes is far from being settled. In any comparison of psychopaths, the ANC can presumably claim that McBride believed that killing three women in Magoo's Bar was a blow for freedom and democracy but that Strydom is in a different category. There are already warnings that the ANC might rescind amnesty for the Wit Wolf — which defeats the purpose of whatever was actually agreed at the weekend.

Clearly McBride and Strydom were "swapped" for symbolic reasons, the essential understanding being that political deals transcend the rule of law. Both sides have thus laid the basis for continuous rule by expediency. Any government of "national unity" would be an uneasy — if not treacherous — coalition of political bosses continually looking over their shoulders at their constituencies.

And who exactly are the senior figures for whom government wants amnesty? How high up are they in the political and military hierarchy? De Klerk surely knows.

The extent to which justice has been subverted is emphasised by the behaviour of the Ministry of Law & Order — which abruptly suspended its well-publicised investigation of the crimes of returnees and security force agents. What only a week or so ago was said to be a matter of principle has been "temporarily postponed until such time as finality has been reached on this matter," according to Craig Kotze.

In other words, such retrospective investigations can be turned on and off like a tap, depending on what suits government.

The De Klerk/Mandela summit was a turning point. Now we know that justice itself is a pawn in a far bigger political game. Buthelezi sees this well enough — and has the potential to wreck bilateral deals which exclude him. But in

his new leopard-skin garb he appeals directly to tribal, sectional emotions and, in this, is also merely playing that bigger political game with its basis in raw power.

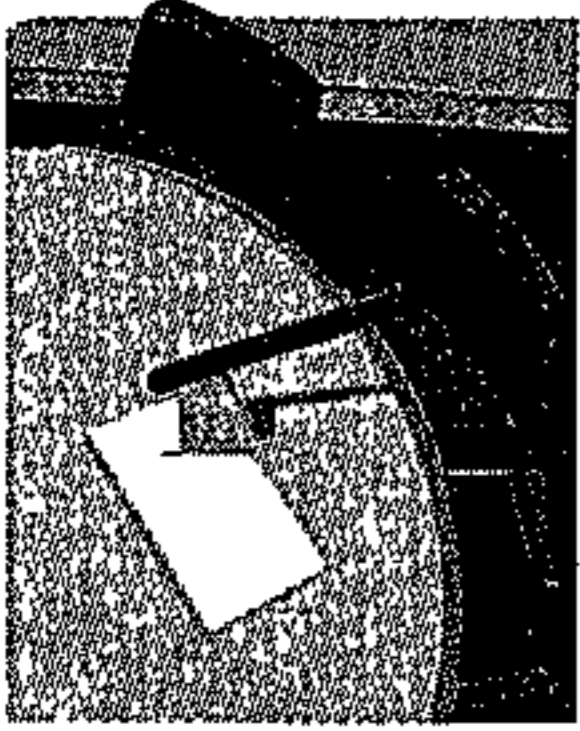
Who can doubt that government and the ANC will be back at Codesa, or its equivalent, within a few months? Their interests lie there. But with or without Buthelezi, scepticism over the validity of any agreements reached must be well-founded. Our two big leaders now have certain qualities in common: they are wooden, unconvincing and contradictory. ■



THE PEACE PROCESS FM 2/10/92

In the year of the axe 274

The principles of the Peace Accord still stand despite massacre and gloom



Trust Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu! The (qualified) good news of last weekend's summit on violence between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela — clearing the

way for a return to Codesa-style talks — had hardly sunk in when the Inkatha chief angrily announced his rejection of it. Petulantly, he cancelled further talks with government.

Obviously, the hope is that the KwaZulu leader can be mollified. But his precipitate reaction — and the potential it has for feeding the violence — illustrates the kind of difficulties SA faces in its painful transition to relative peace and democracy.

The trigger-points of poverty, heightened political expectations and ethnic rivalry are so deeply entrenched in our social fabric that outbursts of violence must be expected until our peoples come to love each other. Meanwhile, as the transition proceeds, our leaders can be expected to display a certain ruthlessness and impetuosity when it comes to their survival. Power and influence are at stake.

Politicians may be expected to behave in this way — though they are not supposed to. In fact, they are frequently in contravention of the lofty undertakings of political tolerance contained in the National Peace Accord. The accord was signed just over a year ago — yet the death toll from political violence seems unabated. The leaders' bellicosity surely contributes to that.

The violence certainly will not end soon — and may not even abate to tolerable levels before an interim government of national unity is established.

Yet this prospect, like Buthelezi's rhetoric of civil war and his withdrawal from talks, should be kept in perspective. Perspective is a favourite word of John Hall — chairman of the National Peace Committee of the accord — who detailed to the *FM* exactly what is being done about the violence. His views provide a powerful antidote to excessive dependency.

Hall says: "Eighty percent of our country is at peace — we kill more people on the roads every day than we do in violence. Criminal acts are responsible for more deaths than political violence. Our industries operate, we've got good working relationships with the trade unions; it could be a hell of a lot worse, the violence is not high-key."

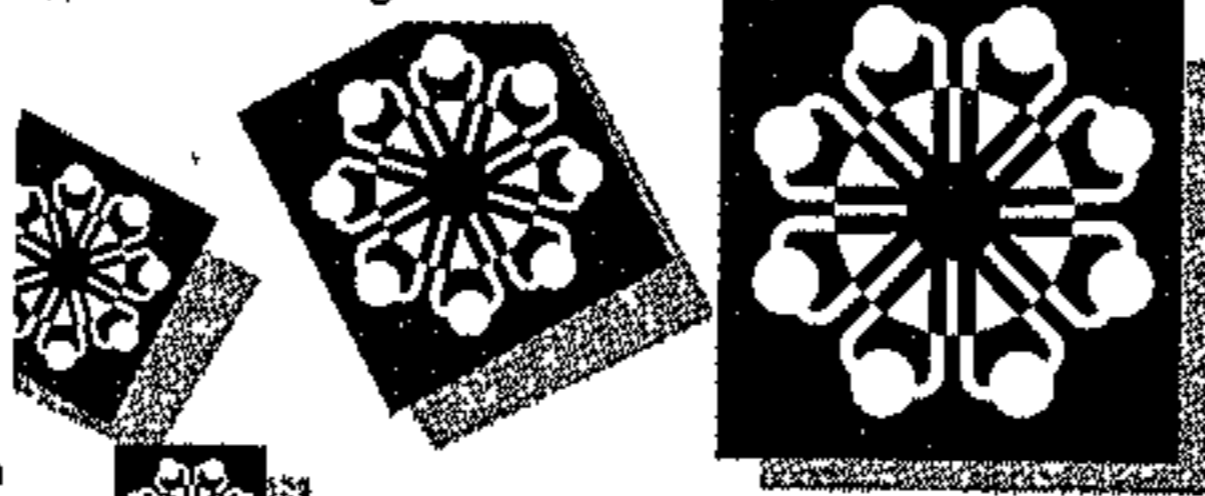
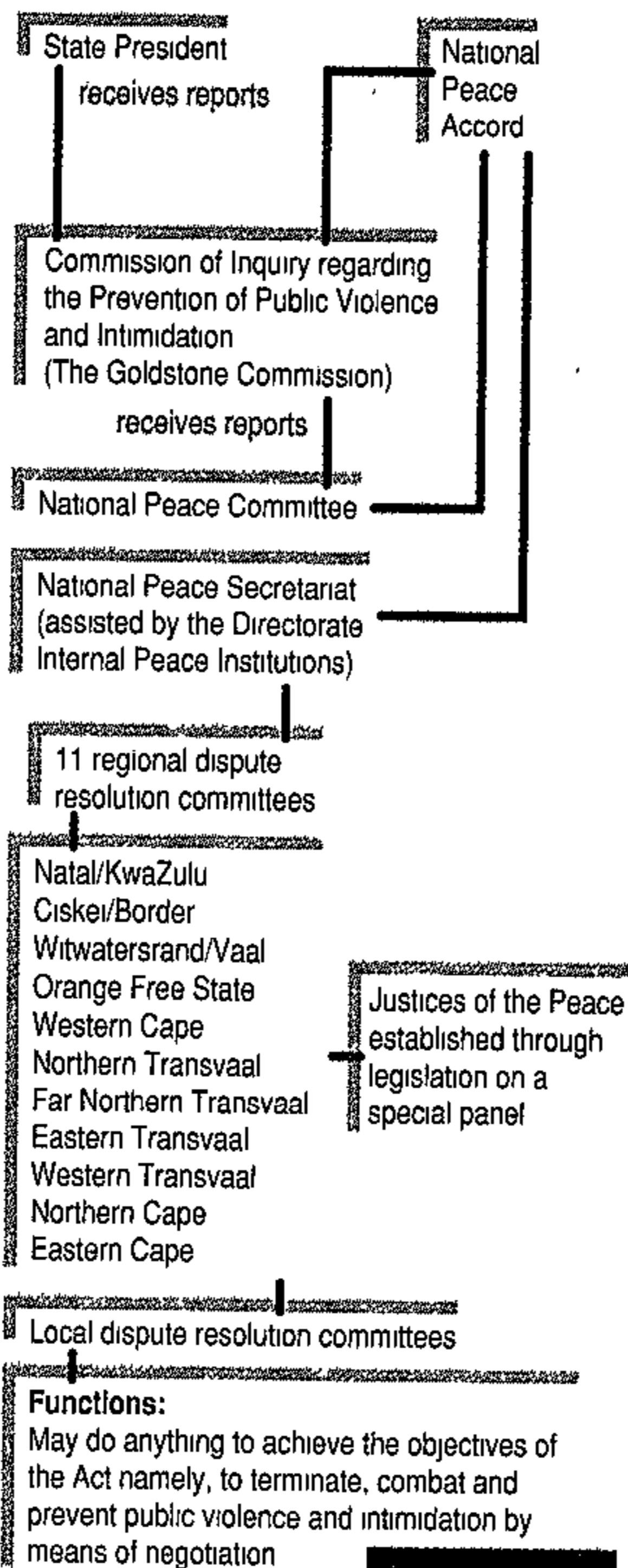
Compared to examples of transition in many other countries, we don't look nearly as bad as it sometimes feels. That's not to deny the dangers inherent in a climate of violence

— especially its malignant effect on the economy which, undermined, only further nourishes the violence.

But how can conflict be contained, if not ended? According to Hall, "it's the will of the political leaders to bring peace to this country that will bring peace, not the Peace Accord."

While all the political leaders remain committed to the Peace Accord, he explains, the problem is that on various levels there's no guarantee that commitment is transmitted down the line. He identifies four such levels.

Promoting peace The National Peace Accord



Firstly, there is the leadership level, at which Codesa was negotiated with tolerance and all those good things like democracy and freedom of speech in mind. But when you go down to the second level — which is that of the management of executive decisions — you find various people who have probably got different and sometimes conflicting agendas. These are linked up with the third level, the community — and every community in SA is different.

The fourth "subterranean" level is where dirty tricks operate and they do so in the SADF, SAP, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the KwaZulu Police and so on. All contain bad elements. It is of course quite conceivable that people on level one have no idea of what's going on at level four; and that people at level two also may or may not know what is going on. "So when you ask," says Hall, "do the political leaders honour the accord?", the answer is that the political parties and their supporters quite often honour the accord in the breach — though I would hate to point a finger at any specific individual."

The Peace Accord has created a network of people throughout SA at national, regional and local level who know each other across the full spectrum of political activities. Hall says. "This is of tremendous value in defusing violence," as the accord has done in a number of sadly unpublicised cases. Without this network, with its independent chairmen, we would have had "mini-civil wars" all over SA, in his opinion.

"The accord probably keeps violence, instead of at a level of 100, down to 50 or 60. That's bad enough. The international observers might take it down to 30 or 40."

An example of what happens when the accord breaks down is the massacre at Bisho, where Hall was present. The ANC — having decided to press on into the capital — did not bother to stop and talk to Hall and others of the Peace Committee who were on the spot and who could at least have tried to negotiate an alternative to piercing the barrier. The outcome was tragedy.

The accord's secretariat, after a year's operation, has branches throughout the country, they obviously do not function perfectly, but are daily making headway. "At local level," Hall says, "if you've got the communities getting their act together, rebuilding their mini-economies, then you are actually getting people to understand the democratic art of the possible at community level. They are problem-solving through collective wisdom."

"That is the magic of the Peace Accord. And while it's at the top level that people are getting their acts together, you're going to get a trickle-down, trickle-up effect. The

Peace Accord has put those structures in place to make that happen.”

What then is required for a broad culture of tolerance? “A commitment to democracy,” says Hall, who is well aware that “if people still have a winner-takes-all view of this country and still have political agendas which are not democratically orientated, do we have to wait until we get to a zero-sum game before we start moving in the right direction? I don’t believe we’re at that point. I think the leaders have virtually got to throw themselves on the mercy of democratic principles and face up to being elected, or not elected. They say that, don’t they?”

Of course, there’s always a fine line between contravention of the accord and robust politics. Hall’s feeling over Buthelezi’s comment about “buggering up” the ANC, is to give the Zulu leader the benefit of the doubt. However, in current circumstances, “I would think both the march itself and the responses have all the ingredients for another Bisho and that the political leaders have really got to seek an alternative. How dare they actually take a risk of bloodshed when it is so clearly on the cards? They should find another form of protest.”

The Peace Accord says that protest action is legitimate. But building up a spirit of political tolerance is equally essential to freedom of speech and action. To this end, the Peace Committee hopes to host a conference of leaders on the matter within the next week. Hall has sent out letters asking for all marches to be halted until that conference has been held. This will be a test of the durability of the accord.

There are five resolutions on the agenda, which, while they have all been approved in principle by “everybody,” await ratification:

- A reconfirmation of commitment to poli-

tical tolerance;

- The appointment of ombudsmen at regional and local level — senior political figures who can call on their followers to behave. This should carry the commitment to tolerance down to grassroots level;

- Barriers on reconstruction and development funding should be lifted. This sanction has prevented aid from flowing into strife-torn areas;

- The police should be welcomed back into the communities as respected law maintainers; and

- Greater use can be made of the various monitors and observers — local and international — to give effect to the resolutions.

In the end, political tolerance itself will have to be framed into some accord which will function against clandestine activities and unfair play, Hall says. This could then be monitored by the UN observers, who, he believes, are really only buying time while the national politicians get their act together.

If there is a common binding factor in SA that could form the basis of peaceful co-existence, it would seem to be a clear understanding by our leaders that the only thing that can deliver and improve quality of life is a healthy economy. Hall believes that if the will of the leaders to enforce political tolerance becomes a reality, an interim government is probably only months away. “But until they take that step, one doesn’t know what the future holds. The economy can’t carry on any further. That’s common cause.



Peace Committee's Hall

We can't go on for a year or more in the economic doldrums; the downward spiral will become an accelerating vortex and we'll be in deep trouble.”

What teeth does the accord have to enforce its noble injunctions? Only world and public opinion, Hall admits. He tells ambassadors to keep impressing on SA's leaders that they are the representatives of an exclusive club — nations committed to democracy, tolerance, negotiation and reconciliation. And the

leaders who signed the Peace Accord qualify for membership of that club. “That’s the teeth of the Peace Accord, in my view — not walking around with a baseball bat.”

Hall uses another analogy — that of a trade union negotiation where deadlock has been reached, with one side’s option being to strike, the other’s to enforce a lock-out. “We slug it out until finally . . . we end up with the best we both can live with. It’s what we’re doing right now.

“Buthelezi wants federalism, the ANC wants central government with devolution of power. At the end of the exercise, people will get what they can get. You go through a series of zero-sum games all the time. That’s the story of humanity, isn’t it?”

This optimism — tempered with some fatalism — has carried Hall through the immensely difficult first year of the accord. He is a sincere and serious man. We need more like him. ■

By QUINTON RHODES

THIS week's Goldstone report into the massacre of 28 ANC protest marchers at the Ciskeian capital of Bisho on September 7 is significant for more reasons than immediately meet the eye.

Of course the basic findings are important in themselves.

It is notable that Goldstone did not allow the red herring of the Ronnie Kasrils surge through the broken fence to cloud his judgment that "whatever criticism there may be of the decision to lead the demonstrators through the gap in the fence, they cannot in any way justify the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers. That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that, on the CDF's own version, any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers".

The report recommended the opening of murder dockets against offending CDF members.

It is also important that the commission should call on the ANC to publicly chastise Kasrils, the SACP stal-

On the side of the marchers

Open 4/10/92

wart who led the march.

Equally significant is the commission's note that the CDF should question the training and discipline of its soldiers, and the contention that "to arm such men with lethal weapons is unacceptable".

But in the end these aspects of the report are of the nature of a post mortem; they will not bring the victims back to life.

Nor, if the present reaction of the Ciskei authorities is anything to go by, will they result in any real action.

In effect the Ciskei authorities rejected the Goldstone Commission findings in advance, appointing its own internal inquiry into the massacre under Ciskei Chief Justice B de V Pickard.

Predictably the Pickard Commission, releasing an interim report only a day after the Goldstone Commission, sought to lay the lion's share

of the blame for the killings at the door of the ANC.

What is of more importance in general terms and what will prove more important in coming months, is that Goldstone stresses the democratic right of people to express their political feelings through mass protest actions.

Says one of the recommendations: "Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly."

Another says: "The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control."

"Public protest," Judge Goldstone notes in the body of the report, "has become the order of the day... This type of mass demonstration is still the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans."

Equally quick as Ciskei to react negatively to the Goldstone Report was the government of Bop. The Bop authorities in the face of Goldstone's recommendations reiterated its rejection of mass action as a means of political self-expression.

In fact political freedom is severely circumscribed in the homeland. Various pieces of legislation make it more or less impossible for the ANC to function effectively within its borders.

Bop's hardline reaction should, however, not be seen as something isolated. It comes in the wake of meetings, held this week in Mma-

batho between Bop's President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Gqozo and Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, where a plan was mooted to set up a front of homeland leaders in defiance of current talks between the government and the ANC.

The three homeland leaders specifically rejected last Saturday's Record of Agreement concluded after the Mandela/De Klerk summit and said they would not be bound by bilateral agreements between the two groupings. One of the points of agreement spelt out in the Record was an acknowledgment on the part of government of the right of all parties to participate in mass action.

The rejection of the Record - like the withdrawal of Buthelezi from talks - represents a hardening of attitude within Pretoria's homelands and must be seen in conjunction with the continued insistence by all three of the leaders that they will use force against mass action.

In essence, Goldstone has come out on the side of the marchers. That, despite all the qualifications, is the real message of the Bisho report.

Parallels in two nations

St. Times (1/15/57)
4/10/92

By CIARAN RYAN

THERE are some arresting parallels between the political transformation of Germany and that of SA, says former German Ambassador to SA Immo Stabreit.

"Both countries were divided to uphold a despised political system and both are now forced to confront the social and financial costs of reunification.

"The cost of absorbing 15-million former East Germans in a united Germany is blamed for retarding economic growth and contributing to Germany's high interest rates and the recent financial crisis in Europe.

"In SA's case, political transformation is impeded by three years of falling economic growth and escalating violence. For this reason, the major challenge facing SA is job creation," says Dr Stabreit, who left SA last month to assume his new post as Ambassador to Washington after 5½ years in SA.

"Violence is a consequence of several factors, but the most important of these is the lack of employment opportunities.

"Political violence could be stopped relatively easily. Criminal violence is not so easy to bring under control.

Education

"Many South Africans grew up under a system which used violence to uphold a certain political system. Their response was to reject the institutions which represented the State, from the schools through to the courts of law. Unfortunately, many of these people who rejected education and training are today unemployable.

"They will have to be assimilated in the community and the State will incur the costs."

The major challenge for Germany is redevelopment of the east where unemployment is more than double the former West Germany's 6%. Most of the east's traditional markets in the former Soviet Union collapsed along with the Iron Curtain.

Dr Stabreit says: "SA is rich in leadership qualities. The problem is that people have been pitted against one another. If they could pull together, SA would be unstoppable.

"But it would be naive to think that SA's problems will be solved overnight."

Dr Stabreit arrived here in the dying years of apartheid to witness the birth of the new SA. Germany's relations with SA ranged from being cordial to decidedly frosty — particularly under the reign of former President PW Botha.

He is succeeded as ambassador by Dr Hans-Christian Ueberschaer.

Disband MK says Buthelezi

SCAN 5/10/92
(274)
Political Reporter

Negotiations could not continue until the ANC's "ruthless army" — Umkhonto we Sizwe — was disbanded, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a Shaka Day celebration in KwaMbane outside Mtubatuba, Chief Buthelezi said that as long as MK continued to exist, the IFP and the KwaZulu government would not return to negotiations.

He accused the ANC-led tripartite alliance of orchestrating violence against IFP members, and Zulus in particular, and said "the anarchy now reigning in some parts of the country" was a direct result of the ANC's previous campaigns to make South Africa ungovernable.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the organisation would not disband MK at this stage. He said MK was not operative and the armed struggle had been suspended.

"MK is not a problem for the negotiations process and as far as violence is concerned. It sounds as if this is once again an excuse raised by Chief Buthelezi. Perhaps he doesn't want to return to

● To Page 3 ●

Disband MK: Buthelezi (274)

● From Page 1 ●

negotiations and the consequences of full democracy," said Mr Niehaus.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible, and it was "unable to establish a foothold in our communities".

This, he said, had put "the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region high on (the ANC's) political agenda".

"Umkhonto has to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact," he said.

"If it is to remain... after an interim government is established, either on its own or as part of the SADF, you can count me out of these agreements."

Chief Buthelezi's angry speech contrasted with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's weekend statement in which he expressed the hope that multilateral negotiations would resume before the end of the year.

In a speech at the University of Durban-Westville on Sat-

urday, Mr Ramaphosa also said he expected constitutional talks to be followed by elections for a constituent assembly next year.

Chief Buthelezi vehemently criticised ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk yesterday, saying their September 26 "Record of Understanding" amounted to a declaration of war against the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people.

He accused the Government of siding with the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance against the Zulus, and said the agreement to ban the carrying of "cultural weapons" was indicative of a plot "to culturally and ethnically castrate the Zulu people".

He said that by signing the "Record of Understanding" with Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk knew that he would oppose it, and in so doing Mr de Klerk has made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not understand why the Government continued to "fall all over itself to capitulate to the ANC-SACP alliance".

STAR 5/10/92 (274)

Hani 'yes' to homeland marches

CARLETONVILLE — SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani said yesterday the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance would continue with its planned marches on Ulundi and Bophuthatswana, in spite of warnings that this could lead to violence.

Speaking at a National Union of Mineworkers' health and safety rally at Carletonville, he said the presence of UN monitors and the National Peace Secretariat would help ensure the marches took place without violent incidents.

He added that the alliance

was, in fact, at the receiving end of the violence and was not the cause of it.

On the recent release of prisoners, Mr Hani said criminals were taking advantage of the political-prisoner release programme. Although his organisation had campaigned for the release of genuine political prisoners, he could not understand why people such as Barend Strydom and Dube Gang member Lucky Malaza had been released.

Referring to negotiations, Mr Hani said they should be on track within a month. — Sapa.



Chris Hani . . . monitors will prevent violence.

Schools empty despite guarantee of safety

Blomby 6/10/92
HEIDELBERG — Few pupils attended school at Heidelberg's Ratanda township, eastern Transvaal, yesterday despite a safety guarantee from UN observers, the local dispute resolution committee and police.

Witwatersrand/Vaal dispute resolution committee spokesman Ilona Tip said schools in the township had been closed for at least two weeks because of violence.

SA Democratic Teachers' Union spokesman Jabu Marwa said pupils had been physically molested, either at schools or while on their way to class.

He confirmed an increased police presence in the area, which was also being monitored by three UN observers and two dispute resolution committee representatives.

A man was stabbed to death in Ratanda by a group on Saturday, according to the police unrest report. On Saturday police found the bodies of four men in the area.

Police reported that one person was killed in a tavern at Evaton in the Vaal Triangle early yesterday when three men opened fire with a 9mm pistol and an

AK-47 rifle.

On Sunday night Dora Muse of Kagiso escaped injury when a Russian-made F1 handgrenade was lobbed into the lounge of her west Rand House. The explosion damaged property worth about R5 000.

A woman died and a man was seriously wounded when a group stoned them and set them alight at Bruntville, Natal.

Two burnt bodies were discovered at Darington near Fort Beaufort in the eastern Cape.

The hacked and stabbed bodies of two men were found in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on Saturday. Police said the men had been killed in separate incidents.

Two hostel residents and a policeman were shot dead in separate incidents in KwaZulu at the weekend.

The policeman, Constable S Mgwabi, was shot dead by unknown gunmen after an argument at his house in KwaMashu on Friday, said Col Moses Khanyile. His firearm was stolen.

In another incident on Friday, two men were shot dead by unknown gunmen in KwaMashu men's hostel. The killers fled with R62. — Sapa.

tober 6 1992 5

Weekend

violence

claims

10 lives

DURBAN. — An Inanda policeman was among 10 people who died in incidents of unrest over the weekend.

Constable S. Mgwabi was shot dead by gunmen who went to his home in KwaMashu on Friday, demanding to talk to him. After an argument they shot him and stole his firearm.

Meanwhile, 25 people have been arrested in connection with the killing of nine IFP supporters in Gengeshe, Richmond, last Saturday.

In other incidents of unrest at the weekend:

● Ms Thembi Zulu was stoned, stabbed and necklaced, and Mr Robert Khumalo, 35, was seriously injured after a meeting of "White City" residents in Bruntville, Mooi River, on Sunday.

● Two men were killed in a KwaMashu hostel on Friday by gunmen who robbed them of R62 before fleeing.

● At Ratanda, Heidelberg, a man was stabbed to death by a group.

● Two burnt bodies were found at Fort Beaufort on Saturday.

● The bodies of two men whom had been hacked to death were found in Alexandra on Saturday. — Sapa, Own Correspondent.

Radicals 'showing their true colours'

EAST LONDON — Both left- and right-wing radicals had unmasked themselves through their actions and the world was beginning to see them for what they really were, NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said last night.

"The government did not ban their activities. We allowed them the democratic freedom to show their undemocratic natures," he said at the official opening of the Cape NP congress in East London.

The government had conducted itself with patience, reserve and responsibility. Law and order had been maintained as well as was possible under "horrendously difficult conditions" *Blomj 6/10/92*

The influence of left- and right-wing radicals was beginning to wane and the opportunity was available for genuine negotiators to come forward, said De Villiers.

"Responsible and constructive people seek to pioneer the road to the future through negotiation rather than conflict. The discussions between the government and the ANC have taken this process further forward."

It was regretted that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had decided to withdraw from negotiations on the basis of incorrect allegations against the government.

"Just as it is unlikely that a lasting solution is possible without Inkatha, they surely do not imagine that they can go their own way without the co-operation of the other parties in SA," De Villiers said.

The NP would devote attention to the stumbling blocks which kept Inkatha from participating in negotiations. The overriding aim had to be to resume multiparty talks, he said.

NP leadership faces concerned congress

EAST LONDON — The NP leadership — reeling from a series of setbacks in negotiations — will face the music when the party's Cape congress gets under way in the city today.

Growing perceptions among the party rank-and-file that the ANC has won the lion's share of concessions at recent bargaining sessions and fears that government could be alienating its potentially valuable election allies like Inkatha will have to be addressed directly by government ministers.

Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recent decision to break off talks with government will also be dealt with by President F W de Klerk, party sources indicated yesterday.

They say delegates will be looking to De Klerk, who addresses the congress this morning, to allay many of their fears and uncertainties about the future.

These anxieties are reflected in the resolutions to be debated at the two-day congress. De Klerk is also expected to deal with the growing furor over the release of political prisoners — as well as a number of hardened criminals released as political offenders.

Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, will also be called on later today to allay concerns about the nature of the deal government is holding out for at negotiations.

Political Staff

A resolution which Meyer will have to respond to calls for a commitment that a new constitutional dispensation will ensure that "civilised norms, values and standards remain intact" and that Afrikaans be retained as one of the official languages.

A total of five constituencies have expressed their "deepest concern" over the corruption, fraud and malpractices taking place in government departments and have called for tough action against offenders, including the instant dismissal of officials with loss of pension benefits — instead of the now common practice of transferring guilty parties to other government departments.

With legislation designed to outlaw hard gambling due to be tabled in Parliament next week, another hot topic at the congress is bound to be a request for the government "to clarify its policy with regard to casinos", sources say.

A number of MPs are known to oppose government moves to close up to 2 000 private gaming clubs that have mushroomed across the country in recent months.

Other topics to be debated include the high incidence of violence throughout the country and the "deteriorating security situation in the Transkei", the growing squatter problem across the country, rising unemployment and rocketing food prices.

It's hard to see any purpose in destabilisation by violence, writes Stanley Uys from London

Digging the white man's grave

STAR 6/10/92

YOU can call this the Confessions of a Puzzled South African, who has been asking himself what motive could possibly exist for the manipulation by whites of the violence that has been tearing South Africa apart.

Black-on-black violence — between the ANC and Inkatha, for example — I can understand. They are fighting over territory and power, as has been man's habit since history began. But why would whites want to encourage the slaughter, when the result will be to fragment the country politically, reduce the chances of a mutually beneficial settlement being negotiated, and dig the white man's grave?

It's the apparent irrationality of white manipulation of violence that puzzles me.

It must be obvious, even to the thickest of the manipulators, that the weaker the two major parties

(NP and ANC) become, the more unstable the ultimate settlement will be, the more the economy will slide downhill, and the smaller the slice of the cake will become that the whites will want to claim as their share.

Leave aside the question of which whites are manipulating the violence. Just say they are rightwingers who do not want to see blacks take over even one rein of government, let alone both. Their strategy then is to "destabilise" the ANC, the obvious inheritor of power, and imperil the negotiations.

"Destabilisation" has succeeded like a dream. It has made it difficult, sometimes impossible, for the ANC to organise and recruit in the townships, and to protect its people from killings. Its stature among blacks, particularly that of its "moderate" leadership, is at an all-time low in the Vaal townships, and even in Alexandra,

while more and more of its regions, anxious to march on Umtata, Bisho, Mbabane, or wherever, are becoming increasingly rebellious.

The "third force," therefore, has triumphed in its immediate aim. It has undermined the ANC's urban support base. But, at the same time, it has strengthened the radicals, who in turn are making it increasingly difficult for President de Klerk to strike a deal with the "moderates".

Take the analysis a little further — beyond the perception that violence divides and rules and that it confirms that blacks cannot run a bath, let alone a country — and the picture is no longer as simple.

If "moderates" in the ANC are being steadily undermined by white manipulation of violence, and the radicals are being strengthened, what possible benefit is there in this for South Africa's whites?

This is what puzzles me. If 26 million blacks are politically destabilised, the result will be something approaching anarchy, or un-governability, and that will be the end of economic recovery. Where will the whites, rightwingers and manipulators no less than reformists, go from there?

Consider another, more sophisticated, scenario: that the violence will so diminish the ANC leadership's ability to deliver the black constituency to a negotiated settlement that the only choice left to it will be to join forces with the NP and for the two of them then to ram a settlement down everyone's throat.

Such a development would create political vacuums — for the Right, the Left and the Centre — and destabilisation could then begin in real earnest. I doubt very much whether the white manipulators of violence think in such sophisticated terms, but political

vacuums could be an unintended consequence of orchestrated violence.

The new Right could embrace (loosely, not necessarily in a formal alliance) homeland leaders (Buthelezi, Gqozo, Mangope, maybe Kenneth Mopeli), the Afrikaner Volksunie, what is left of the CP, and the "third force". The emergence of such a conservative front might well be an invitation to NP supporters to defect in sizeable numbers.

The new Left could be a workers/socialist party led by Chris Hani, and a Centrist party could emerge under Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and (who knows?) defectors from the ANC. My guess is that if such a Centrist party is formed, the NP hurriedly will change its name and persona to salvage its position as the major white party.

What a Tower of Babel South African politics would then be-

come. In a new Right, the manipulators of violence would be considerably strengthened, acquiring a more tightly focused political aim, namely, to protect regional or minority rights in the company of black allies.

From the flanks they will harass the ruling parties with guerrilla-like attrition, deepening the instability and inexorably dragging the economy down.

So what are the white manipulators of violence up to? As they dig the white man's grave, is it because they are stunner than one has imagined them to be, or is there simply something in the dark recesses of their psyches that drives them to this self-destructive? Or is there a strategy somewhere that I have missed, because I am sitting here 10 000 km away — some aspect of white manipulation of violence that even remotely will benefit the whites, or even a section of whites? Can someone tell me? □

Small business steering group

THEO RAWANA

SUN CITY. — A steering committee, which is to formulate a framework of policy-affecting small business, has been established.

The Small Business Unity Workshop Conference, held in Sun City yesterday, appointed the five-man committee comprising chairmen of the five workshops.

It is to co-ordinate the different small business committees nationwide to formulate a uniform policy.

The chairmen are Potchefstroom University's small business advisory bureau director Piet Moolman, Sunnyside Group chairman Keith Foster, Dick Robb of Barlow Rand who is chairman of Matchmaker Services, Willie Conradie of Volkskas Bank, and Phil Khumalo, Business Challenge CE.

The workshops they headed were on training/consultation, deregulation, subcontracting/matchmaking, financing and marketing respectively.

The idea of such a committee came when Foster, giving his report on the deregulation workshop, told the meeting that not one party in all the main political players had a small business policy.

"If the situation is left the way it is, small business will always be neglected," Foster said.

"Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaf, who is entrusted with small business, is still finding his way working out a Cabinet view on small business."

He said the Sunnyside Group and Sacob's small business forum were working on merging into a single body and hoped to have the structure in place by the end of the year.

The steering committee would immediately get to work investigating the final structure, he said.

Talk to police, Mandela is told

BLOOM 7/10/92

RAY HARTLEY

ANC president Nelson Mandela should meet police generals and tell them directly what his organisation expected of police, instead of simply criticising them from a great distance, says Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert.

Addressing an Idasa conference on policing in Vanderbijlpark yesterday, Slabbert said a new negotiating forum dealing with the role of the security forces and stability during the transition to democracy was urgently needed.

Slabbert said a future political accord would depend on "transitional stability" in the public service, including the police.

He warned political leaders that the public service could disintegrate, with grave consequences, if it was left without a sense of purpose while national negotiations were going on.

The public service had been "meticulously and systematically" built up to pursue the goals of apartheid.

Now it was facing a crisis of legitimacy, he said.

Slabbert said he had always regarded Codesa as an inappropriate forum for negotiations because it had created the illusion that politicians could negotiate transition on their own.

He added that efforts by Finance Minister Derek Keys and Cosatu to establish an economic forum and the recently established housing forum, were places where "the most important bargaining is taking place".

"I think it is unreasonable to ex-

pect the police to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

"Like most of us, they were singularly unprepared for change," Slabbert said.

"Only five or six years ago it was seen as part of the training of police and soldiers that they had to eliminate the enemy," he said, adding that the same was true of the liberation movements.

Police consultant Kobus Neethling, who has addressed more than 15 000 policemen on ways of improving their creativity, said police needed new skills if changes in their values were to be effective.

He said police and community visions of SA needed to be aligned to truly address the accountability of the force.

Neethling said the majority of policemen he had spoken to wanted to continue with policing and had a "positive awareness" of their role.

Police needed to be caring, emotionally involved, vulnerable, empathetic, humanistic and intuitive to succeed in their work, he said.

Eastern Cape Council of Churches chairman Mcebisi Xundu said community organisations had shown they appreciated law and order by using marshals to control their protest marches.

He said chiefs and headmen needed to be elected by their communities to create confidence and increase the accountability of their policing activities in the rural areas.

At
th

I
L
H
at
a
li
in
p
J
K

they tour the Great Wall of China yesterday.

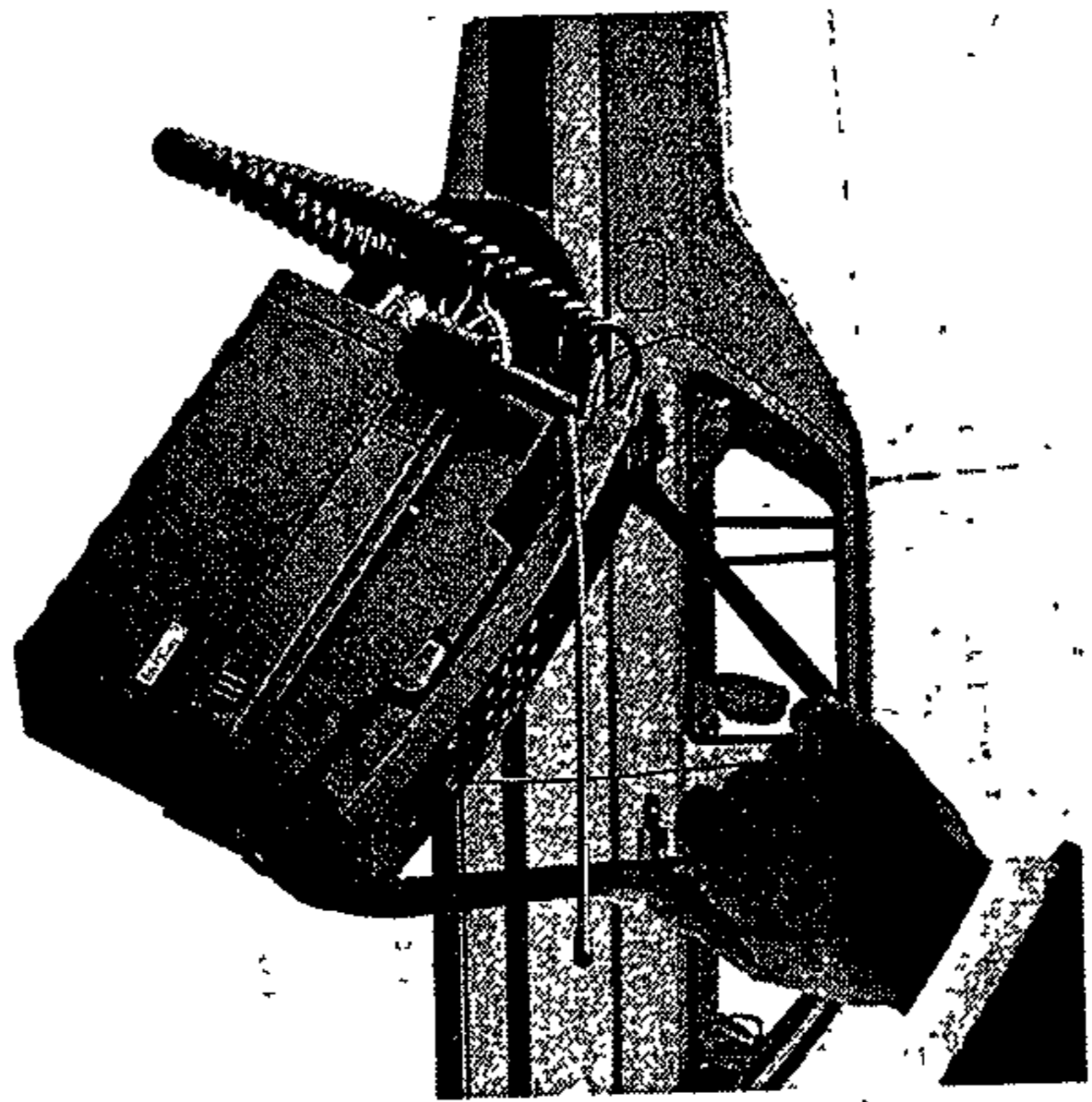
Kriel accused of 'whitewash job'

APM 7/10/92

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was deliberately ignoring advice from a recently established police board and "whitewashing" problems facing the police, Cosatu official Jayendra Naidoo told the Idasa conference.

RAY HARTLEY

Naidoo, who represents the ANC alliance on the national peace secretariat, told the conference on policing Kriel had "totally sidelined" the board, which is made up of equal num-



bers of police and civilian representatives.

The 22-man board was established to advise on strategy and met for the first time in May this year.

"The way that Kriel has dealt with the police board to date is a disgrace. He seems comfortable whitewashing his problems," said Naidoo.

The national peace secretariat needed to play a greater role in policing, including decisions about which officers were stationed in unrest areas.

He said fundamental changes were needed to enhance community participation in policing.

Police accountability to communities needed to be established in the period before an interim government, to minimise the conflict involved in changing police once a new government had been established, he said.

Promotion, discipline and training, which could be called the police force's "carrot, stick and advice" needed to be changed.

Picture: AP

Mandela, whose trip was made at the invitation of Chinese President Yang Shangkun, also met Premier Li Peng and Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin during his three-day stay in Beijing.

Excessive secrecy shrouds new strategic policing plan

APM 7/10/92

AN UNNECESSARY degree of secrecy had shrouded the development of a new strategic plan for policing, Wits Policing Research Project academics Etienne Marais and Janine Rauch said in a paper to be delivered today.

"The paper, which will be presented to delegates at the Idasa policing in the 1990s conference, blamed a traditional police suspicion of "outsiders" for the secrecy.

"This is further complicated by the SAP's unwillingness to allow any other parties to participate in the evaluation and planning process, or, indeed, to publicise its own new reform plan," the paper said.

Rauch, a Police Board member, was the first outsider allowed to witness any aspect of basic police training.

Rauch and Marais praised the recent announcement by police of a new community relations division, which would be responsible for strategic planning, conflict evaluation and the co-ordination of police participation in commissions of inquiry.

But the researchers added the inter-change between different police divisions was difficult and often contradictory. "Good relations which exist between

local diplomatic links with SA. China's Such a visit would worry diplomatic leaders, who actively sought diplomatic isolation for Taiwan, which Beijing considers a renegade province. — Sapa-Reuters

RAY HARTLEY

local station commanders and communities have often been ignored when the Internal Stability Unit has been sent into the area — leading to a breakdown of trust and co-operation," the paper said.

By signing the national peace accord, police had acknowledged they were "not merely a referee, but a significant player in the violence", it said.

Although it was too early to say whether or not the code of conduct signed by policemen in terms of the peace accord had improved policing, there were worrying signs it was "not having much restraining or moderating effect".

Police continued to view criticism of their operations as part of a "political agenda of undermining the credibility of the SAP", allowing police leadership to fob off criticism, the paper said.

Training was still military in character and focused disproportionate attention on the use of firearms, military discipline and the socialisation of recruits into the policing culture, rather than covering areas such as police-community relations, ethical problems and police accountability.



FW threat to stop homeland ANC marches

274

Political Staff

EAST LONDON — President F.W. de Klerk yesterday put himself on a collision course with the ANC by threatening to stop its marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

In a tough keynote address to the NP Cape congress, De Klerk said government was "duty bound" to prevent marches which could result in violence.

Responding to mounting unease and criticism of his leadership style from party ranks, De Klerk moved sharply to reassure the party faithful by launching a blistering attack on the ANC.

In particular he lashed out at the ANC's revised position on mass action, dismissing it as "totally unsatisfactory" and warning that it should "stop the nonsense" — as well as its underground activities.

The time had arrived for the real leaders of the ANC to stand up and discipline their regional leadership and "dissident radical elements".

De Klerk said it was "completely unacceptable" that parties involved in negotiations could threaten to topple from power those around the table.

South Africans could "rest assured" that government would take firm steps against actions that could lead to violence.

Sapa reports the ANC last night reacted angrily to De Klerk's attack.

The organisation said laws and conventions determined whether certain types of actions were acceptable or not. "It is not the government's political palate that determines what is acceptable and what is not. The ANC observes both the law and those conventions of its own volition, not because of threats from Mr. De Klerk."

It said phase four of its protest campaign would be reviewed now there had been movement on talks between itself and government.

Stop your nonsense, ANC told

● From Page 1

poses or under circumstances which can be expected to lead to violence. Should they take place, the Government is duty-bound to prevent such marches."

Macozoma told The Star last night: "It is to be expected that Mr de Klerk should sound this bellicose in the light of the rearguard action by the supporters of apartheid who met yesterday afternoon." (the meeting of homeland leaders and rightwingers).

"The sad thing about Mr de Klerk's outburst against the ANC is that it shows his weakness as a political leader. He is unable to stand the pressure of reactionary

forces when they confront him about decisions that will help advance a settlement."

The ANC rejected the threat to prohibit marches. "There are laws and conventions in South Africa that determine whether certain types of actions are acceptable or not."

In his speech De Klerk said the Government's undertakings to prohibit dangerous weapons in public and fence hostels would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently. The final responsibility for order lay with the Government. The options were to reintroduce a state of emergency, to ban people and to imprison them.

STWZ 7/10/92

"But we say 'no' to that option because it is not in the national interest. It is not a sign of weakness to talk to your opponents ... I give the assurance that it is not our intention to exclude people in bilateral talks but to get everyone back to the negotiating table."

"Our responsibility as Government made it essential that we also get the ANC back to negotiations. 7/10/92."

● The ANC's western Cape region yesterday announced further protest action, including a march on Parliament.

● The Methodist Church of Southern Africa has appealed to the ANC alliance to call off its proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

FW vows to halt marches

Stop your nonsense,

ANC told

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

EAST LONDON — In a broadside against the ANC, President de Klerk has vowed that he will not allow the organisation to proceed with any march which was unlawful or could be expected to lead to violence.

Stung by sharp criticism from within the National Party's own ranks that the Government was kow-towing to the ANC, De Klerk yesterday used the Cape NP congress as a platform for one of his toughest attacks yet.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said bluntly after the first day of the congress that the Government would not allow the Ulundi and Mmabatho marches to go ahead. He hoped the ANC would decide to call them off. If not, the Government would stop them, using security legislation.

In his speech De Klerk said the ANC "must stop their nonsense. We expect them to stop underground activities.

"South Africans are sick and tired of their inflammatory speeches and their arrogant intolerance of political opponents," he said.

We cannot accept that any party involved in the negotiation process can say against a co-signatory of the peace accord, 'I am marching on you to topple you.'

The aggressive speech prompted a sharp counter-attack from the ANC, and the cordial relations achieved at last month's Government/ANC summit appeared to be under threat.

At the congress five demands were identified by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. Meyer said the Government had fulfilled its side of the bargain and it was now time for the ANC to reciprocate by:

- Returning to multiparty negotiations.
- Reviewing its mass action programme.
- Playing an active role in ending violence.
- Ending the armed struggle and disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe.
- Ending political intolerance towards its opponents.

Responding, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the organisation's national executive had already indicated its willingness to return to multiparty talks but believed that negotiations were best advanced at this stage in bilateral talks.

Macozoma said the ANC had undertaken to review mass action as progress was

being made in breaking the negotiations deadlock.

"However, no climate of free political activity exists in a number of bantustans and mass action commensurate with the repression we experience is necessary. If Meyer does not like mass action his Government must ensure that a climate of free political activity exists."

The ANC had for some time tried to end violence in the country and was the organisation which "sired" the National Peace Accord, Macozoma said.

The ANC would disband MK only once an interim government was installed.

At the congress De Klerk responded to criticism from delegates and from the NP mouthpiece Die Burger that the Government had given in too easily to the ANC.

Die Burger called for "strong and inspiring leadership" and De Klerk attempted to provide just that.

He said it was time for the ANC to stand up and discipline its members, and to curb those acting against the peace accord. He had called for a meeting of all the peace accord signatories.

In the meantime you may rest assured the Government will take firm steps on marches with unlawful pur-

● To Page 3

Dr Andries Treurnicht examines what he believes is the root of the violence in SA

Power struggle is the catalyst

SM 7/10/92

~~SM 7/10/92~~ 274

JUST before the referendum I wrote in a newspaper article that "after a Yes vote on March 17, nothing could be as awesome as the resistance to Khosa/ANC hegemony by the numerically superior Zulus who will never accept ANC/SACP rule".

Apart from everything else that has gone awry since the Yes vote was cast, the core problem — the jostling for power in a post-February 1990 South Africa — remains, and this struggle has now become the catalyst for the destructive conflict now enveloping South Africa. It is strange that F.W. de Klerk refuses to acknowledge this fact, and that a unitary state under an ANC government can never survive.

Even liberal whites are having second thoughts about an ANC takeover: the organisation has shown its true colours these past months and confidence in the NP's new South Africa has understandably taken a dive.

Our economy reflects this lack of faith in the future, despite brave words from our captains of commerce and industry who funded the Yes campaign.

An HSRC survey revealed that only a small percentage of whites are prepared to live under an ANC regime, yet the Government beseeches the ANC's presence at the negotiating table, and pays a heavy price for this in concessions.

Millions of blacks have borne the brunt of ANC coercion, and self-governing and independent states are the victims of the ANC's march to power. One can thus understand the inability of numerous experts to stop the violence consuming our country.

De Klerk talks of federalism as the new panacea for a shattered South Africa. Others talk of regionalism as a reluctant sop to the diversity of peoples in this part of the world. But federalism does not address the crux of the dilemma: nationalism and the instinctive

desire of peoples to be with their own.

Whether nationalism is seen as a problem or as a solution, it exists to such a degree that peoples throughout the world are prepared to die for their flag, their language, their culture, their nation. The conflagration in Eastern Europe is just one example of this conundrum.

Unless a future constitutional dispensation addresses the problems of ethnicity and self-determination, it is a waste of time and a recipe for discord. In a federal or regional South Africa, whites will still be unable to rule themselves. Although the proposed regions appear to be demarcated along ethnic national lines, whites will have nothing of their own.

The Conservative Party believes in economic interdependence and political independence, a system similar to the European Community where trade and aid are interchangeable. We cannot, however, subscribe to a policy where the central government has

the real power and where regional autonomy is only as autonomous as the central administration permits. This is not independence, and the growing unease in Europe about subsuming national political and monetary power to a central administration in Brussels is one reason why the Maastricht Treaty could be a "dead letter", as one British journalist put it.

Confederation or a commonwealth of independent sovereign states allows peoples to govern themselves while interacting with each other within the limits which each one of them has set.

In other words, a KwaZulu or a Bophuthatswana government within a South African confederation maintains control over its own budget, its schools, its culture, its security forces. If it so desires, it may — in conjunction with other nations in the region — decide to allow matters such as transport systems, economic concerns or foreign affairs to be handled by a central structure which

would only function within the parameters allocated by the nation states within the confederation.

The fear of losing one's power base, of being swamped by another nation, of disappearing from the face of history is perhaps the most important reason why the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and QwaQwa have withdrawn from negotiations with the Government.

They see their sovereignty being taken away by virtue of the bilateral and prescriptive agreement recently signed by the ANC and the Government, and they have done the most natural thing in the world. They have retreated to their heartlands and have said they will defend their countries. The same sentiments are expressed by white patriots.

Add to this the relentless dishonesty displayed by the National Party over the past years (to their own voters as well as to other political forces) and we have a sure-fire recipe for conflict.

The Government's regular capitulation to every ANC demand has not gone unnoticed in Umtata, Mmabatho and Bishop, and De Klerk's agreement with the ANC to allow a "democratically elected" constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and serve as an interim parliament must have been the last straw for those who naively believed he would consult them about a future dispensation.

What must be done now? Every effort must be made to stop the NP/ANC/SACP alliance in its tracks. The De Klerk administration has not only deceived its own supporters but it has deceived those who went to Codesa with the mistaken idea that there really would be round-table discussions about the future of this country.

An alternative forum must be created as a substitute to the failed Codesa, a forum for those who value their heritage and who respect the traditions of others.
 ● The writer is leader of the Conservative Party

John Kane-Berman responds to critics of Dr Anthea Jeffery's report, "Disinformation about Violence in SA"

We cannot pretend that blame lies on one side only

STAR 7/10/92.

Allister Sparks is in America. His column will resume in November.

JUDGING by the anger it has aroused in some quarters, Dr Anthea Jeffery's report, "Disinformation about Violence in South Africa", has struck home. In criticising it in The Star on September 22, Dennis Davis and Gilbert Marcus ignore Jeffery's explicit acknowledgement (on page 9 of her report) that Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) are not courts of law and that they may legitimately therefore contend that they are not bound by rules of evidence and procedure.

Her report goes on, however, to make the point that in a volatile political climate "these organisations have an overarching responsibility to be circumspect, to hear and report both sides to conflict and to guard against accepting at face value allegations that have not been tested in any way".

Amnesty, the ICJ, and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) may indeed not be commissions of inquiry, but that does not absolve them of a general responsibility to tell as much of the whole truth as they possibly can.

The passage about the Crossroads massacre which Davis and Marcus accuse Jeffery of omitting is in fact reproduced, virtually verbatim, on page 43 of her report.

The opinion surveys to which Davis and Marcus refer were not conducted by the Institute of Race Relations, as they suggest, but by a professional market research organisation commissioned by us to conduct the survey.

Jeffery points out that the HRC, Amnesty, and the ICJ are "fully justified in recording and criticising crimes committed by members of the IFP or the SAP". She then points out that all three reports ignore, inter alia:

- The ANC strategy of fostering "ungovernability" through mass action;
- The ANC's refusal to disband

Umkhonto we Sizwe or to surrender its secret arms caches;

- The ANC's refusal to desist from the establishment of township "self-defence units", contrary to the provisions of the National Peace Accord;
- The frequent incidence of attacks on members of the South African Police, which resulted in the deaths of more than 120 policemen in the first seven months of 1992; and
- The high number of IFP officials and members — now allegedly totalling over 1 000 — killed in recent years.

Davis and Marcus would have us believe that our drawing attention to these omissions is a trivial quibble!

The Davis/Marcus article suggests that the Institute of Race Relations should formulate "constructive suggestions to curb abuse of power by the State". The institute's record in exposing abuses of power by the State over decades is of course second to none. Our annual surveys — the 56th edition of which is now in preparation — constitute a meticulous, factual and damning indictment of the apartheid system, unrivalled anywhere.

We have also put a great deal of energy into suggesting how abuses by the State can be stopped. Last year we helped to promote the ideal of drawing up codes of conduct for the police (and for demonstrators).

We also published a 262-page report entitled "Riot Policing in Perspective", which Jeffery also wrote and which was submitted to the multinational panel set up by the Goldstone Commission to advise on the lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa.

In presentations the institute is currently making about violence to a variety of audiences, we are urging specific steps to be taken with regard to the "riot" police, among them developing a specialised corps, removing the R-1 rifle from the police in crowd control, and making the Minister politically accountable for unlawful police behaviour.

However, we have also said that demonstrators need to play their part in reducing the potential for conflict by adhering to a code of conduct.

I have indeed pointed out on a number of occasions that apartheid policies are at the root of violence, but that is very different from saying that the Government (however appalling its track record) is responsible for all the current violence.

Only the willfully blind will take the view that the abuse of power by the State, whether at Bishop or anywhere else, is the only cause of violence, or indeed any longer even the major one.

The physical war in South Africa's black communities is accompanied by a propaganda war waged through the media.

Far from being "largely irrelevant and unhelpful in addressing the current problem of violence", the institute is playing a vital role in focusing public attention on aspects of violence too long hidden beneath the disinformation smokescreen.

No problem can begin to be solved unless its causes are fully analysed and understood, not hidden beneath reports which pretend that violence emanates only from one side. □

● The writer is Executive Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.



274



GLASS palace" was John Vorster's scathing term for it. And as little as a year ago, the idea of involving the United Nations in solving South Africa's problems was unthinkable.

Yet by the time the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa) set up office in Johannesburg last month, it blended almost immediately into the South African political scenery.

"I think South Africans have adjusted exceptionally fast to the idea of transition towards a democratic society," said Angela King, chief of the mission, in an interview at her office in Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel. "The reaction to our arrival has been warm and welcoming."

Jamaican-born King (54) moved into the Unomsa hot seat — her first UN post as a "field worker" — from a position as director of staff administration and training in the UN office for human resources management. Before that, she was director of recruitment and placing.

Why was a personnel manager chosen for a peacemaking job? "You'll have to ask (UN secretary general) Boutros Boutros-Ghali," she says, adding that effective use of people's skills is as crucial in human resources management as it is in a UN mission.

She bristles at the suggestion that the mission is a "second division team", foisted upon South Africa because more seasoned observers were busy in other trouble spots. In part, the perception arose because of the mission's small size — 50, as compared with 800 in Yugoslavia.

"This is not a 'second eleven'. We have a clear mandate from the Security Council. The numbers of the force and the nature of their deployment were left very much to the discretion of the secretary general.

"The original team in Yugoslavia was 30-strong. UN people also went to Namibia in phases. They started with probably 150, and then as they established themselves on the ground it went wider. By the time of the election it was 800."

King stressed that the size of the mission was linked to requirements on the ground. In Namibia, for instance, the UN was involved in anything from setting up electoral districts to training workshops on how to run an election. In Cambodia, the UN was asked to move into virtually every government department and get the country running again.

The UN and the Security Council looked very carefully at the African National Congress' demand for 400 monitors, King said. It decided that because of the sophistication of the peace infrastructure in South Africa, observers, not monitors, were appropriate.

UN team
274
is no
second XI
w/maul 8/10-15/10/92
— King



The UN's Angela King

The United Nations mission in South Africa is seen as a 'second XI', reflecting the country's low international priority.

ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK spoke to its Jamaican-born head, Angela King

"In South Africa you have well-developed structures, you've got the National Peace Accord (NPA), you've had Codesa. We will liaise with these structures and report back to the secretary general on whether the UN mandate needs to be broadened.

"The decision was that the mission should be enlarged in a phased way rather than by pre-judging the situation. The Security Council did give the secretary general the authority to deploy any amount of people, and a total of 400 has not been ruled out."

The delay in the arrival of the full UN team has fuelled criticism that the demand for a UN presence in regional disputes around the world means it cannot give South Africa the

attention it needs.

So far 23 observers have arrived in the country, with a total force of 50 expected to be in place by the end of the month. A third of the Unomsa team was expected to arrive from Angola with the conclusion of that country's first democratic elections. With uncertainty surrounding Unita's response to the results, a delay is inevitable.

"It would be naive to say that those conflicts have not affected our mission," says King. "But any UN mission would be affected. They are all equally affected by very severe cash-flow problems in the UN."

King is aware of suspicion of Unomsa in some anti-government circles, based on a perception that it works hand-in-glove with the authorities. There has also been criticism of the UN allowing the security forces to provide them with transport in certain cases.

"We've been at pains to be in touch with all parties involved in the NPA," she explains. "We have had offers of assistance not only from the government but from the major parties concerned, for transport, arranging meetings, and so on. But we have for the most part been relying on the National Peace Secretariat.

"If a local dispute resolution committee chairperson drives ahead to show the way, in some areas this may translate into a police escort. That is co-operating with the dispute resolution committee — we don't see it in any way as co-operating too closely with the police."

Unomsa's assertion of its neutrality ranged from the liberal use of UN flags and stickers on cars to its refusal to go on platforms that were not part of NPA structures.

The NPA has itself been under fire, however, for being tied to its signatories and not having a life of its own. But rather than undermine the role of Unomsa, says King, this makes it more vital. The Security Council resolution (number 772) that created Unomsa specifically requires the mission to "strengthen and reinforce the indigenous mechanisms set up under the National Peace Accord, so as to enhance their capacity in the building of peace".

South Africa's network of peace structures, says King, in fact offers tremendous hope for the future, because "so much work went into thinking out the structures — the UN did not have to amend the structures, and were able to leave the political process to the South African signatories".

The real role of Unomsa, in short, is not to tell South Africans what to do.

"We are here to try and help, by our presence, to defuse tensions which may prevent the transition to democracy. The structures are there and the means are there for it to happen."

March on Bop town called off

Southem

8/10/92

(274)

■ 'Planning problems' and 'matter of organising it properly' the reason: ~~the~~ ~~reason~~

THE African National Congress has called off tomorrow's planned march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho.

"It is not going to take place on Friday," ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday. "There is a good probability, though, that it will take place at a later stage."

The reason for the cancellation was "a matter of organising it properly".

The ANC was committed in principle to continuing with mass action in both KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, as pledged earlier, Niehaus said.

At this stage the organisation could not give details as the campaigns were still under discussion.

The ANC gave an undertaking at the meeting on September 26 between its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and President FW de Klerk to review its mass action programme.

An ANC-led march on Ciskei on September 7 ended with the deaths of 29 people and with both sides blaming each other for the massacre.

Bophuthatswana warned the ANC on Tuesday the planned march on the homeland would lead to bloodshed. - *Sapa*.

36 dead in past week of political violence

THIRTY-six people died and 78 were injured in politically-motivated violence countrywide over the past week, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

This figure was considerably higher than last week's HRC reported statistics of 24 deaths and 108 injuries.

In Natal violence, 13 people were killed with no injuries reported, the HRC said. In the PWV area, the toll increased from five last week to nine this week, with four injuries.

The East Rand township of Ratanda, a flashpoint the previous week, showed a decrease with one person killed.

The HRC also noted that three policemen were killed and five injured in separate attacks in Natal and the eastern Cape.

During the past week the SAP had reported three deaths in custody — bringing the total this year to 100, the HRC said.

Yesterday one person was shot dead and another injured when a group of men climbed over a wall and fired shots at commuters at a taxi rank in Alexandra at 6.50am, Witwatersrand police reported. Police spotted the attackers but failed to catch them.

In a statement, Inkatha's Youth Brigade in Alexandra said the dead man was a Madala Hostel resident, and identified him as Mgcineni John Sithole, 35.

The IFP spokesman called on security forces to maintain a regular presence at the rank, especially during early mornings

and late evenings.

Police said in their unrest report yesterday that five people were killed in politically-motivated violence around the country during the 24 hours ending at midnight on Tuesday. Two men were killed when gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles and 9mm pistols fired at a private vehicle in Sebokeng, Vereeniging. At Alexandra near Sandton, a man was killed when a group attacked him with sharp objects.

At Mofolo, Soweto, police found the body of a man with stab wounds. Police also reported a man seriously wounded by gunfire at Mooi River in Natal, the arrest of a man at Sharpeville after three men fired at police and a man injured after a police vehicle was stoned.

Meanwhile, SA Rail Commuter Corporation MD Wynand Burger said yesterday a train boycott was unwarranted in the light of the SARCC's serious efforts to produce a better and safer commuting environment.

Burger said the money lost during boycotts, strikes and stayaways — an estimated R28m in 1991/92 — could have been better spent curbing train violence and safeguarding stations.

□ A PAC plan to remove barbed wire around Phola Park squatter camp did not materialise yesterday.

Police erected the barrier in June after a number of clashes involving the camp, security forces and local hostel residents. — Sapa.

Rhone-Poulenc faces police probe

ANC's Mmabatho march put on hold

THE ANC has called off tomorrow's planned march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho.

The organisation said the reason for the march not going ahead was "a matter of organising it properly", reports Sapa.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday that there was "a good probability it will take place at a later stage".

The ANC was committed in principle to continuing with mass action in KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, as pledged earlier, Niehaus said.

The ANC was not in a position to give details of its planned actions as campaigns were still under discussion.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that ANC PWV region chairman Ronnie Mamoepa said last night that a mass action committee had proposed the march take place this weekend, but the suggestion had been set aside by "the political structure".

The action committee had now set Saturday October 24 as the new date for the march.

Our Durban correspondent reports that ANC officials in Natal have vowed to go ahead with the march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi, despite President F W de Klerk's threat this week to put a stop to activities which could provoke violence.

However, spokesman Dumisani Makhaya said other options were being considered in order for the ANC to make its point that it felt itself to be effectively banned north of the Tugela River.

PAC meeting Buthelezi to discuss the violence

By Kaiser Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress will meet KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi today to discuss violence and political tolerance, the PAC announced yesterday.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the meeting — which comes two days after Buthelezi and his allies met in Johannesburg to discuss the ANC-Government's September 26 Record of Understanding — will also discuss recent political developments and "strategies towards the establishment of democracy" in the country.

STAN 8/10/92
274
Moseneke said the PAC wrote to Buthelezi and the ANC this week, asking for meetings with them. He said his organisation had offered to mediate between the two parties, and had indicated that "ultimately it will be up to the ANC and the IFP to get together and talk."

The PAC delegation will be led by its president Clarence Makwetu.

● The PAC, the ANC and the Southern African Development Community have agreed to organise "a blockbuster musical event" in Zimbabwe on April 17 next year to raise funds for famine relief in southern Africa, PAC relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille said yesterday.

Top firms swing a club for peace effort

A ROUND of golf for R25 000 sounds completely out of bounds, but there were takers when the corporate world realised proceeds would be used to promote the national peace accord.

More than R1m has already been pledged by the private sector for the celebrity golf round and banquet organised by the American Chamber of Commerce.

Politicians, top businessmen and journalists will be among those teeing-off at Royal Johannesburg, while leaders from all political parties have been invited to the banquet at the Carlton Ballroom, as

81 PM 8/10/92. 274
GUY HAWTHORNE

have a number of UN violence monitors. US ambassador Princeton Lyman will make his inaugural speech at the banquet.

Tickets for the functions were sold for R25 000. Other companies made donations.

The money will be used for peace accord negotiations focusing on diffusing violence.

Among the dignitaries who will attend the banquet are national peace accord chairman John Hall, Finance Minister Derek Keys, and ANC vice-president Walter Sisulu.

Ramaphosa's restructuring plan

BIDM 9/10/92
A RESTRUCTURING programme based on stability, growth and socio-economic development is needed to ensure the success of a democratic SA, says the ANC.

ANC economist Tito Mboweni, speaking on behalf of secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, said: "We are well aware we need to restructure the economy... within the context of the maintenance of macro-economic stability."

Public sector corporations should be rationalised, restructured and subject to competition. This did not spell out privatisation, but rather managerial accountability and transparent budgetary systems.

Reducing the size of the public sector would enhance efficiency and advance affirmative action while ensuring consumer protection and workers' rights.

Restructuring of the national budget by redirecting expenditure away from unproductive current expenditure and towards socio-political development, so as to

~~BY HILARY GUSH~~
HILARY GUSH

bridge the racial welfare gap, was also called for.

The ANC stood firm on its policy of income redistribution, which would provide the means for mass consumption and alter the industrial sector's response to shifting demand patterns.

Redistribution of income at the low end of the scale might be an essential requirement for the growth of the labour intensive component of the manufacturing sector.

Department of Trade and Industry director-general Stef Naudé stressed the need for an export-led recovery, based on final manufactured goods.

"SA's future economic development depends largely on industrial growth, which will also have to be much more export-oriented to increase the import capacity of the economy," Naudé said.

Political deal needed for investment

~~BY BILLY PADDOCK~~
BILLY PADDOCK

THERE was an urgent need for a political settlement because, while it would not stop the ANC and Inkatha fighting, it would bring the stability to stimulate investment, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday. *(274)*

Speaking at the Blueprint conference, he argued that this settlement would have to contribute to the demise of a third force. *BIDM*

Persistent violence was the single most discouraging factor for investment. It would be a negative factor even if there was political stability and the causes of the violence were fully understood.

De Beer said that if some of the violence was designed to prevent a political settlement, then the need for the settlement was more urgent.

However, there was no certainty that it would stop the fighting between the ANC and Inkatha, he said. "After all, both organisations are parties to the peace accord and to the Codesa Declaration of Intent, and that has not helped." *(274)*

De Beer said it appeared that the leaders of these two organisations had limited control over their followers. *9/10/92*

Governments and political organisations would in the future be judged by their ability to deliver economic prosperity.

DP launches campaign for election funds

THE DP has swung into election mode despite its leader Zach de Beer's criticism that it was the electioneering of the ANC and the NP that was preventing a speedy negotiated settlement for SA. *BIDM 9/10/92*

At a media breakfast yesterday, De Beer launched a national fundraising campaign to collect R15m by the end of the year to help pay for a general election campaign.

Southern Transvaal regional fundraising co-ordinator Ronnie Napier said the party

~~BY BILLY PADDOCK~~
BILLY PADDOCK

hoped to raise R4m in this region alone.

Whereas the DP had previously fought elections in chosen constituencies, the upcoming general election would involve proportional representation from a national electorate, which meant it had to canvass and fight for support at grassroots community levels, said De Beer.

The DP was expecting to win 10% of the national vote in an election.

KNJ

KNJ GROUP LIMITED

(Registration number 87/02927/06)
("KNJ")

Offer and general meeting results

ARSA Merchant Bank is authorised to announce the

E
 ar
 ic
 U
 ec
 h
 so
 dit
 War
 ad
 pi
 ote
 Me
 loit
 pde
 rns
 mer
 L
 EC
 p
 BR
 11
 92

1
 T
 ty
 pi
 he
 M
 J
 tr
 A
 th
 m
 th
 bi
 T
 S
 b
 A
 y
 hi
 T
 e
 d
 t
 c
 t
 t
 C
 e
 a
 f
 a
 c
 f
 c
 c
 d
 n
 t
 ir
 S
 it

Sasco calls for action

WILSON ZWANE

KWAZULU, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei should be made ungovernable, a senior SACP official said yesterday.

Addressing a mass meeting of the Wits University branch of the SA Students' Congress (Sasco) yesterday, SACP PWV chairman Gwede Mantashe said his party and other democratic formations had an obligation to campaign for free political activity in the homelands.

Mantashe said "no-go areas" had been created for the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance in KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. **BIDF 9110192**

"We have a political obligation to remove these bantustans' tyrants. In order to achieve that objective, we must revitalise ungovernability in these areas," he said.

Sasco publicity officer Mogomotsi Mogodiri said yesterday marked the launch of his organisation's "Hands off the University of Bophuthatswana campaign".

Mogodiri claimed the university, which was closed on Tuesday, had been turned into a police barracks. He said protest action would begin on October 14 and would be called off only after the Bophuthatswana authorities had acceded to demands which included the reopening of the university.

Mantashe and ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils said they supported the campaign as part of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance's initiative for free political activity in the bantustans.



ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils makes a call for free political activity in the homelands, in his speech to the SA Students' Congress at Wits University yesterday.

Picture ROBERT BOTHA

(274) CT 10/10/92

8 die in countrywide unrest

DURBAN. — Eight people were killed in countrywide unrest on Thursday.

At least four people died in KwaZulu, police reported.

KwaZulu Police spokesman Sergeant L M Mnguni said two people were shot dead in the Ndikwe area of Nkandla.

The body of a man who had been

shot was found in T Section in Umlazi.

The body of a security guard was found in KwaMashu on Thursday. He had been shot.

● Police seized more than 5 500 illegal firearms and uncovered an additional 23 arms caches between January 3 and September 24.

● Four people were killed in unrest-related violence on the Witwatersrand on Thursday.

● The planned return of 300 refugees to the Patheni township near Richmond has been delayed a week because a local chief was unable to attend a Regional Dispute Resolution Committee meeting scheduled for yesterday.

Rumblings within race institute over report

JO-ANNE COLLINGE
Weekend Argus Reporter

274

ARG 10/10/92

RESEARCH staff of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) have repudiated a recent report, published by the institute, which attacked research on political violence conducted by three high-profile human rights organisations.

Eight SAIRR researchers signed a memorandum, charging that the special research unit within their organisation, which produced the controversial report, was undermining "our image as an independent and objective research organisation".

They have demanded from SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman increased consultation and a greater role in decision-making.

Although the signatories voiced concern about a number of the unit's reports, they singled out the report by Dr Anthea Jeffery, "Spotlight on disinformation about violence in South Africa", as particularly undermining the credibility of the SAIRR.

"We believe Dr Jeffery's work is

partisan. We also found Press releases and presentations concerning the 'Spotlight' to be provocative, arrogant and antagonistic," the memorandum read.

Kane-Berman defended the Jeffery report.

"All the criticisms (of the report) have been very carefully assessed and Dr Jeffery's conclusions have been powerfully vindicated every time," said Kane-Berman.

He argued that the reasons for the attacks on the report had less to do with its actual content than with the fact that the institute was challenging a "conventional wisdom" that violence should be blamed almost completely on the state and its perceived allies.

The signatories concluded that Jeffery could be criticised because, among other things, her arguments were "unsound and based on insufficient and unreliable information".

She made "damning judgments of Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission".

5 500 illegal firearms found (274)

POLICE seized more than 5 500 illegal firearms and uncovered an additional 23 arms caches between January 3 and September 24. (274)

Police said in a statement that 2 132 rifles and 3 383 handguns had been confiscated. Of those, 539 rifles and 790 handguns were recovered as a result of information received and with the cooperation of the public. (274)

Nearly R400 000 was paid out to informants, with R186 300 of the reward money going for the recovery of 296 AK-47 rifles.

Three of the arms cache finds were the result of tip-offs and R10 000 was paid out.

Police appealed to the public to assist in tracing illegal firearms. *down 11/10/92*

"In order to bring the violence to an end we once again appeal to all people to assist the SAP with any information that will bring those responsible to justice." The anonymity of all sources was guaranteed, the statement said.

Kane ⁽²¹⁴⁾
CT 12/10/72
Berman
hits at
critics

JOHANNESBURG —
Criticism of a recent SA
Institute of Race Rela-
tions report on disinfor-
mation about violence in
South Africa compiled
by Dr Anthea Jeffery
was angrily refuted on
Saturday by SAIR execu-
tive director Mr John
Kane-Berman.

"Without exception,
the criticisms have been
very carefully assessed
and Dr Jeffery's conclu-
sions have been power-
fully vindicated every
time. None of the criti-
cisms directed against
her report from any
quarter has any founda-
tion," Mr Kane-Berman
said in a statement.

He said the attacks
arose because the insti-
tute had challenged a
number of strongly held
'conventional wis-
doms'.

"In fact, we have hit
the bull's-eye in blowing
away the smoke screen
of disinformation. We
have shown that while
the state and the Inkatha
Freedom Party are to
blame for violence, so
are the African National
Congress and its allies, a
fact which others have
too long tried to cover up
or excuse," he said.

He said it was precise-
ly for that reason that
some people were so
angry with the SAIRR —
Sapa

Unrest: Six ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ die, 10 injured

PRETORIA. — Six people died and at least 10 were injured in unrest-related incidents yesterday and early today, police said.

At Tokoza in Alberton, gunmen firing from a vehicle killed four people and wounded seven, while in Alexandra on the Witwatersrand a man and a woman were shot dead.

Gunmen wounded a man at Wembezi, Estcourt, while there were explosions at homes in Ratanda, Heidelberg, and Khuma, Stilfontein, where two people were injured. — Sapa

FW sends

Out message

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday signalled that government was poised for a crackdown on mass action as legal arms and arms caches and private caches.

He also spelled out government's bottom line for a new constitution, flatly insisting that a range of controversial principles would "have to be negotiated in advance".

And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer dampened speculation that the country's first non-racial election was imminent, saying that even if multi-party negotiations began soon it would probably not take place within a year.

De Klerk, opening the "state of the nation" debate in Parliament with a speech designed to prevent violent protests, said government intended with a strong message to prevent violence.

These included "intensified control of mass action and continued expansion in the respect of direct arms and caches." A free general election "in which all will take part is possible only if peace prevails in the country and intimidation is curbed", said De Klerk.

Peace was only possible if:

- Parties, including the ANC, the DTP and the PAC, whose followers clashed violently, got together and reached an understanding among themselves;
- Any mass action planned with agressive motive was stopped with a specifically non-violent approach;
- "Incidents" had to honour undertakings in every leader speeches were aimed at tolerance, and helped create a climate of

Govt is poised to crack down on mass action

Political Staff

27/11/92

The so-called struggle made way for the "conduct of politics" and the democratic condition of private affairs and the democratic conduct of politics.

De Klerk said when the complete conduct of politics came to write the transitional constitution it would not "simply be able to do what it likes".

There is no question of a blank cheque being given to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly, said De Klerk. It would be bound by clear principles on which adequate consensus had been

reached. Government insisted agreement had to be reached on:

- Strong and entrenched authority;
- A bicameral constitutionally agreed Senate able to meet the need for "protection of regional interests";
- Power-sharing at the level of the executive authority, meaning that excessive power in the hands of only one person or party had to be prevented.

● See Page 4



Ronnie Kasrils

Mass action 'making (274) up minds'

Political Staff AKG 14/10/92
MASS action was helping, inch-by-inch, to pull President F W de Klerk and his government to a more democratic order, said ANC campaigns head Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

He was speaking in a debate on mass action with journalist Shaun Johnson and NP chief information director Mr Piet Coetzer at UCT yesterday.

He said the ANC/SACP and Cosatu had used mass action since January as a lever.

"This was mass action at its best. Quite clearly the other side might try to hide the fact that it was mass action and our skilled negotiations which led to a stubborn Kobie Coetsee (Justice Minister) agreeing to the release of political prisoners."

He committed himself to negotiations, but said the alliance was finding many obstacles, adding it would wait a long time for changes if it sat back.

He said mass action would bring democracy to all.

"Even with an ANC government we'd like to see our people using mass action to remind those in power of their accountability and who put them in power."

Mr Coetzer said mass action was unnecessary while negotiations were taking place.

Because it was "disruptive and infringing" on the rights and liberties of others, mass action should be used sparingly, he said.

He said distinction should be drawn between mass action and peaceful protest.

"What we saw yesterday (the ANC led march to Parliament on Monday) was totally acceptable. It did not try to disrupt parliament."

But in the aftermath of Bisho, mass action was associated with instability, disruption and a high risk of intolerance.

Violence's tragic toll

(274) PAGE 14/10/92

Total for year 2 762: Shift of focus from Rand to Natal noted

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A total of 279 people were killed in political violence in September, bringing the number of deaths for the year to 2 762, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) has reported

In its monthly repression report, the organisation said the death toll for September was significantly lower than that of August, when 348 lost their lives in political violence. It welcomed the fact that there were no death squad related deaths last month.

The HRC said 89 people died in politically related violence in the PWV area alone last month. It said 1 574 people were killed in the region this year.

The HRC said 817 people were injured, bringing the total for the year to 24 657.

For the second consecutive month the number of deaths in Natal has exceeded the number of deaths in the PWV region.

"The number of deaths in Natal (125) has exceeded the number in the PWV and account for 45 percent of the country's total. This confirms our concern that the focus of the political violence is shifting back to Natal," said the HRC.

It welcomed the decrease in vigilante related activity, which was responsible for 129 deaths, saying this figure was the lowest recorded since January.

But security forces were responsible for the highest number of deaths so far this year. It said 33 deaths had resulted from security force action — with the Bisho massacre accounting for 28 of these.

the SANDF's covert CCB unit to the
in that, the ANC said the

"Phew!"

Get a startling glimpse into the future,
every week, with New Scientist.

New Scientist

ADAPTIVE 80108



Come back for the condor
battle and bear
killers



New Scientist brings you
the latest news on science
and technology as well as
on life and living in
today's and tomorrow's
world. It's a must for all
inhabitants living on
planet earth... and
beyond. Get this week's
issue at CNA now and
every week thereafter.

CNA

First with the goodies

ANC ponders Bisho march

274 RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC's Border region
is considering a second
march on Bisho despite
concern that this would
lead to another massacre in
the Ciskei capital. *B/DA/4*

ANC Border spokesman
Mcebisi Bata said yester-
day the march was being
considered because of re-
pression being conducted
by the Ciskei Defence
Force (CDF). *15/10/92.*

But the CDF said this
week more than 700 attacks
on soldiers and supporters
of the ruling African Demo-
cratic Movement (ADM)
had been recorded since the
September 17 massacre.

Bata said a private firm
— Peaceforce Security —
was training recruits who
were taking action against
the ANC "under the guise of
being security guards".

Well placed sources have
claimed Peaceforce Secur-
ity is being paid a large
sum by the Ciskei govern-
ment to put recruits
through a three-week "kits-
konstabel course".

Go
m
ar
te
th
ca
C
pl
te
ca
go
sa
co
be
w
bl
st
a
to
m
C
r
d
v
o

years and older. About 25% live in region E, 21% in region H, 15% in region G (northern Transvaal and Venda) and 14% in region D; and

□ Zulus form the largest ethnic group (3,8m), followed by Xhosas (3,5m), North Sothos (1,7m) and Tswanas (1,6m).

There remains, of course, a numerical correlation between ethnic groups and the regions in which the ethnically based homelands are located. For example, about 78% of Zulus live in region E, which includes Kwa-Zulu. More than half the Xhosas are in region D — Ciskei and most of Transkei.

Almost 69% of North Sothos are in region G (which includes Lebowa) and about 87% of Tswanas are resident in regions B, H and J (in which the largest part of Bophuthatswana is located). The same is noticeable as far as the other ethnic groups are concerned, says the Development Bank.

According to the leaked ANC report, it seems the organisation expects to win 50% of the total vote, with the support of 68% of blacks, 3% of whites, 20% of coloureds and 30% of the Indian vote.

This ties in with an assessment made by the HSRC's Lawrence Schlemmer. Referring to the findings of more than 20 opinion surveys, which included rural polls, he puts the ANC's expected share of the total vote at between 45% and 50%; the NP at 25%-30%; and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party at 10%-12%. Smaller parties such as the DP, CP and PAC get the balance and could, therefore, be well-placed to barter and engineer alliances.

These figures suggest that, if the ANC were to get 50% and the NP and Inkatha their lower estimates, the ANC is unlikely to enjoy a two-thirds majority even if all the smaller parties back it.

Government Ministers like Pik Botha (who, as Transvaal NP leader, is spearheading a recruitment drive in black townships) have said that the NP aims to be the biggest party. This is not regarded as likely — but it is not impossible either, particularly if the ANC alliance becomes fragile or hijacked by its communist radicals.

As second prize, however, the NP, alone or with allies, has set itself another very important goal, says SA Foundation researcher Ingrid Uys: to win at least one-third of the vote. That would enable the NP to share the task of writing a new constitution. ■

VIOLENCE — 1 FM 16/10/92
 (274)
In search of facts ~~3047~~

Early in the Eighties, John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, inaugurated a difficult and controversial change in the institute's policy on publications. These would not in future present blacks as passive victims of apartheid but as active players on the political scene.

To that end the institute would run the risk of prosecution by quoting in its publica-

tions the statements of banned people. The change earned the publications enhanced international esteem from scholars who had long respected their accuracy and objectivity. But it meant that different criteria applied in evaluating these publications.

Institute researchers did not necessarily have a uniform political outlook. So, to maintain objectivity of institute publications, Kane-Berman had to find a magic formula. The direction he gave researchers was to "write about politically controversial matters in such a way that a reader will be unable to detect your personal viewpoint on politics."

Researchers' contributions to the *Race Relations Survey* carry no bylines; such anonymity was not afforded in the case of Anthea Jeffery's recent *Spotlight on Disinformation about Violence in SA*, also published by the institute. But a magic formula would hardly have been necessary for her.

She had a distinguished academic career at Wits, Cambridge and London; held senior positions at the University of Natal and Wits, before joining the staff of the Urban Foundation; after some years there she moved to her present position with the institute. Her entire career has been a training in objective and cautious expression, in regard to both matters of fact and opinion. She is manifestly not the kind of person who can be talked down.

In this work she sets out her reasons for finding that the International Committee of Jurists and other bodies have played down the ANC's role in political violence.

Some institute researchers and outside legal experts have branded Jeffery's work as clearly partisan. They say it has undermined the credibility of the institute as an independent research organisation.

Kane-Berman has replied that all the criticisms of Jeffery, including those of the researchers, have been carefully assessed and that her conclusions have been powerfully vindicated. He furthermore argues that the reasons for the attacks on the report had less to do with its content than with the institute's challenge to a "strongly held conventional wisdom that violence should be blamed almost completely on the State and its perceived allies."

If Kane-Berman's endorsement of Jeffery is right, the SA Police is working under a serious handicap. It is expected to be impeccable in efforts to keep the peace while the ANC, its chief accuser, is engaging in activities which make the SAP's task one of the utmost difficulty.

The institute's basic conviction is that close and peaceable relations between all the inhabitants of SA are possible, and hence imperative. Since political violence threatens this conviction, it has a unique place in the institute's concerns. Those who kill or maim strike not only at the persons of their victims but at our precarious, fledgling body politic.

Turning back to the 1991/1992 *Survey*: in January 1991, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe-

continue →

**ANC 'will
keep meeting
government'**

GABORONE — The ANC was determined to continue bilateral meetings with Pretoria to find a solution to SA's problems, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa in Botswana's capital yesterday.

Before meeting government the ANC would have talks with other "patriotic front" organisations to evolve a common position.

Codesa would have to reconvene once the round of bilateral discussions was completed, paving the way for structuring an interim government.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu told the committee violence had not subsided in SA because the root causes had not been addressed adequately.

He accused the state of sponsoring violence through mercenaries from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

"These mercenaries must be expelled under international supervision. Until this is done there will be no end to violence."

The PAC was offering itself as a mediator because it desired to end the violence. It awaited a response from the ANC. In that spirit, the PAC had met Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and would meet government soon.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim recommended that OAU observers be sent to SA to monitor the situation. — Sapa.

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

(K-H Pr
Registration No 9)

**Audited consolidated
1 October 1992**

Income Statement

Turnover
Operating income
Interest received
Income before taxation and distribution holders
Interest paid
Income before taxation
Taxation
Income after taxation
Dividends
Retained income
Dividends per ordinary share (cents)
Interest per debenture (cents)
Dividend and interest per combined units (cents)
Combined units in issue

**Balance Sheet
Capital employed**

Share capital
Debentures
Debenture premium
Retained income
Deferred taxation

Employment of capital

Fixed assets
Current assets:
Debtors
Cash resources
Current liabilities:
Creditors
Unit holders for distribution

Amnesty Bill likely to draw flak from all sides

^{BIDAY 16/10/92}
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's controversial Amnesty Bill, which is to come before Parliament for discussion today, is expected to draw flak from most quarters.

De Klerk has several times in the past two weeks said he does not care about opposition to his unilaterally going ahead with the legislation to grant amnesty to security and state officials.

The ANC alliance, the PAC, the DP and the Labour Party have all expressed opposition to the Bill.

The ANC rejected government's offer to trade off the release of political prisoners for the general amnesty, insisting that only an interim government of national unity should be entitled to grant amnesty in a bid to forge reconciliation.

It insists that government cannot grant amnesty to its own members and has threatened to reverse the legislation later.

De Klerk, after meeting ANC president Nelson Mandela last month, said the legislation would be based on the same principles used in deciding on the release of the ANC's political prisoners.

The Bill would provide for full disclosure, to government, of the deeds for which the person was seeking amnesty.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the DP yesterday proposed that amnesty apply to political offenders only if there was full disclosure and following

adjudication by a competent tribunal.

In an amnesty policy document released yesterday, the DP emphasises that no person should be allowed to escape disclosure and identification as a perpetrator of a political offence.

A general amnesty should not be pre-emptive of the process of reconciliation but should be a product of such a process, it says. "It is inapplicable and inappropriate that the present government should introduce or attempt to invoke amnesty proceedings. Accordingly amnesty legislation should be introduced by an interim government of national unity."

The DP document notes that every person seeking amnesty would have to be adjudicated by a competent tribunal which would investigate and report on the acts or omissions which led to the offence in respect of which amnesty was sought. "Any person who does not avail himself/herself of the amnesty process and procedures will be liable to criminal prosecution for whatever acts or omissions he or she might be charged with."

The DP also proposes that amnesty legislation should make provision for the victims of serious offences and human rights abuses, to be given recognition symbolically and substantially "subject to the resources of the state".

BILLY PADDOCK

UN 'will be impartial in SA'

²⁷⁴
WASHINGTON — The UN could no longer take sides in SA, a senior UN official told a conference in Washington yesterday sponsored by the pro-ANC Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law.

The UN had supported the ANC and PAC at a time when black South Africans could not speak for themselves, but that time had now passed, said UN special political questions director Hisham Omayad.

He made it clear that the role of UN agencies like the Centre Against Apartheid, which earlier this week held a session in honour of SA political prisoners, was being downgraded.

In strong contrast, ANC constitutional expert Dullah Omar suggested that the liberation movements should continue to

receive preferential treatment from the international community because they had a higher "moral claim" than government.

He was supported by journalist Allister Sparks, who attributed the root cause of violence in SA to efforts by elements in the security establishment to destabilise the ANC, with at least partial support from President F W de Klerk.

Omayad headed the first team of 10 UN observers sent to SA to monitor mass action in early August, and accompanied special envoy Cyrus Vance and his deputy, Virendra Dayal, on their subsequent missions.

He said while the UN could act as a catalyst for constitutional negotiations, it "will not get directly in-

involved" in a process that had to be conducted by South Africans.

Omayad was involved in setting up elections in Namibia in 1989.

Omayad predicted that there would be "a minimum" of 100 international observers helping to defuse violence in SA by the end of the year, which would include the 50-member UN contingent.

However, the success of the teams being supplied by the UN, Commonwealth, EC and OAU, did not depend on their numbers, but "on the support they get on the ground", he said.

^{BIDAY 16/10/92}
SIMON BARBER

KIRCHMAN
DRADEETIC

Kaunda will mediate

FORMER Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda will arrive in South Africa at the weekend to adjudicate in a National Peace Committee dispute between the ANC and the IFP.

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa. 274

16/10/92

Top cops to monitor violence

From JOHN CAVILL

LONDON. — Some of the Commonwealth's most experienced police officers are among a team of observers which arrives in South Africa tomorrow as part of the international effort to help end political violence.

Members of the team will be stationed in the "epicentres of the violence", such as Pretoria,

the Witwatersrand, Natal and KwaZulu, Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku said yesterday.

"They will remain as long as it will be helpful — up to three months, but the period will be reviewed," he said.

The team will co-operate with the UN observers already in SA.

Led by lawyer and former Ghanaian judge Mr Austin

(274) CT 17/10/92

Amissah, the team of 18 includes former Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Mr Robert Simmonds, former deputy commissioner Mr Henry Jensen, recently retired New Zealand assistant commissioner of police Mr Emmett Mitten, chief superintendent Mr Peter Stevens from Britain, and Malaysian police superintendent Mr Sulaiman bin Mahmud.

ANC 'forgot' peace hearing

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace Committee has accused the ANC of showing a blatant disregard for the Peace Accord by "forgetting" to attend a hearing to adjudicate on charges its Youth League had contravened the accord.

The Complaints Committee, at a hearing yesterday, found the ANC Youth League had transgressed provisions of the accord by calling President F W de Klerk a murderer at a gathering on July 15 in Cape Town.

According to a statement issued by the NPC yesterday night, the ANC said officials had "forgotten" to attend the hearing. — Sapa

17/11/90

274

Ignorance and intolerance kill

South 17/10 - 21/10/92 South

~~South~~ (274) ~~17/10~~

CAN DEMOCRACY thrive in a country torn apart by political violence and a lack of tolerance of dissenting political opinions?

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it created a system which gave equality before the law and democracy to only a minority of South Africans — white citizens

The majority of black South Africans were denied fundamental democratic rights, the most basic of these being the vote

Even now the majority still has no power to decide who rules the country and what laws and policies the government makes.

Blacks were also denied the right to free political association — the right to form and belong to political organisations of their choice

Attempts by blacks to do so was met with a barrage of legal and physical deterrents, which inevitably led to confrontation between the white establishment and extra-parliamentary political organisations.

The government's tradition of responding to opposition with coercive measures such as arrests, detentions, torture, banishment and killings has resulted in a culture of political violence stemming directly from political intolerance

Confronted by this state violence, opposition political groupings were forced to mobilise under conditions of secrecy because of their illegality.

The need to organise in secrecy to minimise detection by the security forces included limiting the extent of participatory democracy at all levels within such organisations.

An offshoot of the restrictions on political literature and political debate, has been that the grassroots members of such organisations do



CASUALTY: Soweto residents identify another victim of political violence

not clearly understand concepts such as democracy and freedom of political association.

It is at this grassroots level that intolerance of opposing viewpoints and political affiliation is most clearly seen.

It is also at this level that people

have been most easily deluded and misled by attempts to foment "black-on-black" violence.

A few strategic incidents of violence perpetrated by "unknown" gunmen has resulted in a spiral of violence in which members of extra-parliamentary

organisations blame "the opposition" for violence affecting their members.

The organisations have tended to react punitively with yet more violence. Rather than serving as a deterrent, these retaliatory strikes have exacerbated the situation.

THE GOLDSTONE COPS

ST Times 18/10/92

274

THE first of the Goldstone Commission's five European "supercops" arrived in South Africa this week — and have already been equipped with their fluorescent uniforms.

They are Commander Tom Laidlaw, 50, of Scotland Yard — a co-author of the Waddington Report, which criticised police investigations of the Boipatong massacre — and Detective Superintendent Pallo Biehl, 49, head of Danish Interpol.

They begin assisting the commission's two task-force teams in Natal from tomorrow.

Members of the commission's investigation team, who are still waiting for

By CHARLENE SMITH

offices from the Department of Justice, will be wearing distinctive white-and-yellow fluorescent jackets, with the inscription "Goldstone Observer" and their names.

They will also drive cars with Goldstone Observer lettered on the sides and roof. The commission has received complaints that people impersonating them have been operating in townships and other areas, and have urged people to ask for identification.

The two Goldstone cops are to be joined by three more European policemen whose

appointment is expected to be confirmed by the European Community next week.

Commander Laidlaw and Superintendent Biehl have extensive experience in security work for the police forces in their countries.

The Goldstone investigation team now has 12 SA policemen, three members of the SA Defence Force, nine attorneys, two advocates and, by the end of the month, should have all five European supercops. The team, which is already monitoring marches, is investigating allegations of Rhenamo-links in Natal violence.

Commander Laidlaw assisted Professor Peter Waddington investigate the

Boipatong massacre within days of it occurring — and delivered a criticism of SA policing, hotly contested by the SA Police but hailed in other quarters.

He is commander for all operational matters in central London, including public order, state and ceremonial events, managing the security of government and royalty, licensing, vice and serious crime. He has had a distinguished 20-year career with the police.

Superintendent Biehl had lengthy experience with Denmark's national security branch and has had training with the FBI in the US. He has been head of Interpol in Copenhagen since 1987.

Police death toll at 90

CIPREN 18/10/92

ESP

274

By THEMBA KHUMALO

last month.

AT least 90 security force members have died and 137 have been wounded in various attacks on them by unknown people since May, the Human Rights Commission said in its September report.

The East Rand remained a flashpoint with 43 deaths in September while Vaal fatalities plummeted sharply in the same period. The death toll remained at 17 each in Alexandra and Soweto.

These casualties resulted from 207 attacks on the security forces.

At least 11 deaths occurred in police cells in September, bringing the total death toll in police custody to 95 this year.

Although the HRC could not identify the assailants, Karl Zimbiri, a shadowy commander of the PAC's Azanian People's Army (Apla), has threatened to intensify attacks on security forces.

There were 300 prisoners - among them 6 political inmates - awaiting their fate on Death Row. Among them is Jerry Richardson who was convicted for killing Stompie Seipei, a 14-year old activist, and Alex Seheri, an Umkhonto weSizwe cadre who was sentenced for murdering two Soweto residents in 1987.

Responsibility

He has previously claimed responsibility for most of the attacks on policemen who were wounded in various incidents countrywide.

The report said in September 21 percent of the victims were ANC supporters and 12 percent were IFP supporters or members. The hostels suffered only one death and no injured inmates.

Recently the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union met Apla's high command in Harare where they signed an agreement which would exonerate Popcru members from future guerrilla attacks.

While the first half of September saw a continuation of train attacks, no such incidents were recorded in the last week of the same month. However, since January, 21 women were killed in train attacks and 36 were injured. Three children died and 9 were injured, said the report.

The HRC report further said for two consecutive months - August and September - Natal has topped the violence list, accounting for 45 percent of the country's total.

The report said deaths in the South Coast region dropped from 68 to 45

MPLA gets tough over election result

LUANDA — Angola's ruling MPLA party says it will not face a second electoral round for the presidency unless its former civil war foe Unita pledges to honour peace accords signed last year.

And shooting was reported in two Angolan cities on Saturday after final election results gave President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's ruling party a victory but showed he and ex-rebel leader Jonas Savimbi must meet in a presidential runoff.

Hours after the results were announced, unita soldiers fired on Dos Santos's supporters in downtown Luanda, killing at least two people, police said.

Unita officials said their men were fired on first by celebrating MPLA supporters. Other casualties were reported, but details were not immediately available.

Luanda police commander Gaspar da Silva, speaking on national television, said the situation was "relatively calm".

But police reported some movement of Unita soldiers near the capital.

State news agency Angop also reported fighting between police and Unita members in Huambo, the central highland city 510km southeast of Luanda that Savimbi has turned into a stronghold since he left the capital days after the elections.

Huambo vice-governor Agostinho Jaka described the situation as "very serious" and not fully under government control.

Angolan national television reported that Unita had taken several police officers hostage in a shootout in Huambo and blockaded government buildings and main thoroughfares.

UN officials in Luanda said they had reports of violence in Huambo, but declined to give details. Later, Angolan media reported that UN envoys had met Unita leaders in an attempt to calm the situation.

The MPLA, getting tough after official results of the September 29-30 vote issued

showed it the clear winner of the legislative poll and ahead in the presidency, said the figures indicated the legitimacy of its 17-year rule.

"This was a total victory for the MPLA," said party Secretary General Marcolino Moco, as supporters poured precious champagne and danced in pick-up trucks racing through Luanda.

Unita had repeatedly delayed issuing the votes with unsubstantiated charges of fraud.

But the patience of MPLA leaders seemed to have snapped.

"The second round can only take place if certain conditions under the Bicesse (May 1991 peace) accords are observed," MPLA Information Director Joao Lourenco told a news conference on Saturday night.

These included demilitarising Unita, accepting that central government take control of Unita-held areas and returning to the new national army Unita generals who left in protest at the vote.

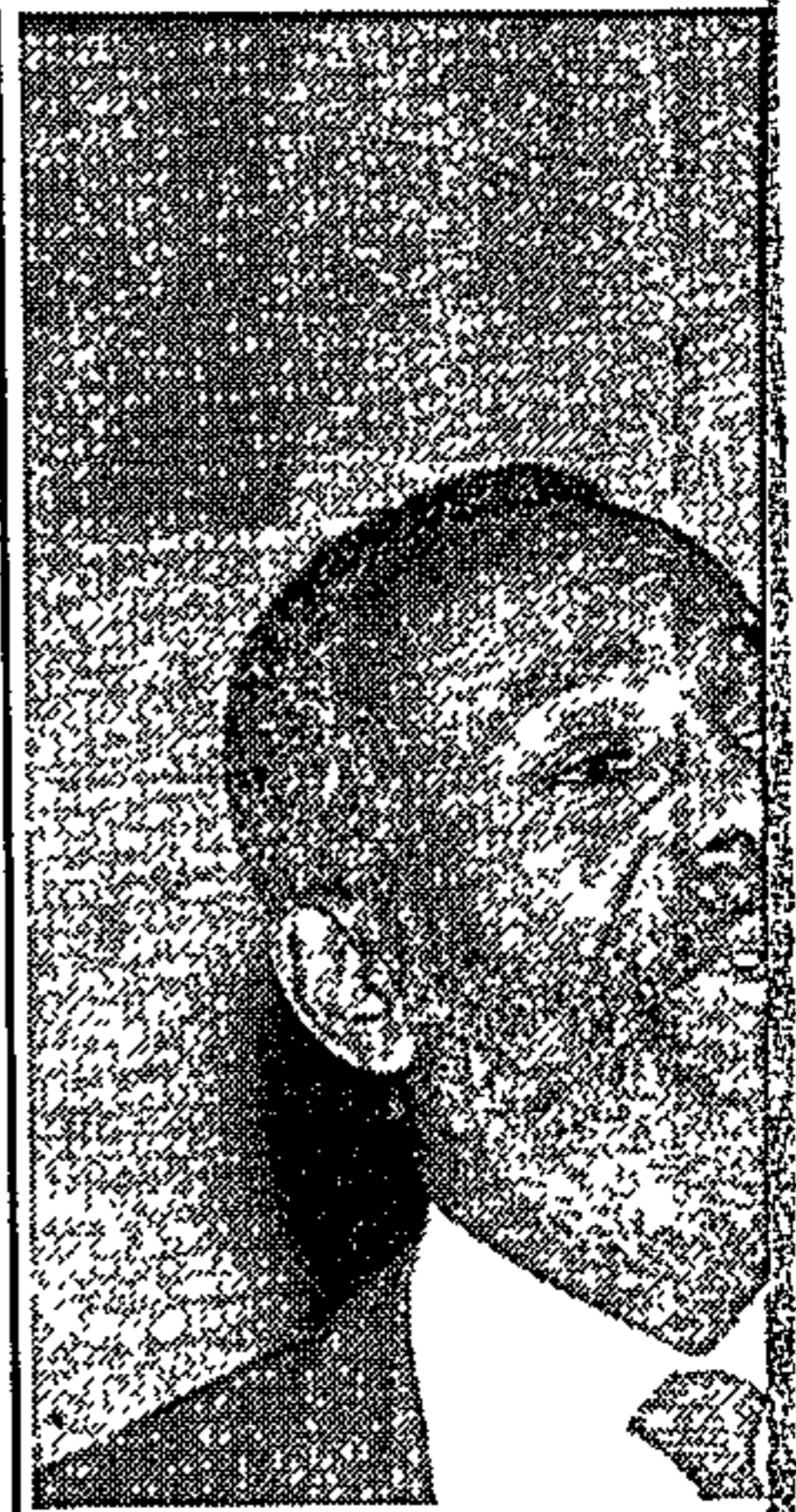
Dos Santos and Savimbi are due to meet today for a summit arranged by mediators from SA.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's press secretary Awie Marais said Botha was seriously considering returning to Luanda for the meeting after both leaders had requested his presence.

However, an OAU team has put off a visit to Angola where it was supposed to help persuade Savimbi to work with the government.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said on Saturday night that the decision to postpone the mission's visit had been taken after consultations with the Angolan government.

The UN, which has been overseeing the peace accords and transition to democracy, gave its blessing to the results and said there was no foundation to Savimbi's claims of fraud and irregularities. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.



Head of the Commonwealth m Gildenhuys at Jan Smuts Airpo

Top observer group arrives

GAVIN DU'VENANCE

A GROUP of 18 Commonwealth observers, led by former Ghanaian Supreme Court judge A Amissah, arrived in SA yesterday to monitor the violence situation.

The group was met at Jan Smuts airport by national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys and Deputy Justice and National Intelligence Service Minister Danie Schutte.

The group consists of members from legal, diplomatic, political and security backgrounds, among them the director of the Australian Institute of Criminology and a former commissioner of the Canadian Mounted Police.

Ammissah said the group would assist the secretariat in monitoring violence, and would make its expertise available to the secretariat.

The group expected to stay for three months, and would meet various political leaders, and visit violence-hit areas.

However any findings the group made would not be made public but conveyed directly to the secretariat, said Amissah.

He said if at the end of the day they had made a contribution to ending the violence, they would be very happy.

TML looking at move from CBD

TIMES Media Limited had not yet decided whether to leave the Johannesburg CBD and was looking at sites west of its existing premises in Diagonal Street, MD David Kovarsky confirmed at the weekend.

"We are looking at sites both in Rosebank and to the west of our existing operation. We were considering the 158 Jan Smuts Avenue building in Rosebank but decided against this," he said.

The group was examining the possibility of the Galleria site in Cradock Avenue, which "looks quite attractive", particularly regarding parking and access to shops, he said. If it remained in the CBD, the building would have to offer complete security and on-site parking for all staff.

"While a number of possibilities are

PETER GALLI

being examined, management is aware that staff will still be subject to the crime problem outside the building," he said.

While the group's lease expired only in four years time, a decision on the move would probably be made in the next three months, Kovarsky said.

There is continued market speculation that the Argus Group is considering moving. CE Doug Band said yesterday no specific plans were under discussion but if it were offered a good price for its building, a move would be considered.

An informed source said yesterday the newspaper group was seriously looking at sites in Crown Mines, but Band said this was "a remote possibility".



St
te
tr
o
o
v
cr
r
a
a
p
b
th
(E
T
a
O
v
e
n
s
V
T
r
V
r
J
n
C
I
v

One dead, three hurt in unrest at weekend

CT 19/10/92 (274)

PRETORIA. — At least one person was killed and three people were injured in unrest incidents reported by police in the 24 hours ending at midnight on Saturday.

At Crossroads, near Cape Town, a policeman was attacked by a mob and robbed of his firearm.

In Vosloorus, on the East Rand, police found the body of a man who had been shot.

In other incidents included in the official unrest report, two men were attacked and seriously wounded by a

group armed with sharp instruments at the Germiston railway station and at the Denver hostel two men shot and wounded an inmate with home-made firearms.

ANC Youth League members, who were planning to burn three coffins apparently representing the bodies of President FW de Klerk, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, were on their way to the Diepkloof hall when the attacks occurred.

Too late for

... understood that attractive to coloured people. Western Cape in South Africa's first non-racial poll.



CHARITY MASKS . . . Mr Anthony Watterson, Ms Diana Virs, Ms Annette Cowley and Mr Eric van Niekerk, bedecked in feathers and glitter, attended a black tie charity masked ball at the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront on Saturday night. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Observers arrive in SA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of 18 Commonwealth observers, led by former Ghanaian Supreme Court judge Mr A Amissah, arrived in South Africa yesterday to monitor violence. (274)

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and Deputy Justice and National Intelligence Service Minister Mr Danie

Schutte met the group at Jan Smuts Airport. CT 19/10/92

The group consists of members from legal, diplomatic, political and security backgrounds, among them the Director of the Australian Institute of Criminology and a former Commissioner of the Canadian Mounted Police.

Mr Amissah said the group would make its expertise available to the NPS.

The group, which expects to stay for three months, will be meeting political leaders and visiting violence-hit areas.

Its findings would be conveyed directly to the NPS and would not be made public, Mr Amissah said, adding that if the group made a contribution to ending the violence, they would be very happy.

Return of refugees marked

12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52

PARLIAMENT

ANC love affair with MK fuels speculation, says Pienaar

THERE is a perception that Umkhonto we Sizwe is engaged in systematic mass murder in Natal, says the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Replying to debate on the Filling of Casual Vacancies in Parliament Bill yesterday he said that as long as the ANC still had its love affair with its armed wing, it could not avoid

speculation that it was involved in violence.

The only way to deal with this speculation was to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Introducing the bill earlier, Mr Pienaar said by-elections at this time were not only irrelevant, but were time- and money-consuming. He said South Africa was ap-

proaching the end of the road of the present constitution and its inherent discrimination.

"The new constitution will have to be thrashed out and, who knows, possibly this time next year we will be fighting an election under a new constitution."

The bill makes provision for a political party to nominate a candidate to fill a vacancy in a

parliamentary seat.

It would be incompatible with government policy to extend democratic rights and to contemplate the possibility of a general election or by-election in which only certain South African citizens would vote. It would also be counter-productive to the negotiation process.

"There is no time for petty in-house bickering that takes place in by-elections." — Sapa.



PIENAAR ... by-elections irrelevant

RF 26/10/92 (274)



Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela breached the national peace accord in his recent address to the UN security council. Picture BRIAN HENDLER

Kaunda adjudicates on Mandela today

FORMER Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide by midday today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela violated the national peace accord during an address to the UN in July. *BIDM 20/10/92*

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been refusing to attend peace accord meetings since late July in protest at Mandela's statement to the UN. *(274)*

(274) **RAY HARTLEY** *(274)*

Mandela allegedly told the international body Inkatha was a government surrogate.

A national peace committee spokesman said yesterday efforts by ANC and Inkatha lawyers to settle the dispute over the alleged transgression failed, and it had been decided that Kaunda and Kotzé would adjudicate after hearing both sides. *(274)*

Inkatha vows to defy ban

INKATHA would continue defying the law banning weapons in public because it was unenforceable and a product of government and ANC connivance, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He was reacting to inquiries about why Inkatha ignored Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police Maj-Gen Gerrit Erasmus's ruling that marchers not carry weapons during a Johannesburg march on Saturday.

Felgate rejected the notion that the ruling was made in terms of a government notice of February 28 and not as a result of the summit between President

BIDM 20/10/92
BILLY PADDOCK
FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela last month. *(274)*

Meanwhile, police opened a docket and indicated Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi might face charges, as he led the march.

However, spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said video footage taken during the march had to be studied before a docket would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision on whether to prosecute.

Felgate said Buthelezi had not condoned the carrying of weapons but he would not, in principle,

have called on the marchers to lay them down either.

AK-47s, of which "the ANC had thousands stashed in arms caches", were the major cause of violence and killings, he insisted.

□ Meanwhile, Sapa reports gunmen shot and killed five people in Natal yesterday, taking the death toll in two days to 18 in the strife-torn province.

KwaZulu police said three people were gunned down in Umbumbulu township, another in Esikhawini near Empangeni and the fifth victim killed in Kwamakhuta, south of Durban.

The 18 deaths in Natal, where more than 1 200 people have died so far this year, brought to at least 20 the number of people killed in unrest in the country over the weekend.

In the worst incident, eight people were killed early on Sunday at Umgababa by raiders wielding pangas and spears and firing home-made guns.

RISON.

E

1 0000

No finding on Mandela speech

JOHANNESBURG. —
Former Zambian presi-
dent Dr Kenneth
Kaunda and Mr Justice
G Kotzé did not reach a
decision yesterday on
whether Mr Nelson Man-
dela violated the
National Peace Accord
in his speech to the UN
in July. The two are now
expected to reach a deci-
sion on Friday.

Inkatha claimed Mr
Mandela had violated
the accord by saying
"the IFP has permitted
itself to become an ex-
tension of the Pretoria
regime".

27 OCT 21 1992

ms ● Buthelezi challenges Government

Buthelezi dares Kriel

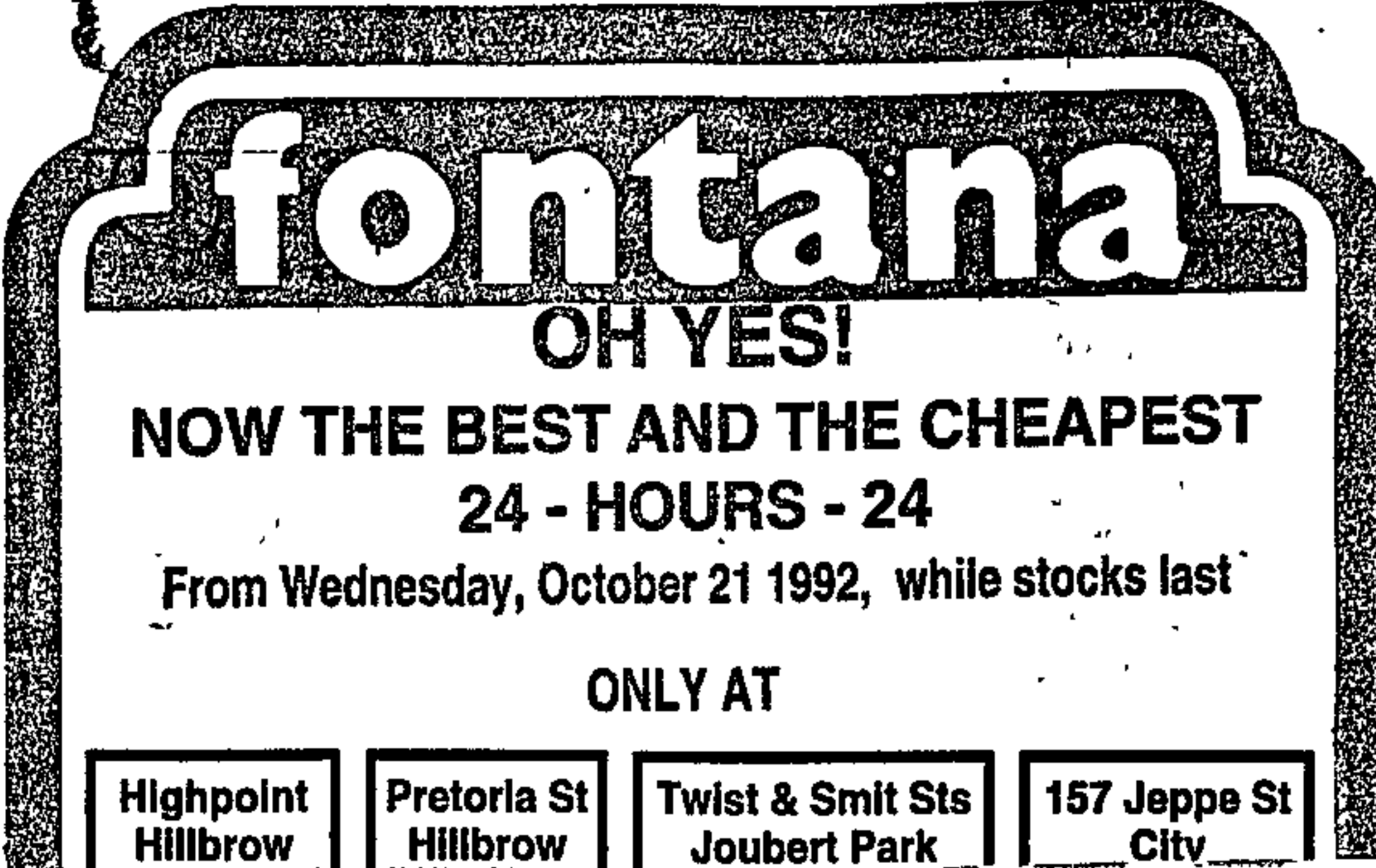
■ Claims that ANC-SACP alliance gets preferential treatment:

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dared the Government to charge him for leading a march defying the ban on the carrying of "traditional" weapons in public.

"Let Mr (Hernus) Kriel charge me as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. If convicted I'm prepared to go to jail."

Sowetan

21/10/92



fontana
OH YES!
NOW THE BEST AND THE CHEAPEST
24 - HOURS - 24
From Wednesday, October 21 1992, while stocks last
ONLY AT

Highpoint Hillbrow	Pretoria St Hillbrow	Twist & Smit Sts Joubert Park	157 Jeppe St City
-----------------------	-------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------------

'Call off ANC marches'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela should call off the Ulundi and Mmabatho marches, which would be "reckless and provocative" in the present "unusual" climate, Dr Alex Boraine said yesterday.

Addressing a lunch meeting here, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa said that while no one would dispute

the right of any party to protest peacefully, the complexity of the ANC's programme of mass action was contributing to the unrest.

Dr Boraine also called on IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe to overcome his "negative attitude" towards the bilateral talks between the government and the ANC.

"The alternative, namely an alliance with the Conservative Party and the right-wing, can only lead to a cul-de-sac which

CT 21/10/92
would cost him very heavily in potential support," he said.

Dr Boraine was scathing of all political leaders who, he said, were "betraying the hopes and aspirations of all South Africans" through their lack of statesmanship.

Dr Boraine predicted that a general election would be held "this time next year" and said the key players would be the National Party, IFP and ANC.

THE VIOLENCE

FM 23/10/92

274

260

Low blows from the Left

An in-house attack on research into the causes of the violence by Anthea Jeffery, a special research consultant at the SA Institute of Race Relations, has demonstrated the deep ideological rift between liberals and ANC sympathisers which evidently exists within the organisation.

That the division is not confined to the research establishment but goes right to the top is evidenced by the recent resignation of the chairman of the executive committee, David Gevisser, who is also executive director of Boumat.

Gevisser declines to say more about the reasons for his resignation other than those already reported — that he had had differences of opinion with institute executive director John Kane-Berman. One theory is that he left because he did not want to be associated with actions by the institute which would have offended the ANC.

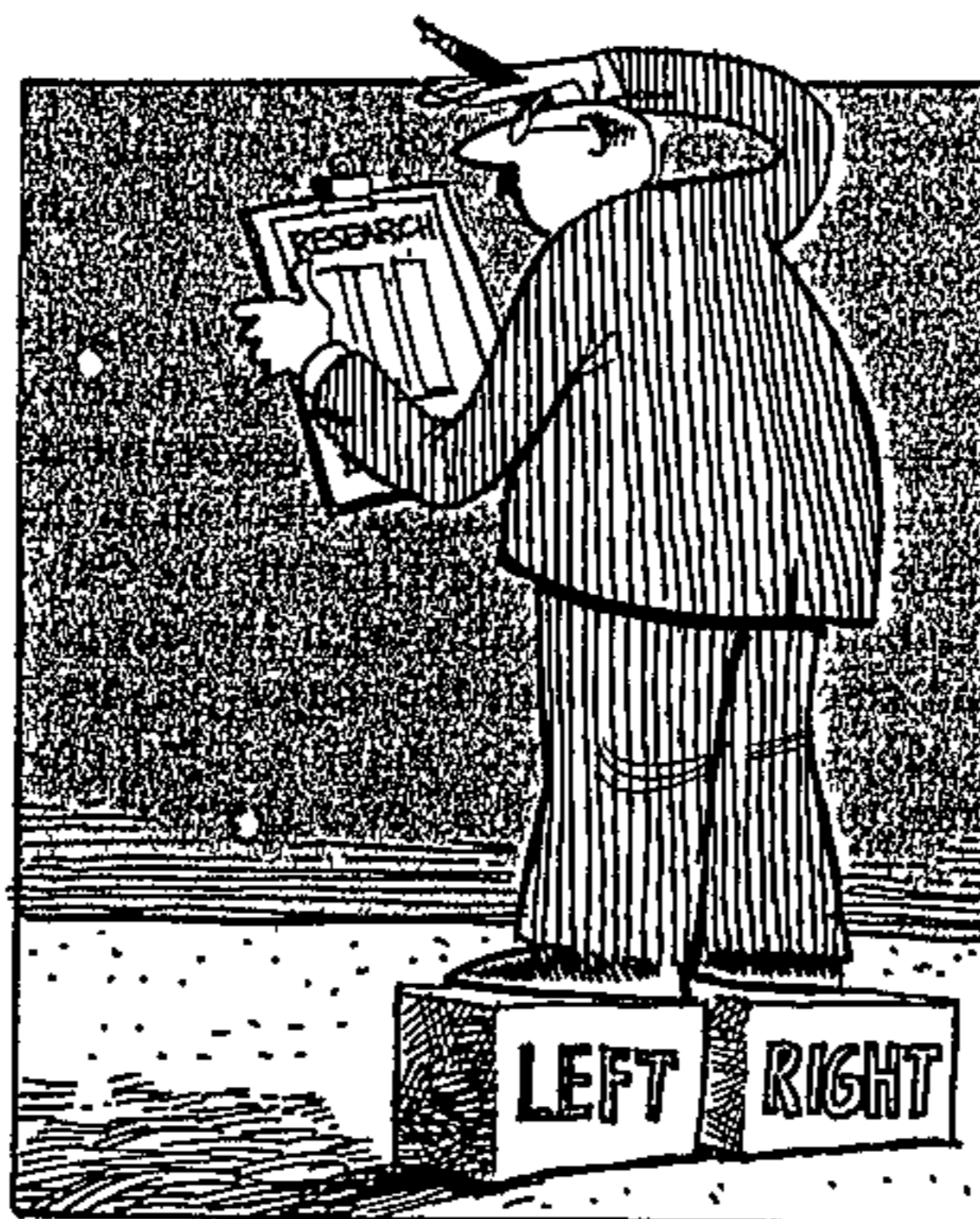
The institute has 12 full-time researchers and about 2 000 individual, institutional and corporate members. It was founded in 1929 and is the oldest anti-apartheid institution in the country. Its annual *Race Relations Survey* and other publications chronicle the evil effects of apartheid on all aspects of society. It is funded mostly by members' subscriptions. Its bursary department also receives overseas funding.

The institute has in recent years established an especially high reputation for the integrity and academic quality of its research; for steadfast opposition to apartheid, even in the days when to oppose the NP government was often to risk arrest; and support of political and economic freedom. This is to a great extent the personal achievement of John Kane-Berman, the executive director since 1983. Preservation of the institute as it stands is therefore an important goal.

The internal struggle at the institute hinges on the fulcrum of SA politics as a whole — whether SA is to achieve political pluralism and a functioning free-market economy, or succumb to self-righteous rule by a single party with a strong Marxist economic leaning, paying only lip service to individual freedom.

Political pluralism implies freedom of speech and acceptance of the basic principle that no single political grouping has a monopoly on wisdom and inherent righteousness. Nor should it demand to be immune from criticism of its policies or actions, or insist on being unchallenged on any claim to be the one true representative movement.

It was in these respects that Jeffery sinned mightily against political correctness by asserting in print that several human rights organisations had in effect absolved the



ANC and its allies of any blame for political violence. Jeffery's criticisms were levelled in the institute publication *Spotlight* for October 1992.

Jeffery's publication, *Spotlight on Disinformation about Violence in SA*, so angered ANC sympathisers within the institute that they leaked to the media a "critique" of 23 pages — a nit-picking document that fails to refute the objective evidence marshalled by Jeffery.

In reply to the leaked criticisms, Jeffery says she repudiates any suggestion that her *Spotlight* purports to defend, or exonerate from responsibility for political violence, Inkatha, the police or government. She adds that she criticised Amnesty International and the other bodies for making unsubstantiated accusations against Inkatha and the police, and for heavily downplaying the ANC alliance's evident contribution to the violence.

The bodies indicted by Jeffery for what amounts to partisan analysis of SA affairs are Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission.

The academic credentials of Jeffery are considerable. She holds BA and LLB degrees from Wits (the latter *cum laude*). To these she has added an LLM from Cambridge and a PhD from London University. She is an advocate of the Supreme Court of SA and a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England. She has served as a senior lecturer in law at Natal University, held a senior position with the Urban Foundation and consulted to the HSRC and the Legal Resources Centre.

Helen Suzman, president of the council of the institute, has been driven by this contro-

versy to address a circular to members, stoutly defending Jeffery. Suzman says the *Spotlight* has been assaulted precisely because it says the ANC and its allies must bear some responsibility for the violence. This is a fact "which has been covered up or excused in many instances." She fears this attack on the institute is "the first salvo in a campaign to subject our research on violence to some sort of thought control."

Indeed, says Suzman, pressures for conformity to some sort of politically correct line are building up in many spheres. This is especially ominous as SA is emerging only now from the thought control the Nationalist government for so long sought to impose. She concludes: "The institute did not succumb then and will not do so now."

It is vital for the business community — or those elements which see their future in a cosy relationship with the ANC — to realise that if SA ends up as a one-party state (notwithstanding the ANC's current policy of approving political pluralism) that would be disastrous for business and investment.

Political freedom is not a luxury that can be dispensed with: along with the principle of private property, it is a vital condition for economic freedom. There is no point in appeasing radicals in the hope of a favour. The SA Institute of Race Relations deserves the continued support of the business community, financially and morally, for the work it does, and in particular for its defence of intellectual freedom — without which other freedom is not possible.

Former De Beers and Anglo American chairman Harry Oppenheimer says: "The Institute has, over many years, been a major factor for liberalism in the best sense of that word, and this attitude has been maintained by Kane-Berman in a courageous manner. The institute has always been careful not to take a political line in support of any single party and Kane-Berman has continued this tradition." ■

NEGOTIATIONS

FM 23/10/92

Back on the road

A new negotiating strategy is being formulated by government, aimed at bolstering support for a government of national unity and entrenching the "bottom lines" set out by President F W de Klerk in parliament last week.

The plan is expected to include the formation of a high-level negotiating team of Cabinet Ministers and senior officials whose primary function will be to speed up progress towards the resumption of Codesa-style

Repression gave a false sense of security — Kriel

6/10/92 23/10/92
LAW and Order Minister Hennis Kriel told a Pretoria University audience last night that repressive laws in force before the start of government's reforms in February 1990 had created "a false sense of security".

Addressing an Institute of Strategic Studies function in Pretoria, he said that only a vibrant economy would bring relief from a soaring crime rate and political violence.

Before February 2 1990, political violence and the revolutionary onslaught could be fought by way of massive repression, a full state of emergency, preventative detention without trial, and curfews, Kriel said.

"But by forcefully keeping the lid on the pot we have simply veiled a very serious problem instead of solving it — in other words a false sense of security was created," he said.

He said the country faced conflict, mayhem and anarchy unless political and other role players joined forces to resolve the problem.

He stressed, however, that SA's economic problems were the biggest single factor in escalating crime. Seven out of every 10 crimes in 1991 were economically related.

Kriel said 1 858 people died in more than 7 500 incidents of political violence in the year to end-September.

GERALD HEILLY

He said intimidation was an alarming and integral part of the violence.

The laws against the handling and possession of firearms would be strengthened. (274)

During 1991 police recovered 5 700 firearms, including 1 200 AK-47s. Between January and September this year, more than 5 500 illegal firearms and 23 arms caches were seized.

Kriel called upon the ANC to abandon its mass action campaign for the sake of "peace and stability".

He said inflammatory rhetoric and incitement in mass action was in blatant disregard of the peace accord.

He urged the signatories to the national peace accord to rededicate themselves to its provisions.

For the sake of peace, it was vital that all private armies including the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and paramilitary structures be disbanded immediately.

Kriel said it was possible the ANC could not control its cadres or arms.

Resistance had also gained momentum in far right circles.

Kriel said police manpower had more than doubled to 20 494, supplemented by 100 724 assistants.

Boesak: govt land sales must stop

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — People who lost their land in the western Cape through the Group Areas Act should put in their claims for restoration now, ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak said yesterday.

"Illegal sales of state land must be stopped immediately," he said.

Boesak said government was selling off land as fast as it could that had been earmarked for resale to victims of the Group Areas Act.

"Of the 5 200 properties in state hands last year, only 3 200 remain. The current Rondevlei case is a clear example that illegal sales and corruption are taking place while the interests of those with legitimate claims are being sidelined and ignored." 6/10/92 23/10/92

"We demand that the government take immediate steps to freeze all sales of state land and, furthermore, that it instructs the state departments concerned to write to all families whose land was removed under the Group Areas Act, informing them of their right to submit a claim for the return of the land," Boesak said.

He added that the ANC, in conjunction with other organisations, was considering launching a campaign to inform the public of its right to submit land claims.

'Attacks could threaten peace in townships'

TYRONE SEALE

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE shooting and wounding of prominent ANC and Regional Dispute Resolution Committee member Mr Johnson Mpu-kumpa was part of a disturbing pattern that could wreck peace in the townships.

This is the view of ANC member and Independent MP Mr Jan van Eck, who says the incident is part of a sophisticated campaign against peace-makers.

Mr Mpukumpa is in Groot Schuur Hospital recovering from a wound in the left shoulder. He was shot with a 9 mm weapon while driving through Nyanga about 8pm on Thursday by one of three men in a silver-grey Mazda 323.

Mr Van Eck said last night the campaign could at least be traced back to the gunning down on June 19 1991 of ANC activist Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack near his Nyanga home.

He also cited the killing of Western Cape Civic Association chairman Mr Michael Mapongwana in Lansdowne Road, Philippi, on July 8 last year.

Mr Mapongwana was injured and his wife murdered in an attack on their Khayelitsha home on October 17 1990.

Another example of the bloody battle against anti-government activists in the townships, said Mr Van Eck, was

the stabbing and robbery five weeks ago of ANC Western Cape executive and Regional Dispute Resolution Committee member Mr Vincent Diba near Crossroads.

Mr Van Eck said Mr Mpukumpa was one of the "best known and most important" community figures in the Western Cape.

He said it was not clear whether the attacks on community leaders could be directly attributed to elements implicated in squatter and taxi rivalries, but it was clear the attackers were progressively targeting senior civic leadership.

"People who unite people would seem to threaten the turfs of people with vested interests," he said.

Mr Mpukumpa had played a crucial role in setting up SA National Civic Organisation structures in the Western Cape and had been instrumental in securing peace between squatter leaders and civic organisations.

Mr Van Eck said: "These attacks can destabilise the Western Cape. If the leadership is eliminated or paralysed through fear of such attempts, the potential for peace is diminished."

He said it was unlikely that activists would ask for police protection.

274

Aug 24/10/92

Deputy minister 'told lie'

Political Staff
THE Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte, had told "a lie" when he said on television that all parties supported the further In-demnity Bill and their only objection was that they had not enough time to study it, the Democratic Party said yesterday.

This is a lie and Mr Schutte knows it is a lie," it said in a statement issued by one of its representatives on the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Justice, Mr Douglas Gibson.

Mr Gibson said the Motion of Desirability was defeated at the Standing Committee when all parties, apart from the National Party and the AVU, voted against the bill.

Govt, PAC meeting 'amicable'

GABORONE — Talks between the South African government and the Pan-Africanist Congress continued into last night here, with both sides describing the discussions as amicable.

No statement would be issued after yesterday's talks, government spokesman Mr Maribus Kleinmans and PAC spokesman Mr Jaki Serote agreed.

Mr Serote said the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) in South Africa could not be dealt with under the general item for internecine violence.

As yet there were no indications as to whether both parties had agreed on any items on the agenda. — Sapa

Observers' costs shared

Political Correspondent
THE costs of visits by United Nations and Organisation of African Unity observers are not being fully borne by the South African taxpayer.

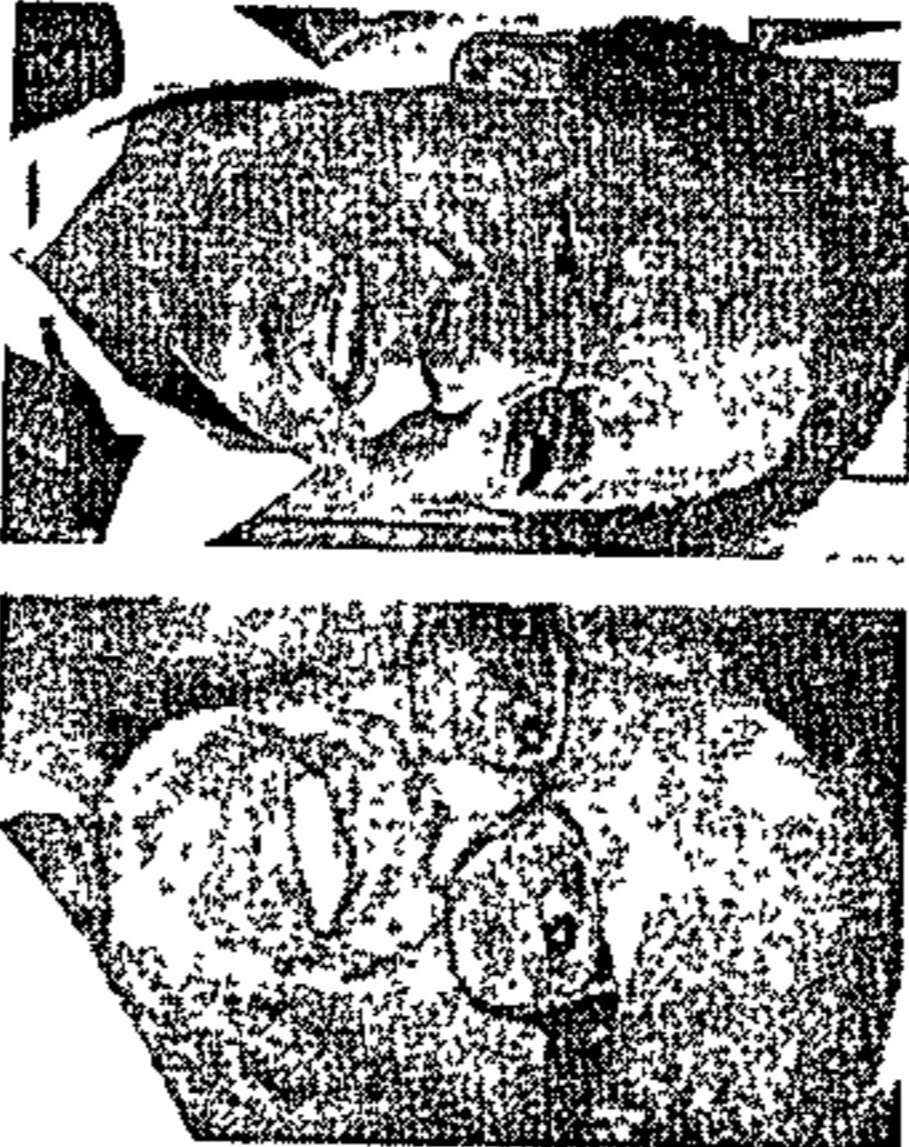
Foreign Minister Mr P.W. Botha said the government would provide financial assistance to the observers for office accommodation and related expenses.

These expenses were usually borne by the host country where an international observer team was deployed, Mr Botha said in reply to a question from the CP MP for Brakpan, Mr Frank le Roux.

Name list incorrect, says ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC said last night that the list of names published yesterday of alleged torturers in its camps in exile was "inaccurate" and included names of people who could in no way be connected to any of the allegations.



NAMED ... Chns Han
NAMED ... Oliver Tjumbo

The ANC's response followed the publication in the Weekly Mail of what the newspaper billed as "The names the ANC tried to hide."

The names published included those of key ANC officials, including some still in leadership positions.

Earlier this week the ANC released details of "abuses of the most chilling kind" contained in its own Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Complaints by former ANC prisoners in the organisation's camps.

However, the ANC stopped short of naming the individuals accused and the organisation said last night that it had begun the process of setting up an independent commission of inquiry before names were disclosed.

The Weekly Mail reported that its own investigation had revealed that a number of people currently employed at ANC headquarters in Shell House, Johannesburg, were allegedly personally and directly implicated in torture and murders. These included former Mr Nelson Mandela's bodyguards (M.B. Mavuso or "Jomo") and others who are still in the department of intelligence and security (including "Africa Nkwe" or Oupa Shadrack Khumalo and "Sizwe Mkompi").

Others allegedly involved in the abuses have since been promoted, such as Mr Andrew Masondo, the current head of the ANC mission in Uganda. He replaced Mr Thembu Mthimiso, the "hero" of the report and allegedly one of the few ANC officials who went out of their way to help detainees.

A number of the most senior ANC officials appeared to know about the conditions in the camps but allegedly did not do enough to change things. These include the then president, Mr Oliver Tambo, commander of uMK, hono wesiwe Mr Joe Modise and former MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hanu.

ANC to challenge 'ban' in KwaZulu

DURBAN — The ANC intends going to the Supreme Court to challenge the KwaZulu authorities' alleged virtual banning and its allies.

This was announced at a news conference here yesterday, where the ANC said it was to consult lawyers.

Plans for court action followed the latest unsuccessful attempt by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to secure a public meeting in Sandumbuli township, outside Mandeni.

Four previous applications have been turned down by the Inkatha-dominated local council.

An ANC spokesman said township authorities had cited procedural problems and the volatile situation in the area as the reasons for the refusals.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, in a statement yesterday, said the ANC's demand for three political expression in KwaZulu was "taken to the pot calling the kettle black when considering that ANC political activity was always accompanied by terror tactics."

Five Commonwealth observers flew into Durban yesterday to monitor violence in Natal, send reports to their secretary-general on political fighting in the province and give recommendations on how to quell it.

Reports submitted to the secretary-general would be referred to several Commonwealth governments which aim to influence people involved in violence to stop.

In Mpumalanga, near Maritzburg, the ANC and IFP are due to hold a joint rally tomorrow to cement a local peace agreement. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Lubowski killing 'was CCB project'

JOHANNESBURG — The murder of Swapo executive member Mr Anton Lubowski was a Civil Co-operation Bureau project but the shotgun killing of University of the Witwatersrand academic Dr David Webster was not, the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Namibia, Colonel Jumbo Smut, told the Webster inquest in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Colonel Smut said this had been told him by Brigadier Floris Mosler, who got the information from CCB head Colonel Joe Verster.

Colonel Smut told the inquest that the head of the CCB's Region Six, Colonel Saal Burger, and operative Mr Calla Botha were involved in a conspiracy to kill Mr Lubowski.

He tried to contact Colonel Burger and other CCB members possibly connected to the Lubowski killing for a statement before Namibian independence on March 21, 1990.



NEW HOME ... Conservationists encourage some of the six zebra relocated at the Grootte Schuur Estate, near UCT, to move into their new home yesterday. The zebra are part of a programme to, selectively breed a quagga

'Quagga breeders' come to city

SIX plains zebra — all part of the controversial quagga breeding project — were freed yesterday on the Grootte Schuur Estate near the University of Cape Town.

The five-year-old quagga project, the brainchild of Mr Reinhold Ran of the SA Museum, is trying to breed an animal as close as possible to the quagga, which was hunted to extinction near the end of the last century.

Mr Ran, a taxidermist, disapproved through genetic tests that the quagga was a sub-species of the plains zebra.

The theory is that quagga characteristics are present in certain zebra, and selective breeding may concentrate these genes.

The selective breeding programme began at the Vrolijkheid research station near Robertson in 1987, but the six were moved to Cape Town because the increasing herd size was placing a strain on the Vrolijkheid station.

Mr Ran is confident the project will culminate in a quagga-like animal, despite the scepticism of detractors.

"Whether it will be 100% genetically the same as an original quagga we will never know," he says.

Two policemen shot dead

DURBAN — Gunmen shot dead two policemen in separate incidents in townships around Durban on Thursday in a wave of attacks on officers that has left five policemen dead this week.

The deaths brought to at least 65 the number of policemen killed in Natal so far this year. Authorities say 170 policemen have died nationwide.

Four other people were reported killed in Natal on Thursday, one of them a 17-year-old girl who was gunned down as she rode a motorcycle with her boyfriend in KwaMashu township.

A Goldstone Commission committee will sit next month to investigate the origins of "recent serious and violent attacks" on policemen.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the committee would comprise Mr G. Steyn, a commission member, and Mr S. Moshidi, a Johannesburg attorney. The committee would sit from November 9 to 13 in Pretoria. — Sapa

Boipatong: Attackers not pursued

VEREENIGING — The local Internal Stability Unit did nothing to identify, pursue or arrest the attackers in the Boipatong massacre which left more than 40 residents dead on the night of June 17, two members of the unit told the Goldstone Commission yesterday.

Lance Sergeant Vorster Schlebusch and shift commander Sergeant Deon Kruger told the commission, which is hearing evidence on the massacre here, that they both considered it a priority to stabilise the area before pursuing suspects.

Sergeant Schlebusch said it was the duty of the investigating officers who went to Boipatong the following morning to establish who the attackers were. He said if he could have identified the attackers he would have tried to arrest them.

ANC senior counsel Mr Denis Kuny put it to Sergeant Schlebusch that the attackers were identified by witnesses as IFP members from Kwamadala hostel.

Sergeant Schlebusch said "It was my task to stabilise the area. I could not give attention to arresting the attackers I can't be in two places at once."

Sergeant Kruger said that he, too, had done nothing to arrest Kwamadala hostel residents in spite of reports from the crew of a SADF Buffel vehicle that they had seen a large group of about 500 people crossing the road from the township towards the hostel.

It also emerged yesterday that one of the homes attacked in which two children were killed, belonged to a special constable attached to the police here.

Constable Patrick Njoli's two children, Ndo, 14 and Thesela, 8, died of back and stab wounds, and his wife Martha was stabbed and shot. — Sapa

'Peace through justice and democracy'

South 24/10 - 28/10/92 274

By Allan Boesak



Allan Boesak

24/10 - 28/10/92
THE ANC is committed to peace and peaceful methods to resolve the conflicts resulting from apartheid and its aftermath.

A peaceful society depends most importantly on the necessity for justice to be seen to be done when violence occurs.

The failure of the regime to address this question, which continues to bedevil the transitional process, lies at the root of many of the conflicts we are experiencing today.

The proper and effective administration of justice begins at the grassroots, with a police force committed to serve the public, to protect its victims and act against its transgressors.

That police force should thus be free of political and social bias or prejudice and should be trained and educated in the principles of what is and what is not permissible in a democratic society.

In order to achieve real and lasting peace in South Africa, it is also vitally important to address the question of the past — of the bitter legacy of apartheid and its many victims.

This is a major reason why the ANC has opposed the NP proposal for a general amnesty. For justice to be seen to be done, those who have committed crimes against human rights must be identified, investigated and publicly exposed.

Ultimately though, peace depends on democracy, and it is only where representative government exists, and where people are able to see real and effective alternatives to the use of violence to resolve the problems they experience in their daily lives that one can begin to lay a proper foundation for a peaceful society.

*the path to peace***'Democratic state will bring the violence under control'**

By Barney Desai

South 24/10 - 28/10/92

THE horrifying violence in South Africa is a direct result of apartheid. We are also experiencing the legacy of the eighties, when rival groups fought violently for hegemonistic reasons.

A third, and by far the most important cause of the violence that has taken such a terrible toll on our people, is the secret activities of the state security apparatus used to violently destabilise the liberation movements.

The PAC has little or no confidence in Commissions of Enquiry appointed by the regime. There have been 10 commissions of enquiry since January and not a single conviction has been secured to date!

Violence will not be brought under control until we have a democratic state which replaces the minority racist regime. The PAC has been in the forefront in calling for international involvement, both in respect of violence and the process of negotiations.

We need investigation, mediation, observation and neutral arbitration

**Barney Desai**

in this period of transition to democratic rule.

The PAC is minimally involved in violence but maximally concerned to establish peace amongst Africans. In this regard we have offered to act as a facilitator between the IFP and the ANC in order to bring peace between the principal parties involved in so much of the violent conflicts.

The IFP has accepted our offer and we await word from the ANC.

Spokespeople for the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the National Party and the Democratic Party give their views on what is needed to bring peace to South Africa:

'A spirit of tolerance'

South 24/10 - 28/10/92

By Colin Eglin

BEFORE any of the other important processes which would normalise our society can be set in motion, the DP views the achievement of peace as most critical. (274) (206)

The achievement of peace is a multi-faceted process, rather than a quick fix simple solution.

The first priority we identify is putting an end to violence. This will require all parties and organisations to reassess their attitudes, priorities and the behaviour of their own organisations in relation to violence.

Commitment from all Peace Accord signatories means a change in the nature of political campaigning, away from violence and coercion, towards tolerance and peaceful conduct.

Reconciliation between the ANC and the IFP is urgently required, which, if accompanied by sufficient understanding and tolerance, will enable their constituents to live in peace. It is also vital that the NP and ANC put their electioneering stances on hold and realise the urgency of putting multi-party negotiations back on track so that a political settlement can be attained as soon as possible.

The second priority is two-fold: firstly, even ahead of a political settlement, there is a need to get the economy, especially the job-creating part of the economy, moving again.

Every attempt should be made to get an accord on economic and job creation involving the business sector, labour and political leadership, because basic needs for all South Africans (housing, running water, food, electricity and security) will not be delivered until the economy has recovered.



Colin Eglin

Secondly, political parties must be made aware of the desperate state of the economy, so that their actions contribute towards the economy's chances of recovery.

The third priority involves an attitude. The DP urges leaders to display a spirit of generosity towards those with whom they are negotiating and to show some faith in a better future.

Above all, leaders committed to a solution through negotiation must accept that negotiation involves compromise: not messy, unprincipled horse-trading, but realistic give and take based on an understanding of one another's concerns and a genuine desire to make this country a better place for all South Africans.

South Africa is a richly diverse country and peace can only be achieved with the acceptance by every citizen of these differences, coupled with a respect for basic human rights.

'Commitment and hard work needed'

By Advocate ^{South} Chris Fisser

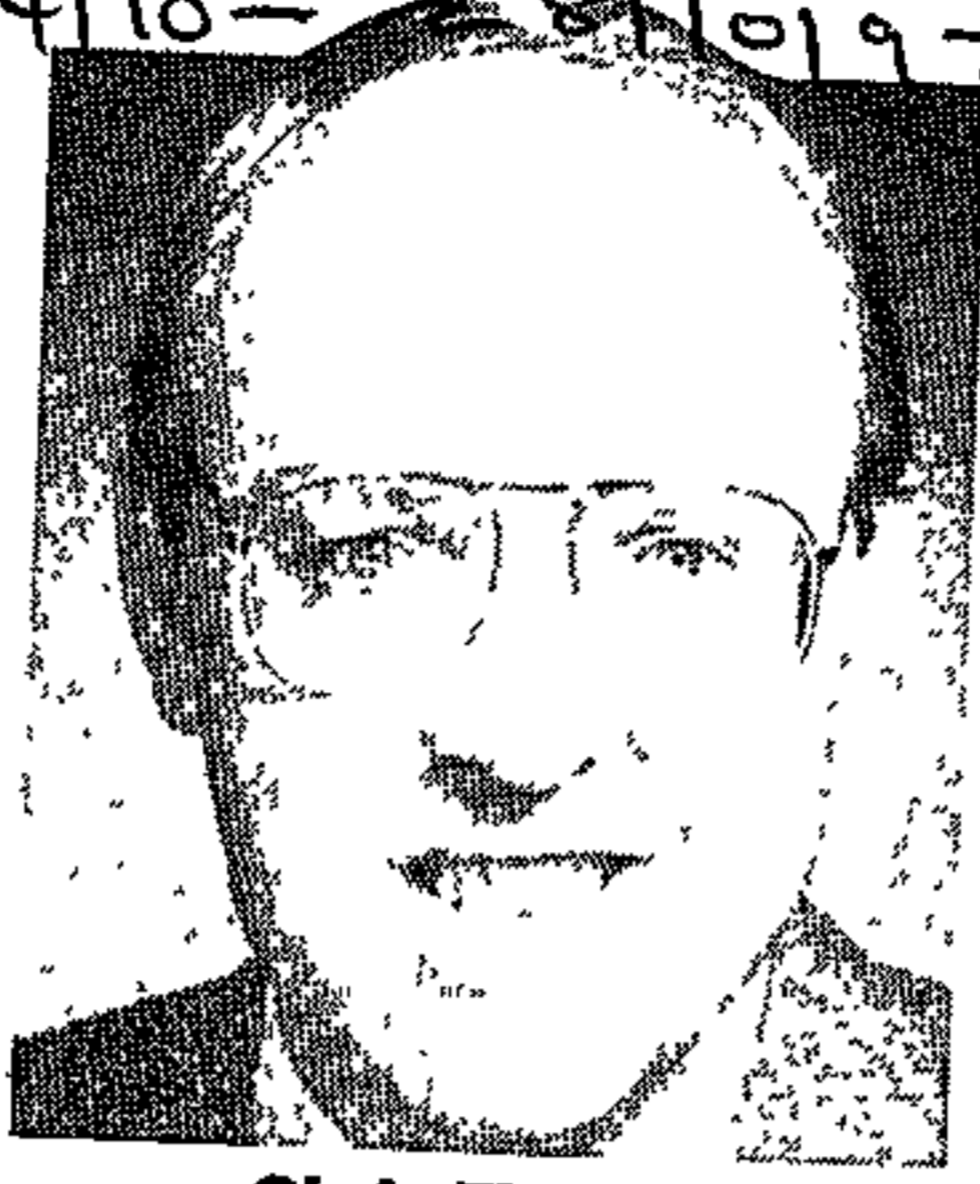
24/10 - 28/10/92

274

PEACE is not going to fall into our laps — it needs the commitment of the nation and hard work by all to succeed. If we fail to achieve peace — and it is not impossible — every South African will lose. South Africa will be lost.

To succeed in our efforts for peace, the following priorities should be kept in mind:

- Ultimate peace without a political settlement involving the majority of South Africans is impossible. It is therefore of utmost importance to use all efforts to get back to multi-party negotiations and to move towards a representative government.
- The National Peace Accord is the best available vehicle towards peace. It should be fully utilised by all committed participants.
- Peace needs time to be



Chris Fisser

24/10 - 28/10/92.
achieved. There is no secret short cut to take. To condemn the peace accord after one year is absolute nonsense. It will take years to filter to all levels and corners of the country.

● Socio-economic restructuring is a vital ingredient for peace. Where it can be affected immediately, it should be done. Unfortunately, socio-economic recon-

struction is sometimes delayed or prevented for petty political reasons.

Some people are afraid someone else might take the credit for upliftment. They have an interest in letting people suffer now, so that people vote for them under a new dispensation

● It will not help the country if we keep turning our heads away from the most important cause of violence — the bitter feud between Inkatha and the ANC.

The country should demand they get together and, for the sake of all, stop killing each other. If they believe in peace and democracy, their leaders should have the guts to get together and find ways to stop the fighting.

● The government of the day has a responsibility to peace. We in the NP understand this and are committed to do our bit for the achievement of peace.

the path to peace

SOUTH Africa's endless spiral of violence raises disturbing questions about what kind of nation we are. Have we been so brutalised and alienated that we are unable and unwilling to live in peace, showing tolerance for the views of other political groups?

Violence in South Africa is, however, not only politically motivated. There are deeply-rooted social strains, which have resulted in violence creeping into our homes, destroying families and communities.

Both kinds of violence are bound to have long-term effects and raise issues we must all consider if we are to have a truly democratic "New South Africa".

This focus, entitled "Keep Peace Alive", is SOUTH's contribution to the present initiatives to secure peace in South Africa.

One of the most disturbing things about violence in South Africa is that everybody blames everybody else for it, but nobody accepts responsibility for any of the killings, maiming and burning. Very few people are brought to book. When they are — as we have seen in recent weeks — they are released before they have served their sentences.

This creates deep mistrust between political parties. It often fuels further violence and mayhem, again with no-one willing to take the blame.

The extent of this mistrust is highlighted in an anecdote by the

Keep peace alive

South 24110 - 28/19/92

214

recently retired executive director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies, Professor Hendrik ("HW") van der Merwe.

Long an opponent of apartheid and a respected facilitator who helped start the mid-eighties dialogue between the Nationalists and the ANC, Professor van der Merwe was approached in 1990 by both the government and the ANC to get to the bottom of the growing spiral of violence.

The government, he says, wanted him to find out whether the ANC was behind it all, either because their members were out of control or because they were being secretly encouraged.

The ANC, on the other hand, wanted him to find out whether the government's security forces were out of control, or being secretly encouraged to stir up violence.

Fascinated by this, Professor van der Merwe considered setting up a special project to get to the bottom of what was really happening, but this never got off the ground.

Today, instead of enjoying the peace of retirement, he is embroiled in another level of mistrust and prejudice — the war of words within the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) and other organisations such as the Human Rights Commission (HRC) about the interpretation of statistics on violence.



Hendrik van der Merwe

As chairperson of the Western Cape branch of SAIRR, he is facilitating in the war of words following criticism by SAIRR executive director Mr John Kane-Berman.

"In a violent, polarised society such as South Africa no-one is without bias, and we all have to make room for different approaches, to make way for understanding broader society," said Van der Merwe.

"We must encourage differences and contrasting interpretations, and be sympathetic to conflicting ideas, instead of attacking each other.

"We are, after all, in both the SAIRR and HRC, part of the intelligentsia — we are academics, religious and community leaders; —

and we tend to favour the underdog. We stood together during the apartheid era and tended not to criticise anti-apartheid groups.

"But it is natural, now that there has been a shift in power, for some to think that this is irreversible and they can now give the government some credit. Others, however, think that the government is still so completely in control that we have to close ranks and, if we allow too much dissension within the ranks, the process of change will be slowed down."

Van der Merwe believes there is merit in the arguments of both. The present government is run by people who will soon be in a minority in government, and will, if world history is anything to go by, be subject to some measure of oppression. It is "irresponsible", he says, to think those in the majority will, automatically, because they are somehow inherently more democratic than the present government, ensure we have a democratic government.

THEY, including the ANC, should therefore not be spared scrutiny and criticism where necessary.

At the same time, however, there is still a long way to go before there is a decisive shift in power, and those now still in power should continue to be kept accountable.

"I believe that we have to get rid of the present illegal and immoral government, but I am concerned that those who have formed the bulk of criticism against this government do not seem to want to do the same for the new government, or those who will be in the new government."

On violence, he said it was unlikely this could be controlled until an interim government was in place.

"The present government is not able to control its opposition, with which it has no legitimacy, or its own forces, which it does not seem to have the will to control. Even if it had the will to control its own forces, it has no power to do so.

"But even with a negotiated settlement, there will be no overnight peace. There will still be right and left wing elements which cannot be disciplined or controlled by anyone. These will develop into a culture of their own and I foresee decades of violence ahead, both criminal and political."

Van der Merwe agrees the ANC must take some responsibility for this. By calling on its supporters to "make the country ungovernable", it has created cadres not subject to any discipline or control and who, in the present deteriorating economy, will go to any lengths to survive and make their views accepted.

"It is important for people to accept and understand that in a democracy you will have political opponents, whom you can hate if need be. But they are not your enemies and you do not have to kill them," said Van der Merwe.

The toll of violence

South 24/10 - 28/10/92

~~253~~ 274

FIGURES compiled by the Human Rights Commission provide a chilling, if admittedly incomplete view of the toll political violence has taken.

In its latest report on destabilisation, "Checkmate for Apartheid?", the HRC estimates that between July 1990 and June 1992:

- Politically-related violence claimed the lives of 6 229 people. This works out to an average of 260 lives a month or 8,53 a day.

- At least 11 888 people were injured.

- Security forces were responsible for 352 deaths (5,7 percent), vigilantes for 5 060 (81,2 percent), hit squad attacks for 126 deaths (two percent) and right wing attacks for 44 deaths (0,7 percent). It is clear vigilantes have been the "shock troops of community destabilisation", said the HRC.

- A total of 2 008 deaths took place in Natal, 3 670 in the PWV region, 133 in the rest of the Transvaal, 64 in the Eastern Cape and Border, 143 in the Western Cape, 128 on the OFS and 79 in the homelands.

- There were 49 massacres in which 1 250 people died, or an average of 25 deaths a massacre. In 15 cases the toll was higher than 25.

- The victims have mainly been ordinary residents of black townships, who have died in train, bus and taxi attacks.

- Of those killed between July 1991 and June 1992, 234 were IFP/Inkatha members, 274 ANC members and 979 township residents. In the same period, 65 policemen were killed.

The HRC report identifies two centres of destabilisation playing a major role in this litany of death and destruction — the Nationalist government and its extensive security establishment and the KwaZulu

government, both of which feel threatened by the liberation movements and want to disperse their support.

But, says the HRC, these forces are likely to be checkmated soon — hence the title of its new report. Their hopes of "an early collapse of the liberation movements' negotiating strength in the face of severe destabilisation have not materialised, and (they) are now trapped into processes of which (they) are no longer masters".

The violence is coming under scrutiny, not only of the Peace Accord mechanisms, but also of the international community."

In response to criticism that HRC is largely blind to political violence caused by ANC supporters, national director Ms Safoora Sadek admits that HRC is partisan in terms of being an anti-apartheid organisation.

"However, we are meticulous in measuring the human rights record of the apartheid government against the standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and in reporting facts as accurately as we possibly can. Any future government will also be measured by the same standards and we presently do not ignore or overlook ANC-inspired violence."

She personally does not believe that there is a deep-rooted culture of violence in South Africa, but that political violence is repeatedly imported into communities with a view to destabilising them.

The most vivid example of this is the violence that has suddenly sprung up in Saulsville hostel in Atteridgeville, Pretoria. This hostel has long been an ANC stronghold and there have been no incidents of political violence there since 1990. On October 11, the IFP bussed people in to launch a branch at the hostel, and one person was killed and two injured. There are now fears that the hostel violence in the PWV area is spreading to Pretoria.

Slipping into anarchy

STW 25/10/92

LLOYD VOGELMAN says the government, by releasing prisoners, has shown that it is insensitive to the fears South Africans experience about crime and violence

275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400

THE Department of Correctional Services' announcement that it is to release more non-political prisoners is bewildering. While understanding the need to lessen overcrowding in prisons, the release of more criminals is likely to take South Africa further into the realm of anarchy and brutality.

The release of criminals would be understandable if there was evidence that the incidence of crime was decreasing in South Africa. But the crime statistics for January-May 1992 make sad reading. Compared with the overall figures for 1991, there has been an increase in every major crime with the exception of small decreases in car theft and house-breaking.

According to the figures, we are now averaging 52 murders a day compared with the average 40 murders per day last year. Serious assaults and armed robbery have also shown increases. There are, on average, 374 serious assaults and 135 armed robberies a day in South Africa.

Unfortunately these tragic figures do not tell the whole story since thousands of such offenses go unreported.

It is of concern that the Department of Correctional

Services can speak with such confidence about its success in rehabilitation and its administrative capability of supervising released offenders when its past record and the more recent bungled release of convicted bank robber and murderer, Lucky Malaza, shows the opposite.

Furthermore, even if the Department of Correctional Services' dubious claims that it has an 88 percent success rate in rehabilitation are correct, the effect of the release of these prisoners conveys a number of disturbing and destructive messages to South Africans.

The first is that the government is insensitive to the daily fears that South Africans experience about crime and violence. Given the incidence of crime and the furore over the release of criminals in 1991, it is incomprehensible that the government permits the further release of individuals who have in some way damaged the lives of other South Africans.

The second is it conveys to the victims of crime in South Africa that the trauma of their experience is not taken seriously. Victimisation involves loss, either physically or psychologically. Given the

absence of any substantial programmes of victim aid in South Africa, victims of crime are mostly expected to cope with their sadness, fear, loss of dignity and the financial cost of crime by themselves.

The one sphere that victims of crime have come to partly rely on the government for is retribution. The early release of prisoners negates this.

It says to the victim that his or her offender only has to suffer limited negative consequences for the trauma and pain for which he or she is responsible.

Furthermore, it encourages the perception that the only means to satisfactorily obtain justice is to do it informally or outside the criminal justice system. In so doing, we create a cycle of informal retribution and revenge that is difficult to control and contain.

Third, the release of prisoners undermines the morale of law enforcement and criminal justice agencies. The arrest and conviction of any offender takes a great deal of time and effort. The early release of prisoners inevitably raises the question in the minds of such officials as to what the purpose of

their work is. There are already serious problems with policing in South Africa.

Reduction in morale will further hamper police efforts in reducing crime and amplify the daily criticisms levelled at the police.

Finally, the early release of prisoners informs potential criminals that the consequences of any offence need not be too deleterious. Given the fact that a primary deterrent of crime is the possibility of imprisonment, the early release of prisoners can serve only to heighten the incidence of violence and crime in South Africa.

If there is to be any reduction in crime, not only are we in need of democratic political solutions, socio-economic development, a co-ordinated anti-crime programme and a well-trained, non-partisan and community-oriented police force, but also a social system which breaks the confidence of criminals and potential offenders and indicates to the survivors of crime that they have not been forgotten.

□ Lloyd Vogelman is the director of the Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand.

MORE people have been killed in political violence in the Ciskei in the seven weeks since the Bisho stadium bloodbath than in the massacre itself.

The mayhem which has ripped apart Ciskei's social fabric in the massacre aftermath was underlined this week in a report by the Independent Monitoring Network.

According to the Network - set up after the massacre by a number of Human Rights' groups in the region - at least 30 people have been killed since September 7 when 29 ANC marchers were gunned down by Ciskei troops.

Unlike the massacre, images of the daily slaughter have not been beamed around the world.

But countless people have been injured; strife-torn villagers remain under siege; there has been widespread disruption of schooling and business activity; an enduring refugee crisis, and damage to property running into millions of rands. Independent observers

Low-key civil war follows massacre

CIP Press 25/10/92

talk about a low-intensity civil war in Ciskei.

The magnitude of the crisis supports this assessment. It has been punctuated by bomb blasts; the detention of numerous ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe cadres; hit-squad-like assassinations; and continuing joint SADF/CDF house-to-house searches and patrols.

The network has been monitoring all politically-motivated incidents of violence in the region since early September.

Its report said tensions have been mounting between security forces and Ciskei government supporters on the one hand and ANC alliance supporters on the other.

"In the light of the political tensions both groups have clearly become targets of attacks," said the report. The warring parties use

little tact in their pronouncements on the violence.

When a limpet mine tore apart the private car of CDF operations chief Col Horst Schubesberger in a busy Bisho parking lot on October 2, the Ciskei security establishment blamed MK - although the PAC's military wing, Apla, later claimed responsibility for the blast.

The CDF described the attack as part of plan to relaunch the armed struggle countrywide.

The SADF has painted a similar picture of alleged MK insurgency.

The ANC, reeling from a spate of attacks on its supporters and the detention of some of its office-bearers, has consistently denied the claims and has charged the CDF/SADF with

waging a military war against its supporters.

A pre-dawn attack on the homes of two ANC activists in Msobomvu village in the war-torn Alice district last Tuesday killed four people, three of them close relatives of well-known Alice activist Eric Badi. Six others were injured by balaclava-clad gunmen.

ANC Border media officer Mcebisi Bata claimed both the SADF and CDF were implicated. Senior CDF and SADF officers rejected this.

Five days after the attacks, Bata's brother, Lizo, was killed in a grenade attack on his Tyutyu village home.

Hours later the home of ANC NEC member Wilton Mkwazi was petrol-bombed. The Alice killings

brought to at least 15 the number of ANC supporters killed since the massacre.

Ciskei's African Democratic Movement (ADM) recently reported that at least 13 ADM members or supporters of the homeland's military government had been killed in 111 attacks.

Hundreds of refugees, among them several CDF soldiers and members and supporters of the ADM, have fled their villages.

However, the bulk of the refugees are young supporters of the ANC who fled their homes in Ciskei for King William's Town and the University of Fort Hare, all saying they were being assaulted and harassed by the CDF.

Shortly after the widely-reported looting spree at the Mdantsane Sun hotel on September 18 - the day of the Bisho funeral - it was reported that damage to property in Ciskei in the massacre aftermath ran close to R2-million.

That figure may well have trebled over the past month. - Elnews

The Ulundi march or these alternatives!

By FED KHUMALO 25/10/92

WHILE debates are raging about the feasibility of an ANC march on Ulundi there has emerged a school of thought not only cautioning against the march, but offering a thought-provoking alternative.

Lead of a march to unseat the KwaZulu government, University of Zululand sociology lecturer and social analyst Prof Herbert Vilakazi suggests a huge rally encompassing all political and church organisations that boast African membership.

"I am suggesting the staging of a march which should focus, mobilise and organise the attention and emotions of our people similar to the manner in which the attention of the people was focussed on the release of Mandela," said Vilakazi.

Speaking at a Durban conference, Vilakazi said Mandela's release unified the oppressed people across the political spectrum as the ANC leader was seen as living proof of the black man's spiritual triumph over his oppressors.

Vilakazi wants his proposed rally to be addressed by the ANC, Inkatha, Azapo, the Zulu king and prominent church leaders. Its aim will be to uphold the Africanness of the participants and unify them regardless of their political affiliations.

He said: "Negotiations will not succeed unless there is an end to violence. If Africans are divided and are at war, with which section shall whites make peace?"

Getting to the heart of what he believes to be the truth that has been ignored by political leaders, Vilakazi said: "The homelands are the key to success of our liberation struggle. The boers created homelands to weaken and cripple the freedom struggle, to divide us. And we fell into the trap."

Vilakazi's proposal is a follow-up to one he made in 1976, pleading with the leadership of then banned organisations including the ANC, PAC, Unity Movement and Black Consciousness.

In the '70s, Vilakazi wrote several analyses, cautioning the "liberation movement" against ostracising and adopting a confrontational attitude towards homelands.

Contrary to popular belief that homeland leaders have no following, Vilakazi said by ostracising these leaders, the liberation movement put a wedge between itself and ordinary people living in the rural areas.

He saw the Inkatha-PAC meeting in Ulundi early this month as laying the foundation for possible effective steps which could assist in unifying Africans and ending the violence.

He believes all the violence and confusion in local black politics stems from a "lack of original revolutionary theory" in the liberation movement.

"It was foolhardy," he said, "for the liberation movement to conceive of a patriotic front for the oppressed without homeland leaders."

In a similar Africanist vein, journalist-turned-communications worker for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Nomavenda Mathiane, said it was disturbing that all peace resolution committees are manned by non-Africans.

"The question that one is bound to ask is: why and since when have the Africans been compelled to appeal to others to solve the internal problem of inter-African violence?"

Like other speakers, Mathiane conceded that the violence was sponsored by the government who used other black people to perpetrate the killings.

"The final responsibility lies with the members of the African

community who agree to be used against their own people.

"An undiluted African perspective to what is an African problem is needed if violence is to be combated," she said.

But southern Natal ANC regional executive committee member and lawyer Linda Zama said the primary problem that should be addressed is the distortion of Zulu sentiments and traditions by the KwaZulu government.

"The world has come to associate Zulus with bloodshed and spears," said Zama.

"There is something fundamentally wrong with the manipulation of our Zuluness to canvass political power."

She said it was imperative that the record be set straight: the carrying of lethal weapons has never been Zulu tradition, Zulus carried weapons only when going on hunting expeditions or into war.

Other than that, Zulus were careful what kind of cultural accoutrements they carried in public. They could be punished for carrying what appeared to be a dangerous weapon. To show respect for their fellow beings, they carefully chose the place to which they could go with their weapons.

"It is unZulu for people to carry these weapons and march in a threatening manner into town," she said.

She said the ANC needed to go to Ulundi and discuss this thorny issue with the KwaZulu government.

"Only when the ANC marches on Ulundi and seeks audience with the KwaZulu government can this issue be thrashed out, and further violence prevented.

"Only when Zulus understand each other and stop fighting among themselves in Natal, can unity be forged among black people."

She added that only when blacks are united can lasting peace be ushered in.

Kaunda's daunting new task

BY THEMBA KHUMALO

KENNETH Kaunda's mission to this country is a tough one.

He arrived last Saturday to try and reconcile the ANC and Inkatha.

His task ran into snags on the very first day of his arrival when Johannesburg reverberated from the impi warty of "Usuthu..."

Semi-naked Inkatha supporters in traditional garb brazenly carried sharpened weapons in open defiance of the government's ban on traditional weapons in public.

The former Zambian president is here at the invitation of the National Peace Committee

to broker a long-standing stalemate between the two warring parties.

He has come at a time when relations between Mandela and Buthelezi are at their lowest ebb to date.

Thousands of their supporters, among them women and children, continue to die in Natal and the Transvaal as the two leaders publicly tear at each other's throats.

The last time they spoke face-to-face was in April 1991 in an urgent meeting to save deteriorating relations among their supporters.

Attempts to arrange another meeting between Mandela and

Buthelezi fell through after they attacked each other at the UN Security Council.

The last straw came after the signing of the Record of Understanding between Mandela and State President FW de Klerk in Kempton Park late last month.

The document stated that the two had agreed that in order to quell the raging township violence all dangerous weapons, including cultural weapons, must be banned and hostels fenced with barbed wire, restricting the free movement of the inmates.

This angered Buthelezi and barely 24 hours later he rejected the pact and withdrew Inkatha from any multilateral talks for

democracy. He also vowed to urge his supporters to defy the ban en masse.

Kaunda has been called in to end the stalemate. His international image and reputation as a peacemaker in Africa, added to the fact that he readily accepted his defeat without qualms during the democracy elections in his country last year, are factors that have elevated him to the status of a "suitable man for the job".

While he allowed various liberation movements from SA, Zimbabwe and Mozambique to launch military operations from his country, Kaunda is known to have encouraged their leaders to talk to their enemies.



PEACEMAKER... Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda (centre), flanked by Mandela and Sibusiso at a party hosted by Oliver Tambo recently. ■ Piet TLADI KHUELE

59 killed in latest unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — Fifty-nine people died and 55 were injured in political violence in the past week, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday (27/4).

In its weekly Repression Report, the HRC said most of the victims died in Natal, with the PWV region accounting for 11 deaths. CT 28/10/92

It said the death of ANC Natal leader Mr Reggie Hadebe and last weekend's massacre at Umbumbulu, in which 20 people died, were likely to fan more violence.

The HRC said the two incidents might also retard attempts to establish peace in Natal.

Two people died in police custody this week, raising the total to 111, the HRC said. — Sapa

NEWS FEATURE Unpopular SA



PAC leader Mr Dikgang Moseneke addresses the Press with South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Gaborone last week.

Plummeting on Africa's chart

■ South Africans are reviled by their African 'brothers' for being unable to end the violence:

Sowetan 28/10/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE young man behind the counter flashes a broad smile that says: "Welcome to Botswana, sir." But the expression on his face changes as soon as we answer his next question: "We are from South Africa."

Naturally, one would expect outsiders to sympathise with our pathetic lot because of the gnashing of teeth and the weeping.

But no, this smile and many others, I would realise later, vanished because of contempt.

Africans, to put it mildly, are getting fed-up with South Africans, especially with the black liberation movements.

A journalist covering last week's Gaborone summit between the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Government told me:

"You guys must just shut up. You can't even agree on a basic thing like finding a common solution to end the violence."

'I thought he was crazy'

I thought he was crazy and also discourteous.

As if this was not enough.

I was lamenting the fact that the rand had very little value even in Botswana, which is about the size of Transvaal, when a man I did not know said to my face: "Stop the violence and we will start respecting you again."

How the hell can he speak like that? The man is obviously ignorant of the disparate nature of South African politics.

I concluded that he was probably born many years after his country got independence from the British. Does he know what apartheid has done to our minds, our very being? Man!

"No, no," said another journalist, "the problem can be solved by talking. I mean, what's stopping the African National Congress from discussing their differences with the Inkatha Freedom Party if they are genuine about stopping the blood from flowing?"

Forces of destabilisation

"Forget the 'third force'. It exists throughout southern Africa. In fact, the forces of destabilisation exist across the continent."

In essence he said that while Botswana citizens understood our dilemma, they felt liberation movements here emphasised the differences rather than accord.

A couple of years ago a colleague returned from a conference of photographic journalists in Harare and told this story:

"At the end of the three-day seminar I was asked to thank the organisers on behalf of my South African colleagues present. I had not even finished my open-

ing remarks when I was shouted down: "Tell us about apartheid, you black boer."

My colleague said he felt his African counterparts were despising him because they thought he was not concerned about fighting to end the system.

How else could he justify affording luxuries such as attending conferences while his country was burning?

You can feel this growing disdain everywhere you go in Africa.

In 1990 this conversation took place between a soldier at Yammousoukrou Airport in the Ivory Coast and me:

"Are you black or white?"

Obviously, I thought the man was mad. "Of course I am black."

Same plane with FW

"Then how can you afford to fly in the same plane with the apartheid President?" He was referring to FW de Klerk during his visit to that country.

"I don't understand. How does my colour come into this?"

"You see, we are told that in South Africa whites are wealthy and live in proper houses, while blacks are poor and have insufficient shelter. Therefore you are white, a beneficiary of apartheid."

"I still don't see how you arrived at this analogy."

"You see, we are Africans and do not talk about black and white. So if you say you are also Africans why don't you speak with one voice against apartheid, especially if you are agreeable that it is a political evil?"

I thought this was rather far-fetched and reminded this soldier that he was living under a dictator who suppressed freedom of association, dissent, etc.

Pro-democracy movement

He said: "Well, dictators don't last. Haven't you heard of the growing pro-multiparty democracy movement in Africa?"

The man was right on that one.

On a more political note, the Organisation of African Unity wants to see black unity, at least a principled united front of liberation movements, to tackle the Government in unison.

The constituent assembly is one of the unifying issues between the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

And, for goodness sakes, they all agree that the violence is bleeding the black nation to death!

And finally, if the ANC and PAC do not exploit their points of commonality, we may as well forget about being free. And so it goes for the rest of the continent.

274

'Act like statesmen'

■ Tutu tells politicians to end violence and stop grandstanding and one-upmanship:

Sowetan Africa
News Service

Sowetan
28/10/92

HARARE - Archbishop Desmond Tutu has warned the South African Government, the ANC, PAC and Inkatha: "End violence now or have next to nothing to pick up when a post-apartheid society has been created."

Speaking at a news conference in Harare on Monday on the first day of the general assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches of which he is president, Tutu said: "We should be saying to the political leadership of South Africa that we are going to end up with no one

enjoying the freedom for which so many sacrificed.

"Please stop your grandstanding, your brinkmanship, your one-upmanship and become statespersons, statesmen." Tutu said he would like to address South Africa's three main black political parties.

"So far, we have made calls to the South African Government to deal more effectively with the violence but we also have to address the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha and say to them: "For goodness sake, discipline your followers. Let them learn to tolerate differences." he said.

END PLAN

o

ber,



com-

new

711B

es.

good

from

ising

Lydia

0860E/BUSINESS DAY/REV.

Govt land transfers must stop

5274
BIPM 29/10/92
LLOYD COUTTS

THE impending transfer of administrative control of land by government to homelands could contribute to the climate of violence and instability in the country, the SA Council of Churches said yesterday.

The SACC described the decision to transfer superintendence of more than 400 000ha of former Development Trust land to six self-governing territories as "reprehensible".

It called on President F W de Klerk to halt the sale of land and proclaim a moratorium on land transfer until a representative government was in place.

"The issue of land restitution and redistribution as a component of a national land reform programme is a matter for negotiation in a representative forum.

"We warn that this step can contribute to the current climate of violence and instability. The incorporation of Claremont into KwaZulu is a case in point," an SACC statement said yesterday.

In another statement, various anti-apartheid organisations in Natal, including the Human Rights Commission and the Association for Rural Advancement, said government's decision was aimed at winning allies in a future election.

"The land question is one of the most sensitive issues to be resolved in SA. Transfer of precious and finite land assets from one apartheid bureaucracy to another will neither assist resolution of the land question nor negotiations for a new acceptable South African constitution."

The ANC has also called for a moratorium on state land sales.

HUNT LASCARIS

Olive branch offered to IFP

Sowetan 29/10/92. (274)
■ PEACE PIPE National Peace Committee

wants ANC, IFP to meet to discuss violence:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE National Peace Committee is planning a meeting - possibly within days - between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the crisis in Natal.

NPC chairman Mr John Hall will meet Buthelezi today to invite him to such a meeting. Mandela has already accepted an invitation for talks involving signatories of the National Peace Accord.

The meeting will discuss the violence that is sweeping Natal, which led on Tuesday to the assassination of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe.

Hadebe was killed when the car in which he, ANC legal adviser Mr John Jeffries and executive member Mr Shakes Cele were travelling, was ambushed near Richmond.

The Cabinet met yesterday to discuss the crisis in Natal and the State Security Council will meet today to discuss measures that could be implemented to prevent the violence from escalating into civil war.

It is understood that State President FW de Klerk is considering sending troops into the region and possibly declaring parts of Natal "unrest areas".

De Klerk yesterday said he was shocked by Hadebe's murder.

The IFP said yesterday it was "very disturbed" by the killing.

"Though he was no friend of the IFP, we abhor this senseless killing."

Call for negotiations

A CALL for petitions to be sent to all political leaders has been made to more than 40 South African newspapers and magazines.

The non-political Peace-Now movement in Durban, headed by businessman and canoeist Brian Moore, says signatories to the petitions will be asked to support calls for the immediate cessation of violence and the start of negotiations for a peaceful and democratic South Africa.

274
~~274~~

Sowetan 29/10/92

29/10/92

By **AUDREY D'ANGELO**
Business Editor

IF the level of political violence experienced during the third quarter continues, "the lower turning point of the economy could be pushed out into the unknown future," Southern Life chief economist Mike Daly warns in his quarterly Economic Comment.

Daly says continuing high food prices have masked good progress in the fight against inflation. He thinks the inflation rate as measured by the consumer price index (CPI) could fall to single digits by late next year.

But the upward trend in the producer price index (PPI) will continue, with the gap between the two mea-

Grim Warning on Political Violence

surements of inflation narrowing further.

He expects interest rates to come down as inflation falls. But he warns that these interest rate cuts will only be "limiting economic damage, not signs of stimulation."

"It is anticipated that when the inflation rate for September breaks through 14%, as we expect, a further 1% cut in bank rate to 14% will be triggered, with a further cut likely in the New Year."

"Given the expected weak economy

274
ET 29/10/92

in the first half of 1993 a further cut in official rates will probably occur, but the timing of this cut is uncertain.

"One painful lesson has been learned, however. Monetary policy will not be eased in any real sense in order to raise confidence and get a borrowing and lending cycle under way soon. The official rate cuts will merely follow progress in reducing the inflation rate."

Daly says the "alarming rate of job losses still occurring across most

of the private sector as firms slash costs in the face of declining sales has been a major reason" for weakness in personal disposable income (PDI) growth.

"In addition the prevalence of shortened work weeks has increased. Another reason is the slowdown in average salary and wage growth as workers appreciate their good fortune to have a job at all."

"Consumer confidence, already battered by economic pressures, has also been affected by political violence, stayaways and intimidation which reached a crescendo in the third quarter."

He thinks total manufacturing production, which fell by 5.5% in the three months to July compared with the same period a year ago, "may well deteriorate further in the second half of this year."

Hopes rise for Mandela, Buthelezi to meet soon

Political Correspondent

HOPES are rising that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi may soon meet to try to staunch the bloodshed that is pushing Natal into civil war.

The assassination on Tuesday of ANC Natal Midlands deputy leader Mr Reggie Hadebe, which threatened to sabotage delicate negotiations for the talks, seems instead to have given them new impetus.

However, it became clear yesterday that patience in the Natal killing fields was running out as ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala warned that a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting would not end the carnage.

And northern Natal ANC chairman Mr Aaron Ndlovu stressed that the organisation's three provincial regions in Natal were opposed to talks between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

304A (274)
ARG 29/10/92
National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman Mr John Hall is to meet Chief Buthelezi today and President De Klerk tomorrow to advance negotiations for the planned meeting for which former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda laid the groundwork last week.

Mr De Klerk is also expected today to announce new security measures to curb the Natal violence, including declaring trouble-spots as unrest areas and sending in troop reinforcements.

Measures were discussed at yesterday's Cabinet meeting but are expected to be finalised only at today's meeting of the State Security Council.

Informed sources said that at a special two-day meeting of the NPC executive at Pilgrims Rest this week, the government, the ANC and the IFP had "reached an understanding".

● See page 33.

the division, told a press confer- government would ask Mr Justice early next week.

More Transkei border patrols

CT 30/10/92
Political Staff

THE government announced last night that it was to step up patrols on the Natal/Transkei border to prevent the infiltration by uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) members — but police could provide no evidence that MK was in fact doing so.

Police spokesmen said its intelligence wing had "very strong" information that MK members were coming into Natal from Transkei.

But, despite repeated questions at a press conference last night to

the head of the Internal Stability Unit, General Johan Swart, and a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, no facts were given to justify claims that MK was in fact infiltrating Natal from Transkei.

Captain Kotze also repeated the claims about intelligence information and said MK members had been arrested in Natal "and they must have come from somewhere."

Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw said in a statement yesterday: "There is indisputable in-

formation that organisations such as MK and Apla are conducting operations in South Africa from Transkeian territory with the tacit approval of the Transkei Defence Force."

The ANC said last night that the offensive was "clearly aimed at undermining all efforts to achieve peace".

It added: "We would have thought that Mr Louw would have expressed concern about the publicly known AWB paramilitary patrols, which are clearly taking the law into their own hands, in the area."

Leader of EC team arrives

CT 30/10/92
JOHANNESBURG. — The co-ordinator of the European Community team of observers, Mr Gavin Aarvold, arrived in South Africa yesterday.

274
"We will be operating in close co-operation with the National Peace Secretariat as well as with the United Nations and observer teams from other international organisations," he said in a statement. — Sapa

Election date crucial — Patriotic Front

CT 30/10/92

PORT ELIZABETH. — Patriotic Front leaders meeting here yesterday said it was of crucial importance that a date be set for the election of a constituent assembly.

The summit, attended by delegates from 11 organisations including homeland governments, the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, also emphasised that Codesa remained the best forum for multilateral negotiations.

In a statement issued after the one-day meeting, the PF leaders said they agreed there should be no further delays to the resumption of talks.

Earlier, in an opening address, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said PF leaders should "resist with all the energy we can muster the notion that we should enter into protracted talks on a new negotiating forum in order to accommodate certain groupings which for reasons of myopia decided not to

board the train when it left the station many months ago".

It was agreed the Codesa management committee should pay serious attention to the involvement of other organisations of "civil society" in negotiations.

The leaders affirmed that decisions already taken at Codesa should not be subject to negotiation.

They also said the forum should continue to be chaired by the two judges who had "ably" chaired the last two sessions.

They urged the ANC and the government to speed up their talks on concluding outstanding matters listed in the Record of Understanding, including the critical questions of the creation of a climate of free political activity and the cessation of covert activities by the security forces. — Sapa

NIGHT SHADE
AY LOOK) **R2995**

MOTOR SHOPS **MOTOR ACCESSORIES AND SPARES FROM THE SHOP THAT CARES!**

CWA

PEOPLE'S LIVES *A symbolic meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi would go a long way*

Time for leaders to think big - above petty politicking

As I was driving to the SABC studios in Auckland Park on Monday, news came on the radio that ANC executive member Regye Hadebe had been killed in an ambush.

On the same programme there was also an interview with ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

He had an odd theory that the violence in Natal was escalating at the same time that there was propaganda for the leaders of the IFP and the ANC to meet.

He implied that the violence was part of the pressure to get a meeting going between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Niehaus said the ANC saw no point in a bilateral meeting to discuss the

violence: it would rather be in a meeting of all the signatories of the Peace Accord.

In the Radio Metro studio, a panel of journalists - Kaiser Nyatumba and I in Johannesburg and S'bu Mgadi in Durban - were interviewing Buthelezi in Ulundi.

He was in his usual poor-me mode. He believes the media in this country are out to get him, that he is the most vilified politician in this country.

It is this belief, I presume, that makes him abrasive whenever he is asked questions.

Buthelezi, however, welcomed a bilateral meeting between him and Mandela, even though he is still smarting from Mandela's remarks about him at the United Nations earlier this year.

Sowetan
30/10/92

One of his aides had earlier that day referred *Sowetan* to a statement that until Mandela withdrew the remarks, Buthelezi would not sit in the same room with him.

While welcoming a meeting, Buthelezi told listeners on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show that a meeting between himself and Mandela would not halt the violence - they did not have wands to wave and get the violence to come to an end.

Symbolic meeting

I accept that. But I still believe that a symbolic meeting between the two leaders would go a long way towards cooling tempers in Natal and the Reef.

Buthelezi told of the cordial relations he has with Mandela - how they shake hands and chat when they meet at



Joe Thlooe's Perspective

conferences here and abroad.

But we are looking for something more than that. It has to be a healing meeting between the two.

It should not be a multilateral meeting of the Peace Accord where both sides can walk away and tell their followers that although they did attend, they did not speak to the other fellow.

It is a meeting that requires the courage to be big, to stand above petty politicking. The two need to say: "We differ radically but this country comes first. We cannot watch it disintegrate

while we cling to our little principles." Such a gesture will be the start of the real work of stopping the violence.

We agree that the violence is not just between Inkatha and the ANC. Thousands who don't belong to either party have now been dragged into it.

But we can't pretend that there is no violence between Inkatha and the ANC.

If the two leaders meet to talk about that violence, they will be in a position to tackle violence that might come from sinister forces determined to fan the fires into a conflagration.

Measures to curb violence

Sowetan 30/10/92

(10/10) (274)

■ **INTENSIFIED CHAOS** Cabinet tight-lipped

about steps to prevent more killings: Sowetan 30/10/92

By Ismail Lagardien and Themba Molefe Political Staff

THE Government last night announced a series of measures aimed at curbing the spiralling violence in Natal after the intensified chaos of the past week.

Stunned by the assassination on Tuesday of Mr Reggie Hadebe, the deputy chairman of the ANC's southern Natal region, President FW de Klerk last night said that South African Defence Force deployments in the battle torn province would be doubled and certain areas in the region would be declared unrest areas.

De Klerk said that the South African Police would also increase its manpower in the region.

He said special measures would be taken to "stop the infiltration of Umkhonto we Sizwe members from the Transkei".

De Klerk repeated the call for a meeting between ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Government would also request Mr Justice Goldstone "to become more personally involved in the commission's ongoing investigations into violence in Natal," De Klerk said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, however, yesterday flatly rejected a face-to-face meeting with Buthelezi as a way to end Natal violence.

Speaking at the end of the Patriotic Front summit in Port Elizabeth, he said despite repeated peace initiatives and a one-on-one meeting between him and Buthelezi, there had been no progress on the issue.

City woman tells of night of horror

CF 30/10/92
274
273
Staff Reporter

A KHAYELITSHA woman yesterday told the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Western Cape minibus taxi war how she desperately defended herself with a chair from a masked gunman wearing a police camouflage uniform, who shot at her.

Mrs Nokwenzani Mahlanyana, of D Block in Site B, was describing events on the night of September 3 last year, when masked men burnt down more than 80 shacks and killed at least three people.

Mrs Mahlanyana said yesterday that she had seen men carrying a plastic 20-litre drum towards her home from DM Block.

'Poured liquid'

The men were black and white, and the whites wore camouflage uniforms.

She told the hearing that a man "wearing spotted clothing", which she later identified as police camouflage, had been pouring liquid from the drum into smaller containers, which other men then sprinkled on homes.

She said when she returned to her house, she found a black man and a white man standing at the front door.

Mrs Mahlanyana demonstrated to the hearing how the white man pointed a firearm at her, and how she picked up a chair to defend herself.

The gunman then fired at her from about 3 metres away. The bullet passed through the chair and lodged in her clothing, where it burnt her left shoulder.

● United Nations observers. Ms Helena-Maria Lim and Mr Vladimir Zhagora attended the hearing briefly yesterday morning — unofficially.

Goldstone hearings in city

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission will hold public hearings in Cape Town during December to strengthen the National Peace Accord and curb the illegal importation of automatic weapons, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.



Co-ordinator of the EC team of observers, Gavin Aarvold, at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

EC observer eager to assist

EC observer team co-ordinator Gavin Aarvold arrived in SA yesterday eager to prevent violence and promote peace. (274)

Aarvold said at Jan Smuts Airport that the EC team, to eventually number 15, would seek to prevent violence, defuse tension and promote peace by its presence in situations of potential conflict. Sidney

"We will be operating in close co-operation with the national peace secretariat as well as with the UN and observer teams from other international organisations," he said, adding he was looking forward to contributing to efforts to defuse violence. 30/10/92

He would not take questions. The EC team members include police officers, lawyers and economists. — Sapa.

Police-instigated violence 'untrue' — Goldstone

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation yesterday found that allegations by the Weekly Mail newspaper of the planning and instigation of violence by the SA Police in the Vaal area were devoid of truth.

The commission's report, released here after being sent to President F W de Klerk, also found no justification for the newspaper's allegations that the police operated a base in the Vaal, from which assassinations of leading activists were planned.

The commission's findings were based on conclusions and observations by Mr R M Wise, who was appointed on May 22 this year by the Goldstone Commission to inquire into the allegations by the Weekly Mail in its May 8 and May 15 editions.

In the report, the Goldstone Commission agreed with Mr Wise's findings that statements by Mr Daniel Kolisang and Mr Solly Mngomezulu — whose allegations of police involvement in violence and assassinations were the basis of the Weekly Mail reports — were totally false.

While finding the allegations by the newspaper false, the Goldstone Commission considered it inappropriate to accede to a submission by the police's legal counsel during the proceedings that, if the claims were found to be untrue, the newspaper should be directed or requested to give similar prominence to the findings as it gave the original allegations.

In his report, Mr Wise had left a decision on this matter to the commission itself.

The Goldstone Commission did, however, say that Recommendation B of Mr Wise's

report, which deals with the manner in which covert police investigations are conducted, be referred to the Minister of Law and Order for his consideration as it was outside the terms of reference of the commission.

Recommendation B, according to the Wise Report, says that while covert operation for legitimate purposes appears to be recognised both internationally and by the National Peace Accord, "it would appear to be necessary that the way in which such covert operations are implemented and supervised should be investigated by a non-police, impartial agency and that such guidelines

should be laid down in connection with this". With regard to publication by the Weekly Mail of its allegations, the Goldstone Commission accepted the finding that the newspaper staff's attempts to get police comment were inadequate.

"It is obvious that the reports that appeared in the Weekly Mail were seriously prejudicial to the SA Police in general and to the named officers in particular. The commission agrees that . . . the manner in which the SA Police were invited to respond prior to publication was inadequate," said the commission. — Sapa

27D CT 30/10/92

Pact pinpoints danger hostels

(274) (12) (21)
By ARTHUR GAVSHON

AN unpublished pact between the government and the African National Congress commits the security forces to isolate, disarm and regularly check 28 hostels identified as centres of violence, crime and a danger to law and order.

Commonwealth diplomats, who disclosed details of the pact, said it was drawn up as an annexure to the Record of Understanding reached by President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela on September 26. The details have remained secret presumably to avert protests.

Essentially, the confidential document spells out how the government and ANC foresee the implementation of a programme of security focusing on the flashpoint hostels named.

It embodies the main recommendations on the problem submitted by the Goldstone Commission which the government has accepted. November 15 is set as the deadline for completing the new security measures, though there is provision for extending that time limit.

Prime responsibility for executing the programme is delegated to the police who, if necessary, may call for military support.

The document pays particular attention to the issue of fencing danger hostels. It stipulates that fences erected around new hostel perimeters should be 2m high, with limited access points allowed. Where old fences exist, they must be maintained in good repair.

Topping a list of hostels needing to be fenced is kwaMadala Hostel. Others earmarked for urgent attention include Mzimhlope, Dube, Nancefield, Dobsonville and Merafe in the Greater Soweto area; the Sebokeng complex in the Vaal; and Umlazi Section T Unit 17 and kwaMashu in kwaZulu.

Suzman Claims Blind Eye Turned To ANC Violence

Guardian 12/11/92 30/10 - 31/11/92

JOHANNESBURG — When it comes to waging lone battles against prevailing doctrine, nobody in South Africa has credentials quite like Helen Suzman.

For 13 years, she was the sole opposition member of Parliament, waging a one-woman assault on the architects of apartheid with speeches that mixed moral indignation with mordant wit. She once dared government officials to visit black townships to see for themselves how bad conditions were there — but cautioned that for their own safety they ought to travel "heavily disguised as human beings."

Now retired from Parliament — but by no means from public life — Suzman, 74, once again finds herself in the middle of the great argument of the day. This time, however, she is inveighing against doctrine to her left, not her right. The shift illustrates how murky the political currents have become in a society struggling to move beyond apartheid with formulas developed when the pitfalls were easier to identify.

Suzman threw her substantial reputation this past week behind charges that human-rights monitoring organizations here and abroad are providing misleading information on the issue of violence. She says these groups deliberately have turned a blind eye to the responsibility that the African National Congress — the nation's largest anti-apartheid organization — bears for the

country's political carnage, which is three times deadlier now than it was during the height of apartheid repression.

"Pressures for conformity to some sort of 'politically correct' line are building up in many spheres," Suzman wrote in a response to criticism of a recent study detailing this alleged disinformation campaign. "This is an ominous development because South Africa has only recently begun to emerge from the 'thought control' that the National Party sought for so long to impose."

By Paul Taylor

The study, written by the South African Institute of Race Relations, a 63-year-old research group of which Suzman is president, contended that recent surveys of violence in South Africa by Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and the South African-based Human Rights Commission placed too much blame on the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party and too little on the ANC.

Such "one-sided" reports, she argued, fan the flames of violence, and she argued the author of the institute study, Anthea Jeffrey, "those who feel they are constantly and unjustifiably accused of fomenting the violence may feel there is little point in continuing to participate in the peace efforts, or may have difficulty in restraining supporters who feel outraged." The institute report has drawn

widespread criticism, not just from the human-rights organizations it attacks but from the institute's own research staff — eight of whose 12 members sent a memorandum to institute Executive Director John Kane-Berman calling the report "partisan, weak on methodology, and misleading."

Others allege that Kane-Berman, the dominant force within the institute since he became executive director in 1983, commissioned the controversial study as part of a campaign to resurrect the reputation of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to whom Kane-Berman has been close for years.

Once these charges and countercharges started to fly, Suzman, who had aspired to be a hands-off president — "My only real job is to give the annual presidential address" — decided she had no choice but to jump into the fray. She reviewed all the claims and, in a letter that went out this past week to institute members, came down heavily on the side of the institute report. Its findings "have been vindicated every time," she wrote.

"Unfortunately, it has become fashionable in liberal circles to make excuses for the ANC, to say, oh well, they were in exile for so long, or they were fighting a wicked regime," Suzman said in an interview at her home. "As far as I'm concerned, you can't exonerate the state for the violence, you can't exonerate Inkatha, but

you can't exonerate the ANC either; the real problem now is that violence has become so ingrained that even if the leaders wanted to stop it, I'm not sure they could. There are too many avengers, too many criminals, too many local warlords. Maybe you could have stopped it in the mid-1980s, when it first got out of hand, but I'm not sure you can now."

In the explanation that Suzman and the institute report embrace, a principal trigger of the violence has been the coercion, intimidation, and vigilantism of ANC supporters as they try to make the townships "ungovernable" by closing schools, boycotting stores, waging strikes, withholding rents, and threatening homelands leaders. Blacks who do not want to go along with such tactics are branded collaborators.

In the version subscribed to by most human-rights groups, the principal cause of violence has been the vigilantism of the black puppets of the apartheid regime, who have used strong-arm tactics to repress legitimate political dissent.

In her presidential address this summer, Suzman warned that unless the violence ends soon, allowing a stalled economy to start producing jobs again, "whoever does inherit this country, be it an ANC government or any other, will inherit a wasteland, an ungovernable country inhabited by millions of undisciplined youths to whom a culture of democracy is meaningless."

A night of terror in Khayelitsha

VENNESSA SCHOLTZ

Weekend Argus Reporter

319 274
ARG 31/10/92

A KHAYELITSHA resident told a committee of the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town how he managed to save his own life by pretending his walking stick was a rifle and dropping down on one knee.

Mr Winston Mahlanyana told of a night of terror in which a petrol bomb was hurled at his shack, setting it alight, his brother was shot by a white man wearing camouflage and he had to run for his life, leaving his family.

Two days before the attack on September 4 last year, his wife told him taxi owners were going to attack because the vehicles were being burned.

On the night of the attack he heard a shot. Out of the window he saw people who called "Comrades, come out" and that Webta was coming.

A petrol bomb, which he had seen one of the men shaking, was thrown, setting the shack alight. Two attackers kicked in the door.

One of the men said "Laat ek vir hom skiet (Let me shoot him)" and shot his brother in the arm. Mr Mahlanyana threw a "three kilogram panelbeating hammer" at the men who ran off.

When he returned, the "attackers" were everywhere and, when they saw him, he pretended his walking stick was a rifle and managed to scare them off.

● The commission continues on Monday.



Photo: Yunus Mohamed

ROB JENKINS, of the Network of Independent Monitors

Monitors to launch joint body

By Quentin Wilson

Conf 3/1/10 - 4/11/92

(274) (275)

AN UMBRELLA body for monitors of political violence is being set up.

But the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM), scheduled to launch in December, has been co-ordinating monitoring work by local organisations since August.

The interim NIM is a nationwide project that aims to co-ordinate all independent, local initiatives that monitor political

violence. Mr Rob Jenkins, one of two co-ordinators of NIM in the Western Cape, claims his team of 45 regional monitors have contributed to the building of peace in the Cape.

NIM has a head start on the international monitors because they use the data bases of "member" organisations.

NIM's office in Observatory can be contacted at (021) 47-4543.

Policeman shot dead in attack

(274)
KOMATIPOORT. — A policeman from this village in the Eastern Transvaal has been shot dead and another injured in an attack at Tonga in Kangwane.

Reports said the two policemen had been investigating stolen vehicles. CT 3/10/92

According to the police overnight unrest report, a policeman was stoned and injured by a group at Mbekweni in the Western Cape. A home was petrol-bombed in Mfuleni, also in the Western Cape. — Sapa

Tutu to churches: 'help to stop the killing'



ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has urged Africa's church leaders to call on Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to restrain their followers from "mindless bloodletting", following the assassination of Natal ANC leader Mr Reggie Hadebe.

He also asked them to send a message to President FW de Klerk, saying the government was not acting effectively to end the violence.

274

Archbishop Desmond Tutu
South - 31/10 - 4/11/92
Tutu, president of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), told the organisation's general assembly on Wednesday that the situation was "desperate" after last weekend's massacre of 20 people in Natal.

He asked the assembly to send a message to all black political leaders, but especially to Mandela and Buthelezi, to say it was "very deeply distressed at the current violence".

"It just seems to me that you have reprisal and counter-reprisal. We call on them, as we assure them of our prayers, to do all they can to restrain their followers from engaging in the present mindless bloodletting."

Proposing the message to De Klerk, Tutu said: "The first part of that statement should be for us to congratulate him on the courage that he showed in February 1990, but then to say that we believe the South African government is not acting effectively to end the violence."

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES — GENERAL

1992

NOV. — DEC.

Gun claims: Probe wants IFP man

CT 2/11/92
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry would like to see former IFP official Mr. Bruce Anderson, testify on claims that arms were channelled from Renamo to Inkatha by the SADF's Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI).

The SADF has denied the allegations while the IFP has described the claims, made in an affidavit, as a "pack of lies". Mr Anderson was deported from South Africa in July.

Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday commission lawyers had contacted Mr Anderson in London to "discuss the circumstances under which it might be possible for him to testify".

Mr Justice Goldstone said the allegations by Mr Anderson were relevant to the commission's inquiry into the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in political violence and intimidation.

Mr Anderson said in his affidavit he had been approached last year by IFP foreign affairs chief Mr Musa Myeni who "told me that weapons and ammunition were desperately short" and were needed to counter ANC attacks.

Weapons

He said he had met his "old friend" Mr George Barrett, Renamo's representative in South Africa, and "asked him if he could arrange weapons through Renamo for the IFP".

Mr Barrett agreed to look into this and "subsequently the weapons were then collected and distributed by DMI to Inkatha".

Meanwhile, unrest monitors fear an influx of guns and trained operatives into Natal could lead to a new pattern of violence and more killings.

Claims that the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe is operating from Transkei has been strongly dismissed by the organisation. However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday said: "We know that MK is infiltrating across the border ... our intelligence is so good that we are spending a lot of time and money on patrols there."

Mr Anderson said he hoped by going public the ANC "may be persuaded to abandon their policy of political violence and terror" if they realised the forces ranged against them.

However, IFP central committee chairman Mr Walter Felgate yesterday suggested Mr Anderson may have been trying to hit back at the IFP for not giving him a job in London.

Anderson claims a 'pack of lies'

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA was convinced its name would be cleared when the Goldstone commission tested allegations by its former official, Bruce Anderson, that he had been gun-running for the organisation.

Inkatha central committee member Suzanne Vos yesterday said she would welcome Anderson's allegations being tested thoroughly by Judge R Goldstone as this would show "without doubt it was a 'pack of lies'". **3/11/92**

It is also understood Anderson was demanding permanent residence status in SA in return for testifying.

This, a source said, made Anderson's claims questionable, especially when the organisation had physical proof dating from as recently as August and "stating unequivocally on his honour that he had never been involved in any form of gun-running or acquiring weapons for Inkatha".

Anderson has claimed he arranged a supply of arms for Inkatha last year after setting up a meeting between Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and Inkatha foreign affairs head Musa Myeni. The arms were "collected and distributed" by SA Military Intelligence, he alleged.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose has denied the allegations outright, stating Inkatha "emphatically denies acquiring arms in the way Anderson claims or in any other way. We also deny having dealt with Renamo in any way whatsoever."

Interim rule needed Relly

KTOVD COURTIS

AN INTERIM government would have to be instituted without delay to restore credible authority and bring violence under control in SA, former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said in Toronto, Canada, yesterday.

He told Canadian Club members SA leaders would have to raise their vision beyond horizons set by party ambitions and seek constitutional agreements with a long-term chance of working.

"Finally, and perhaps most difficult, we must do these things very soon so that we can make progress towards rebuilding the economy of southern Africa before it becomes totally moribund," he said.

Initiatives like the national peace accord, the national housing forum and the economic forum were cause for optimism.

"It is nevertheless vital that we move quickly to an acceptable form of interim authority so that a proper process of governing can get going again at all levels," he said.

SA was languishing in its worst recession since the beginning of the century, which unfortunately coincided with the need to meet the expectations of participants in a new democracy.

"In the short term there is a stark

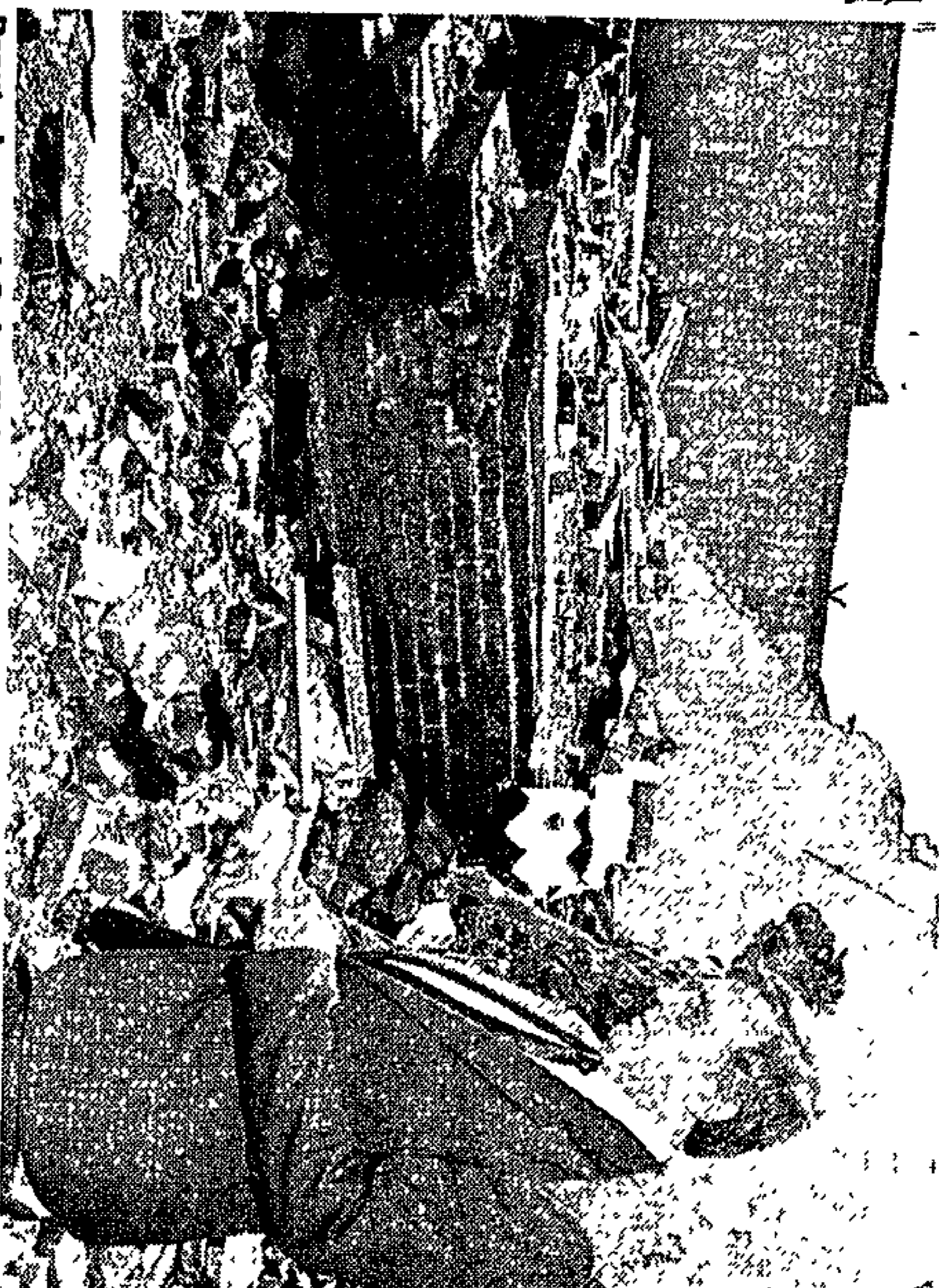
deficit of available resources to keep the bare minimum of governance proceeding. For the long run there is a hopeful and increasing congruence between the important political groupings that a free enterprise system, with a strong market emphasis, is more likely to provide economic growth than some centralised dirigiste system."

The violence, he said, came in many forms, but the main causes were clashes between the ANC and Inkatha. "Both sides appear culpable. It is good to be able to think that the leadership of neither party is involved, but one must then worry about lack of control."

He said a criminal element was "making hay" in SA because of the release of many prisoners in terms of political agreements and partly because police were in disarray.

Another problem was the cheap and easy availability of arms.

"I think we can be extremely grateful that violence, however dreadful, is not worse, and that the extraordinary capacity of South Africans, and particularly black South Africans, to moderate and contain enmity, has been so far a significant feature of post-Rubicon life."



Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh during his visit to Mzimhlophe Hostel yesterday. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Mandela, Buthelezi must talk — Kriel

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — An urgent meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should be held so that a political solution could be found to curb violence, Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel said yesterday.

Weekend violence in Alexandra township, in which 11 people died, and strife in Natal stressed the need for a political solution, Kriel said in a statement.

"Political manoeuvring, while more and more innocent men, women and children are being killed, is completely unacceptable to government," Kriel said. (2714)

RAY HARTLEY reports that new obstacles to a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi were raised by ANC southern Natal regional organiser Bheki Cele yesterday. Cele said the ANC's three Natal regions had insisted on a meeting with Inkatha before they would sanction a national summit between the two leaders. He said agreements would first have to be reached at a regional level and then ratified at a national meeting.

BILLY PADDOCK

NATIONAL peace committee chairman John Hall is shuttling between Ulundi and Johannesburg in a bid to broker a face-saving reconciliation between the ANC and Inkatha which could lead to a meeting between leaders of the two parties.

This follows former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda's failure to mediate between the two parties over ANC president Nelson Mandela's statement to the UN that Inkatha was a government surrogate with which he could not conclude agreements.

Neither Inkatha nor the ANC was prepared to comment on Hall's activities, but an Inkatha source said the major problem for the organisation was Mandela's statement that the ANC was not prepared to

New bid for ANC, Inkatha to meet

BLOAM 3/11/92
conclude agreements with Inkatha. If this was so, no agreements reached in any negotiating forum could be relied on, he said.

A further issue which could keep Inkatha out of the process was the ANC's recent discussion document, made public yesterday, in which it stated its desire to conclude a bilateral agreement with government on the powers, functions, duties and boundaries of regions. ~~PPD~~ ~~HS~~

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said he will reject any bilateral agreement between the ANC and government

(274) To Page 2

New bid *BLOAM 3/11/92*

that had implications for other parties.

Hall's attempt at brokering a meeting is specifically aimed at getting the peace accord apparatus to work efficiently and to reduce violence.

A senior government negotiator said yesterday that while it was vital that peace structures be fully supported and that everything was done to make them work, other initiatives had to be found.

He said there was an absolute urgency for multiparty talks to get going again before the violence "really gets out of control". Once that happened any thoughts of an election being held and its result being accepted would be virtually impossible.

He said bilateral talks were vital to clear the path to an understanding.

"No two parties can think of going it alone," he said. "Whatever talks are happening or are going to happen at a bilateral level are preparatory talks for multiparty negotiations."

~~(HS)~~ *(274)* From Page 1

The source said parties had to get together to find a political solution, but also to discuss ways of preventing a further escalation of violence.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said there was absolutely no attempt on the part of the ANC and government to come to conclusive agreements about the future in bilateral talks and then to impose these agreements on other parties. Bilateral talks with numerous parties were necessary to create the conditions to make the multilateral talks successful.

"We see the bilateral process as discussing a range of issues relating to negotiations at multiparty level, and trying to find the common thread where we can find agreement rather than concentrating on the divisive ones. Then we can move ahead more quickly to the real negotiations in a multiparty forum where decisions are taken," Maharaj said.

CT 411192
OAU man on way

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Sam Ibok of the Organisation of African Unity's secretariat will arrive in South Africa today to prepare for the visit of an OAU violence-monitoring team. — Sapa

Goldstone rebuff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Congress would in all probability not agree to a request by the Goldstone Commission to participate in an inquiry into attacks against policemen.

PAC director of publicity and information Mr Waters Toboti yesterday said the commission's request would be forwarded to PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander and PAC president Mr Clarence

Makwetu for their consideration. (274)

Mr Toboti however said: "My own recommendation would be that the PAC (and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army) should not participate in the inquiry."

at 4/11/92
The hearing is set to start shortly following allegations by the SAP that Apla was responsible for some of the attacks on policemen over the past two years.

Govt claims debunked

Political Staff 274

GOVERNMENT claims about an increase in political crime, which it used to justify the declaration of states of emergency in the 1980s, have been debunked by a Human Sciences Research Council study.

It said its analysis of convictions indicated that the rate for offences against government authority decreased "between the mid-1950s and the late 1980s".

The study found that 12% of convictions in 1956 were for offences against government authority and good order, but by 1987 this had dropped to 4% of all convictions.

Sawston 5/11/92

Mandela, Buthelezi may meet

A MEETING between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is within reach, the main broker in the peace process, Mr John Hall said yesterday. (274)

After weeks of intense shuttle diplomacy and lobbying, Hall said agreements on details of the crucial meeting could be secured before the weekend.

He said he envisaged the meeting would take place within two weeks or so and would form part of a greater effort to bring together all signatories of the Peace Accord.

Chikane calls for urgent conference

CP/11/92
274

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE high level of violence has prompted SACC head Rev Frank Chikane to write open letters to the country's political leaders asking them to hasten the convening of a multi-party conference which would culminate in a constitution-making body.

Chikane, an outspoken apartheid critic, appealed to leaders, among them State President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the PAC's Clarence Makwetu, to act boldly by convening the much-awaited conference as a possible solution to end violence.

He said: "The situation in our hands at this juncture is most disturbing. The current wave of violence in Natal, with an added potential of a civil

war, as well as the lack of public vision regarding the direction of negotiations on a new constitution, combine to create a scenario which calls for urgent action by all the leaders in the country."

Differed

He said while the politicians differed on complicated details on the nature of the promised post-apartheid settlement, ordinary people who did not fully understand these complications were paying with their lives.

"We ask that you work for the speedy convening of a multi-party conference, which should conclude with the announcement of a date for a constitution-making body.

"The conference must be held before the end of December this year, and

the date for the election should be fixed no later than the end of 1993," Chikane said.

He said he believed the announcement of an election date would mark a significant watershed in the negotiations process.

He said the SACC was extremely concerned with the direction the situation was taking.

Initiative

"The SACC will meet on Tuesday and Wednesday to assess the situation and consider what role the church could play to ensure that the pain inflicted on South Africans was ended," he said.

His initiative follows that taken by the Anglican head Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who met KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

State blamed for violence

Sowetan 6/11/92 (274)
■ ANC calls for urgent National Peace Accord meeting:

By Mzimasi Ngudle

THE spate of violence that has swept Natal and the Reef was clearly orchestrated to suit the political agenda of the Government, political organisations said yesterday.

And in a bid to stem the escalating violence, the African National Congress (ANC) has called an urgent meeting of signatories to the National Peace Accord (NPA).

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation was consulting with the NPA structures following endemic violence that claimed the life of its Natal Midlands regional leader Reggie Hadebe last month.

This week train violence erupted on the Reef claiming at least eight lives since Tuesday.

"There is a clear pattern in the violence. It is an orchestrated campaign to suit the political agenda of the Government," Marcus said.

Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the Government was responsible for the violence.

"The violence is clearly orches-

trated by the régime. When it reaches horrific proportions De Klerk suddenly emerges as a peacemaker. That is why he sent troops to Natal," he said.

Mr Waters Toboti, director of publicity for the Pan African Congress (PAC), said: "It is clear the enemy is involved in whatever happens."

Both Azapo and the PAC reaffirmed their opposition to the National Peace Accord, saying it could not resolve the violence.

"You cannot call on people committing violence to resolve it," Moodley said.

He called for a "patriotic front of patriots" as the first step to stem violence. Asked to identify them, Moodley said they included the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Unity Movement, Wosa, Nactu, Cosatu and civic organisations.

Toboti said that "criminals cannot investigate themselves". He urged liberation movements to come together and speak with one voice. He rejected the NPA and the Goldstone Commission as creations of the Government.

the nation in brief

Sowetan 6/11/92
Prison deaths probe

A POLICE general and 12 former magistrates have been appointed to prevent and investigate deaths in detention, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Twenty former police generals have also been appointed to visit police cells at any time.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had given an undertaking to appoint a team of retired magistrates to look into deaths in police custody.

In the meantime, General Louw Malan, of police headquarters, would investigate every death in detention.

Sowetan 6/11/92
Tutu, Buthelezi meet

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu met Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi yesterday to discuss a proposal for a joint meeting of all black political leaders.

"The Archbishop's request was part of the continuing efforts by church leaders to work for an end to violence and to facilitate a lasting political settlement which accommodates the aspirations of all South Africans. (274)

"Since this was an issue under discussion in the National Peace Committee, the meeting resolved to await the outcome of current discussions in the committee," a statement from Buthelezi said.

Sowetan 6/11/92
March on Parliament

SEVERAL hundred members of the Western Cape Principals' Forum marched on Parliament yesterday to demand a single, democratic and nonracial education department.

A memorandum was handed to Mr Boetie Arendse, the chief inspector of extra-curricular activities in the Department of Education and Culture in the so-called coloured House of Representatives, to shouts of "We want Abe" (HoR Education Minister Abe Williams). - Sapa.

WOMEN'S SECTION
Friday November 6 1992

Minister calls for urgent peace talks

B/DAY 6/11/92 (274)

LLOYD COUTTS

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday called for an urgent meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to bring an end to violence in the country.

Kriel, who announced a package of sweeping measures to end violence in Natal, called for an end to political posturing in the interests of peace.

"I would like to make an urgent appeal to Dr Buthelezi and Dr Mandela: For God's sake, please meet; for God's sake, please make peace. We have to stop the senseless killing of people in our country," Kriel told a news conference in Pretoria.

Kriel said he had declared Umbumbulu and Richmond in Natal as unrest areas.

The security forces were experiencing difficulty in fighting violence in the province because attacks there were well planned and executed at night, and because of the availability of AK-47 assault rifles and other firearms.

Kriel said blatant disregard for the national peace accord, inflammatory statements from local leaders and the difficult terrain in Natal were further hampering peace-keeping efforts, as was a proposed ANC march to Ulundi.

Kriel said an additional 2 000 SADF members had already been deployed in Natal, and a further 310 members of the SAP internal stability unit were being concentrated in "hot spots".

UN and Commonwealth observers had been asked to pay particular attention to the region, he said.

WILSON ZWANE reports that Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Buthelezi met in Ulundi yesterday to discuss ways to

curb the violence.

Buthelezi's office said in a brief statement that the discussions formed part of the church leaders' efforts to resolve the crisis.

The statement said Tutu, Buthelezi and two other senior KwaZulu government officials held "intensive" discussions on the archbishop's proposals for a joint meeting of all black political leaders.

However, since that was an issue under discussion in the national peace committee, it was resolved that the outcome of the committee's discussions be awaited, the statement said.

On Wednesday, SA Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary Rev Frank Chikane sent a letter to 15 political leaders — including President F W de Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi — urging them to address the violence.

The leaders should work towards convening a multiparty conference and setting a date for electing a constitution-making body as a new political dispensation would bring peace, Chikane said in the letter.

In another development, a delegation of church leaders will meet the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) next week after suggestions by the institute that some churches encouraged violence in SA.

The relationship between the church leaders and the SAIRR was soured last year when the institute's executive director John Kane-Berman accused them of having helped to legitimise violence as an instrument of liberation.

Govt backs away from hostels deal

B/DAY 6/11/92 GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE National Housing Department has asked the Goldstone commission to review its recommendations that hostels be fenced off.

National Housing director-general Dugie de Beer said in a report to the commission that government could not "under present circumstances" meet the obligations it had made in the record of understanding between the ANC and NP to fence off certain hostels.

Instead, priority should be given to upgrading and conversion, with fences being erected only where firm evidence existed that a hostel was being used as a launching pad for violence.

He said that although a programme for the repairing and erecting of fences around hostels identified by the commission had been prepared, "it has not been possible to proceed with construction in the light of prevailing circumstances".

De Beer said Inkatha and the Transvaal

Hostel Residents' Association had "totally rejected" the agreement between government and the ANC to fence off hostels linked to violence.

The association had said it would launch counter measures including a rent boycott and protest marches. It had warned that no contractors would be allowed on site and said fences would be torn down.

Hostel residents were also unhappy that fencing had been given a higher priority than upgrading, De Beer said, although they had indicated such measures would be acceptable provided they were part of an upgrading programme.

"Mass protest of this nature and scope is likely to lead to an escalation of violence, thereby undermining the whole purpose of the fencing and security measures concerning hostels," he said.

Goldstone: No claims of bias

JOHANNESBURG. — The international observers of the Goldstone Commission's investigation units said yesterday they were unaware of any allegations of bias within the commission or its investigative teams. *CT 11/1/92*

The co-ordinator of the international observers, Commander Tom Laidlaw, said in reaction to a SABC news report the observers would assess the investigation into violence and intimidation. *(274)*

The teams are to be made of seconded police and defence force officers and lawyers. Any allegations of bias would be investigated. — Sapa

Glimmer of hope for SA peace talks

By S'BU MNGADI

THE long-awaited one-to-one meeting between Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela is on the cards.

The meeting, the result of National Peace Committee chairman John Hall's shuttle diplomacy, is part of an ambitious three-stage programme to end political violence and restart constitutional negotiations.

The meeting is increasingly being seen as the key to progress in negotiations.

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa this week said Mandela would speak on measures the ANC intended taking to address political violence at today's funeral of Natal Midlands ANC deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe.

Mandela's address will follow a meeting in Maritzburg this week between a high-powered delegation of 15 ANC National Working Committee members and Natal's three ANC Regional Executive Committees - who have been vociferously opposed to the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting.

Hall is scheduled to deliver a crucial report-back to the Peace Committee's executive committee on Tuesday on the programme.

The programme proposes a multi-party conference of review, a meeting of National Peace Accord signatories and a bilateral meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela.

Hall has been shuttling between State President FW de Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi to get an agreement. City Press this week reliably learnt the programme had been endorsed by all three leaders but, as a mere formality, still needed approval of the NPC executive committee.

NPC secretary Frans du Preez said the Tuesday meeting, to be attended by the ANC's Sidney Mafumadi, Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, government ministers and National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Anton Gildenhuys, would decide on the next course of action.

A major announcement was expected to be made after the meeting, Du Preez said.

Government sources told a foreign journalist that Hall's meeting with De Klerk and Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer in Cape Town last Friday endorsed the three-stage programme.

It's envisaged that the multi-party conference of review being called for by Buthelezi and the newly-formed Committee of Concerned South Africans (Cocosa) - comprising Inkatha, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie - will include rightwing parties, as well as the PAC and Azapo.

This week, Buthelezi said a multi-party conference should review the peace process which he said had become ineffective. He also said he had been encouraged by recent NPC moves.

CLP/MS 8/11/92 (274)

Mourning family shot dead

274

CT9/11/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Ongoing violence has claimed the lives of 14 people, of whom four were mourners shot dead on their way home from a funeral, according to news and police reports.

A police spokesman said men armed with AK-47 rifles fired at people in a car on their way home from a funeral at the Odidini reserve in Umbumbulu, Natal. He said four of those killed were from the same family.

The fifth victim was shot outside the car.

A man has been arrested and is expected to appear in court soon.

Police in Durban have expressed concern at the discovery of another cache of M60 anti-personnel rifle grenades in the Folweni area, weekend news reports said.

This was the fourth cache of M60s found in Natal in recent months.

Five suspects were arrested on Friday night.

Nine people were burnt, shot or hacked to death on Saturday, police said in their unrest report yesterday.

Seven were killed on the Reef and two in Natal, while 10 people were reported injured.

Those killed included three bodies with bullet wounds found in Thokoza near Alberton. In nearby Katlehong, a dead woman with bullet wounds and another body, burnt beyond recognition, were found next to a burnt-out minibus.

A supporter of the Inkatha Freedom Party was shot and killed by an unknown attacker with a .45 revolver in Ntabamlope near Ladysmith and a man was killed and a woman and child injured at Wembezi near Estcourt in an attack by men armed with pangas and knives. — Sapa

Four die in violent weekend

274
Crime Reporter

FOUR people died and a gang member was wounded in weekend violence in the Peninsula, police said yesterday.

Police spokesman Lieutenant John Sterenberg said a "Laughing Boys" gang member, Mr Rashaad Williams, 26, was shot and wounded in Athlone in a battle with rival gang members yesterday afternoon.

On Friday night, Mr Kerneels van Wyk, 29, was fatally stabbed in the neck during a robbery in Belhar.

Early on Saturday, Mr Michael Mbotzi was shot dead by a security guard in Khayelitsha. Two security guards have been arrested.

Mr Ralph Pietersen of Betty Street, Elsie's River, was bludgeoned to death with a rock early on Saturday.

Also on Saturday Mr Barend Johannes, 28, of Pine Place, Kleinvlei in Eerste River, was stabbed to death in a drunken brawl.

Army chief Meiring hits out at 'ANC operations teams'

PIETERSBURG — Army chief Lt-Gen George Meiring lashed out on Friday at what he called ANC-sponsored "special operations teams" which, disguised as security force members, wreaked mayhem before putting the blame on security forces.

Addressing a medal parade at Far Northern Transvaal Command, Meiring said "special operations teams" were attempting to discredit the security forces and, specifically, the army.

He said according to an instruction issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe acting chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda and SACP politburo member Ronnie Kasrils, it had been decided to make available arms and arms caches to MK self defence units and the special operations teams.

"Although some commanders have maps indicating some of the arms caches, detection is difficult because of criminal control over those caches," Meiring said.

He said while there were good indications of the extent of the arms caches, it could be expected, if the "underground" instructions were carried out, that incidents of violence involving MK and the special operations teams would increase.

Meanwhile, government rejected at the weekend a call by the ANC for the inclusion of MK in a joint security

venture to quell rising violence in Natal.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said: "We firmly believe MK is part of the problem of violence in Natal."

The call by the ANC follows the deployment of 2 000 SADF soldiers to assist the SAP and KwaZulu Police in a massive joint operation aimed at preventing civil war in Natal.

ANC Natal Midlands executive member Blade Nzimande said last week: "Our demand is for a speedy move towards an interim government and joint control over the security forces."

"You have to have a neutral force which is accepted by all sectors of the community before there can be peace."

Kotze said: "We don't believe in any private army, including MK, usurping the functions of the police force or the military, and in fact it is illegal to do so."

But support for the concept of a joint peacekeeping force has come from national peace committee vice-chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

He recommended that a joint peacekeeping force comprising the existing security forces and MK and other military wings of political organisations should be set up under international command. — Sapa-AFP.

Buthelezi 'will never give in'

GINGINDHLOVU — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed on Saturday to continue resisting the ANC/SACP alliance, saying KwaZulu and Inkatha were the country's final guarantee of a democracy.

Addressing about 15 000 people at Nsingweni near Gingindlovu in Zululand, Buthelezi condemned what he called ANC president Nelson Mandela's failure to respond to repeated invitations to participate in a peaceful SA.

He said: "We will resist and we will go on resisting the ANC/SACP alliance until one day there is a democracy in SA."

"We in KwaZulu and in the IFP are the final guarantee there will be democracy."

□ In Johannesburg at the weekend, Inkatha Youth Brigade officials alleged that Sphiwe Nyanda, Joe Modise, Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa were responsible for the violence in the country.

The officials said they were going to "target the four and others whom we believe are masterminding the killing of our leadership and membership".

Holomisa denied on Saturday the Transkei Defence Force was training or assisting Umkhonto we Sizwe members. — Sapa.

(27)
No unrest reports

PRETORIA — From yesterday police would no longer release a daily unrest report because it was difficult to ascertain which cases were unrest-related and which not, a police spokesman said yesterday.

However, police would issue reports in serious instances of unrest. — Sapa.

Inkatha accuses ANC of 'stalling tactics'

LLOYD COUTTS

(274)

A MEETING between Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Nelson Mandela should lead to a multi-party review of the peace process and constitutional negotiations, Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Mdlalose accused the ANC of employing stalling tactics to draw focus from the need for a bilateral meeting between the two leaders.

"The executive committee of Inkatha is sick and tired of the prevarication and obfuscation which is holding the entire peace process up to ridicule.

"There should be a meeting between Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela, followed by a

meeting of the signatories of the national peace accord which can then call on government to convene a national multiparty conference of review of both the peace process and the negotiation process," Mdlalose said.

But the ANC said yesterday its position on a bilateral meeting had not changed. Spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation had called for an urgent meeting of the Natal/KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee to review the situation in the province. The ANC had also called for a

To Page 2

Inkatha

meeting of all the signatories to the peace accord, she said

"We are saying that any meeting which takes place between Inkatha and the ANC has to be thoroughly prepared for so that it produces results," she said.

Yesterday, the Human Rights Commission said at least 189 people were killed in politically linked violence in Natal last month, bringing the toll in the province this year to 1 147.

Sapa reports that in its October unrest bulletin released in Durban, the HRC said the South Coast was the worst affected area with 112 deaths.

In Maritzburg, Defence Minister Gene Louw said crime and violence in the Natal

(274)

From Page 1

Midlands had decreased by about 50% since the deployment of extra security forces in the region.

Louw, who visited troops at Richmond and Maritzburg yesterday, said it was the duty of government to keep peace in the country. The Defence Force had a major role to play in achieving this goal.

Meanwhile, two policemen were seriously wounded in an ambush of a patrol in Inanda near Durban yesterday. Police said a patrol of five policemen was fired on by unidentified attackers with AK-47s.

On Monday four people were killed in separate incidents in Kwambonambi near Mtubatuba in northern Zululand; Umlazi, south of Durban; and Folweni, near Umbumbulu.

Churches plan nationwide rallies to end bloodshed

CHURCH leaders announced yesterday they would hold peace rallies around the country in an effort to end violence.

SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that church leaders from various denominations around the country had decided this week that the first of the rallies would be held in Natal on a date still to be set.

Various groups had called for peace rallies in the past, he said, but none had come to fruition.

The rallies would give people the opportunity to say "enough is enough" and to call on politicians to place the interests of the nation above party political interests.

Archbishop Wilfrid Napier said: "The politicians are playing with people's lives. We are called upon to bury the dead and comfort the bereaved too often. Something must be done to halt this dreadful carnage and move on to peace."

The meeting also called for a multiparty conference by year-end, and for an election date to be fixed by end-1993.

Bishop Peter Storey said the policy of not holding elections until violence had been dealt with only gave certain

12/11/92
KATHRYN STRACMAN

groups the opportunity to stall elections by fuelling violence.

The leaders also called for the establishment of a joint peace-keeping unit which would be independent of all political "power play".

Storey said church leaders were angered by SA Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman's "painful suggestions" that the church bore responsibility for the violence. A meeting with Kane-Berman would be held to discuss the allegations.

Sapa reports church leaders expressed abhorrence at the way in which the Further Indemnity Act was pushed through Parliament.

"If true reconciliation is to come to our land there must be an awareness of the specific attitudes and acts which give rise to repentance, reparation and forgiveness," said Napier. "You cannot commit a crime and forgive yourself."

LLOYD COUTTS reports the national peace committee meeting scheduled for November 24 will not be attended by the leaders of the NP, ANC and Inkatha. Instead, permanent delegates like the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose and the NP's Sam de Beer will probably

participate in laying the groundwork for resolving violence at the committee's full meeting.

The decision to hold the November 24 meeting came after the committee's executive committee members were informed of talks between committee chairman John Hall and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk on an individual basis.

It is hoped the meeting will lead to a meeting of the signatories to the national peace accord. This in turn could lead to bilateral talks between Mandela and Buthelezi, a three-way meeting including De Klerk, or full multiparty negotiations on violence.

A man was shot dead at KwaMakhutha near Amanzimtoti on Natal's South Coast yesterday. The township is in the Umbumbulu district which was declared an unrest area last week. But killings continue on an almost daily basis, Sapa reports.

In KwaZulu, police said eight people had been arrested, but subsequently released, last weekend in connection with the Folweni massacre of 22 people in Mpumali south of Durban last month. The men were released because "they were not physically involved in the killings".



Bishop Peter Storey, SA Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane and Archbishop Wilfrid Napier announce church leaders' plans to hold peace rallies around the country to end the violence.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Mangeni inquest told of illegal cash export

FORMER army intelligence operative Leon Flores illegally took money out of SA while on a mission to spy on renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee in London, a colleague yesterday told the inquest into ANR

SUSAN RUSSELL

the ANC's military wing and the IRA. Flores, a member of a police counter-

RAI

Bid to halt executions

THE VIOLENCE

Still no angels

The argument continues over the causes of political violence and the SA Institute for Race Relations document by special research consultant Anthea Jeffery. She has defended herself vigorously against the attacks on her analysis by a group of researchers within the institute, which leaked a 23-page extract from Jeffery's work to *The Weekly Mail* (Current Affairs October 29).

The immediate issue at dispute is whether — as Jeffery has argued — Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) have issued partisan reports

heaping blame for the violence on the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and police, while ignoring any suggestion that the ANC and its allies might bear co-responsibility. This is not the same at all as arguing (which Jeffery did not) that the IFP, for example, is innocent.

Flaws and inaccuracies

The inhouse critics at the institute were joined by Dennis Davis, director of the Institute for Applied Legal Studies, and advocate Gilbert Marcus, in an article in *The Star* on September 22. Institute director John Kane-Berman says their article contains serious flaws and inaccuracies.

Notably, Davis and Marcus accuse Jeffery of omitting a passage from an analysis

by the HRC of the Crossroads massacre. This the HRC attributed to "vigilante-related action" (defined as attacks by, or in defence against, surrogate forces of the State, in the form of vigilante private armies formed by homeland administrations or black local authorities).

But, says Kane-Berman, Jeffery reproduced this passage, almost verbatim and drawn from an HRC report (entitled *Area Repression Report* for April 1992) on page 43 of the October *Spotlight* in which her analysis appeared.

Davis and Marcus refer to opinion surveys "confirming the high proportion of black people in metropolitan areas who have been coerced into consumer boycotts, stayaways and rent boycotts." These surveys also de-

** continue ->*

P.T.O.

THE FIRST BEER BREWED ACCORDING TO THE LAW.

Namibia Breweries were the first brewery in Southern Africa to brew according to the *Reinheitsgebot**, the German Purity Law of 1516.

This law states that beer should be brewed from nothing other than barley malt, hops and water. It is the oldest of food laws anywhere in the world and safeguards the purity and quality standards for "German beer" drinkers throughout the world.

schenken/und verkaufen. Wir wollen auch sonderlichen/ das für ein allemal in unsern Stetten/ Märckhen/vñ auff dem Lande/zñ keinen Bier/merer Stückh/dañ als laim Gersten/Hopffen/vñ wasser/genomen vñ gepraucht solle werden. Welcher aber dise vnser Ordnung wissentlich überfaren vñ nicht halten wurde /dem sol von seiner gerichtsbriqatē / dasselbig was Bier/alsstraff vñ nachlässlich/so offte es geschicht / genomen werden. Neboch wo

The original Reinheitsgebot of 1516 is preserved at the Bavarian State Library, in Munich

To ensure that our beers adhere to this law, our German brewmaster uses only the finest imported barley malt, selected hops and water.

And, in accordance with the law he doesn't substitute any of these pure ingredients with adjuncts such as maize, rice or sugar.

There are quicker and more cost-saving methods of brewing but these often result in a compromise in the quality of a beer.

It is through our commitment to this purity law that our beers have a truly unique character — full bodied with a mildly bitter, well balanced flavour and subtle, yet distinct, hops aroma.

Such is the cost of brewing in this purist fashion that "German style" beers are a luxury in many parts of the world. In South Africa we are more fortunate.



PURE BEER ENJOYMENT

*PRONOUNCED RHINE-HEIGHTS-GEBOT

Goldstone delays peace hearing

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission has indefinitely postponed a public hearing next month on ways to strengthen the National Peace Accord because the National Peace Committee will be meeting later this month, Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

When the commission decided to hear evidence on ways to strengthen the National Peace Accord's structures to make them more effective in reducing the levels of political violence, there was a complete deadlock

(274) CT 13/11/92
in multi-party negotiations, Mr Justice Goldstone said in a statement.

"Since then the executive of the National Peace Committee has succeeded in removing certain obstacles and, in consequence, a meeting of the full National Peace Committee has been called for November 24."

The commission decided to postpone the hearing, scheduled for December 7 in Cape Town, "in the anticipation of further multi-party negotiations", the statement said. — Sapa

'ANC renegades behind campaign to kill police'

RENEGADE members of the ANC's self-defence units were behind a campaign to kill policemen in Reef townships, police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said yesterday.

Opperman said 18 defence unit members — many of them from Phola Park — had been arrested. Three had appeared in court in connection with possession of firearms and attacks on policemen.

A recent claim by an ANC defence unit member that he had accidentally shot a prominent ANC member because he mistook him for a policeman was further evidence of instructions they had received to kill policemen, he said.

At least 194 policemen have died violently since the beginning of the year. Last year 143 were killed.

ANC claims that the defence units were out of control because of police infiltration were "a clear attempt to shift blame by means of propaganda", the police and SADF said in a joint statement yesterday.

"Motives of sources producing unfounded, unproven, untested and malicious allegations aimed at alienating the security forces from the very people they protect, must be questioned," the statement said.

Opperman said 10 ANC members had been arrested in possession of firearms

and police uniforms. Police were investigating "several armed attacks carried out by ANC members or supporters in the Vaal triangle, particularly Sebokeng".

He said the ANC was hindering police investigations at the scenes of unrest-related murders and crimes.

Opperman said ANC suggestions that a "code of conduct" be drawn up for self-defence unit members were welcomed.

Sapa reports that three people — one of them a policeman — were killed and two others were injured in attacks on Reef trains yesterday. Police said Const P M Mpanza was thrown from a train between Elsburg and Katlehong on the East Rand. His body, which landed under a train, was badly mutilated.

He was the third policeman in seven months to die in violence on trains.

In Atteridgeville two assistant constables were attacked while on patrol on Wednesday night.

Government's Social Relief Fund had paid out R670 000 and had assisted more than 1 000 families affected by political violence since it was established three months ago, fund chairman Piet Koornhof said in Durban yesterday.

Govt fence-sitting on hostels

GOVERNMENT will not fence off hostels, identified as sources of violence, in terms of the record of understanding it reached with the ANC in September.

In terms of the understanding, seven Reef hostels were to have been fenced off by Sunday.

Local Government and National Housing Department official Johan Oosthuizen said yesterday government would not fence off hostels by Sunday.

Oosthuizen said objections from Inkatha and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association had made it impossible to construct fences around the hostels in terms of the

agreement. He said it seemed implementation of the agreement would fuel violence rather than end it.

However, the hostels would be fenced off in due course as part of government's strategy to upgrade them, Oosthuizen said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday the ANC had not met to discuss the matter.

But government's decision to renege on the agreement had serious implications for future negotiations. He would not discuss the implications.

The agreement was

hailed as a breakthrough for constitutional negotiations which had virtually collapsed after the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The ANC cancelled talks between itself and government after the massacre, saying such talks would be resumed only after government had — among other things — taken sufficient steps to curb violence.

The fencing off of the hostels is a demand from the ANC, which attributes most unrest incidents to hostel residents. The organisation believes barriers between hostel residents and township residents will restore peace in the townships.

B/DAY 11/3/11/92

RAY HARTLEY

...ly said
...n
... A Co
...nsu
...ates
...er Jo
...part
...of the
...me
...betwe
...the co
...ad
...ta
...nd b
...C
...s
...000
...dun
...e A
...sury
...in
...ot,
...ayed
...on
...ions
...gen
...to
...een
...in
...um
...m
...p
...SLI
...in
...ue
...N
...in
...sta
...bo
...a
...is
...ce
...me
...end
...ti
...er
...tt
...in
...br
...c

More ANC mass action on agenda

274
ANC 14/11/92

THE African National Congress alliance appears to be going ahead with plans for a new wave of mass action before Christmas.

The campaign will include marches, pickets and protest action, some of which are to be aimed at occupying supermarkets, control board offices, rent offices, pension offices and other selected target areas.

There will also be "mass education workshops" to discuss causes of economic and other hardships.

The plans for further action are being discussed by the ANC/SACP and Cosatu at meetings this week and next week when decisions on details and dates are expected to be taken.

Cosatu is reported to be considering a plan to disrupt business during the festive season.

The campaign is being organised to protest against hardships said to have been brought about by retrenchments, high prices (especially food), discriminatory pensions, the drought and other factors.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman told Weekend Argus this week the further action would be part of a campaign launched in mid-October at the time of the mass protest action outside parliament in Cape Town.

Action at Christmas was likely to be aimed at drawing attention to the plight of many people who could not afford to buy food.

Mr Coleman said details of next month's action would be discussed at a meeting of Cosatu's executive committee.

Cosatu also warned that the furore around overpayment of SITE tax by hundreds of thousands of employees had set the labour movement on a collision course with the government — if overtaxed workers were not

■ At a time when South Africa's economy is reeling under the impact of the drought and mass action by organised labour, more ANC-inspired mass action is on the cards.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

refunded.

A spokesman for the ANC's campaign committee said the nature and extent of further mass action would be considered at a meeting next week to be attended by representatives of all the alliance partners, including the ANC Youth League.

It was likely that further mass action also would focus on the latest corruption and maladministration scandals revealed this week in Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

The spokesman confirmed that plans were going ahead for the controversial protest marches to Mmabatho and Ulundi to demand free political activity, but said the dates had not been fixed yet.

The Mmabatho march, postponed recently, still was expected to be held in December.

The campaigners would seek negotiations at various levels to voice protests and to outline demands to government departments and other agencies on issues like VAT, drought and poverty relief, housing, electrification, rent and pensions.

Demands would be put to the food industry at national level to make its structures "democratic".

Further mass action also was being planned in the homelands "to bring the despots to their senses".

Moves were afoot for protest marches in the Western Transvaal and Free State as part of a campaign against institutions which "bankroll" homeland administrations.

ANC strategists have warned

about a danger that campaigns could be distorted by the "glorification" of one form of action.

The campaign for free political activity was cited as an example of an action that was at risk of being "fetished into a series of marches on the centres of Bantustan despotism".

The ANC's planned programme of action against high food prices focused on a list of at least five main demands. These were:

- No VAT on basic foods;
- Lower food prices;
- Milk and bread at fixed, affordable prices;
- The democratisation of control boards; and
- An end to unilateral restructuring — especially of abattoirs.

The campaign, named Asinamali ("We don't have money"), also included local negotiations with "exploitative traders" on issues like bringing down their prices.

Doctor shot in Angola critical

WINDHOEK. — A Belgian agronomist, Pascal Andre, 26, is critically ill in a Windhoek hospital after being shot in the head and chest at Huambo in central Angola.

He was flown from Angola by Medical Rescue International to Windhoek for emergency surgery on Wednesday night.

Mr Andre's parents arrived in Windhoek from Belgium yesterday afternoon, Mrs Parkhouse said. — Sapa.

GRE
Emb

L
i

GAR
Week
Foreig

LON
Kler
"gra
mand
ly en
have
nomi
the v

Bu
cans
in m
help
did
Worl
teris
the

In
spee
the
band
tel,
coun
with

Ti
in th
jor
the
tion
pow
tion

com
and

New findings likely to rock government

Political Staff

THE Defence Force employed a notorious convicted murderer and CCB agent from May to December 1991 to discredit the ANC — and then Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer knew about it last December, the Goldstone Commission has disclosed in a shock announcement.

Mr Justice Goldstone's findings yesterday — which have aroused new suspicions of a third force within Military Intelligence — are likely to rock the government.

In a dramatic raid last Wednesday, the commission and police swooped on an MI operational centre and found hundreds of files.

They sealed off the building and seized five files, which revealed that MI had employed convicted murderer and fired CCB agent Ferdi Barnard in May 1991 to establish a clandestine task group to discredit the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

His employment was a result of a referral to the "Director of Covert Collection" (DCC) by the SADF's chief of staff, intelligence, Lieutenant-General Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst.

Defence Minister Mr Meyer — now Constitutional Development Minister — fired Barnard in December, 1991 after evidence in a court case that he was still employed by MI.

Mr Meyer said yesterday that he would not comment "at this stage" and referred inquiries to Minister of

Defence Mr Gene Louw and the chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg.

Acting State President Mr Pik Botha yesterday said the government was giving urgent attention to the statement by Judge Goldstone.

The discovery of the clandestine task group within MI prompted Mr Justice Goldstone yesterday to appeal to President De Klerk to expand his powers and enable him to investigate all official and private armies across the political spectrum.

Mr Justice Goldstone's damning discovery — which comes very close to confirming the mass of accusations of a government third force destabilising the ANC — is likely to shake the negotiation process.

This is the second time in seven days that SADF projects aimed at discrediting the ANC have been revealed.

President De Klerk — who received Mr Justice Goldstone's statement in London yesterday — returns to South Africa today to a storm of controversy.

At a Press conference yesterday, Mr Justice Goldstone was ambivalent about whether he had discovered an official "third force."

He said he did not believe the information which the commission had found so far added up to evidence of a third force.

But pressed further, he said it was clearly true that it was "some evidence."

Muggers force peace observers to move

MANY of the UN and EC peace observers have moved out of their five-star hotel in central Johannesburg because of muggings in the area.

Nearly 50 envoys from various countries are staying in Johannesburg, and others are stationed in various parts of the country to monitor public violence.

Fewer than 10 are still living in the Carlton Hotel, the rest having moved — as one diplomat put it — “to more amenable pastures” after making their own accommodation arrangements.

At least four members of the group have

GAVIN DU VENAGE

been attacked and robbed barely metres from the hotel, and a Norwegian diplomat on a one-day stopover had his pockets emptied a few hours after his arrival.

With a bit of time to spare after a meeting, the Norwegian went for a stroll to do some sightseeing, and was mugged.

Jim Anderson, security liaison official for the delegations, said alternative arrangements for the monitors still in the hotel were being considered, and a decision would be made shortly.

Carlton Hotel GM Stephen Ford said the hotel had held consultations with the delegation heads, and every possible step was being taken to ensure guests were adequately protected.

He said talks with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and local police chiefs had been held, and a number of security measures had been taken.

□ Satour says 130 Carlton guests and 119 guests at the Johannesburg Sun have been mugged this year. Both hotels were providing armed escorts for residents, the Sunday Times reported yesterday.

Goldstone calls for more power

Political Staff

THE Goldstone Commission has called for its investigating powers to be extended to include public and private security forces and armies inside and outside South Africa.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday that the commission had no doubt that political violence and intimidation would not be curbed ef-

fectively until all public and private security armies had been investigated thoroughly.

Also, successful multi-party negotiations and elections could not be held in the climate of violence and distrust.

"For the commission to continue to multiply its inquiries would amount to an attempt to treat the symptoms and not the disease of violence."

The United Nations' secre-

tary-general, Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali, had recommended that the commission investigate the army, police and political movements' military wings.

However, the commission did not have the resources to do so.

"It does not have the resources to search the many hundreds of files it has found at the Military Intelligence es-

tablishment discovered by it on Wednesday."

The UN observer mission in South Africa last night expressed "its shock and dismay" at the revelations and gave its full support to Mr Justice Goldstone's call for wider powers. CT 17/11/92 (274)

"Such investigations could indeed serve to curb violence and be of benefit to the country as a whole."

THE 100 GVERNMENT



Army chief defends Echoes

Sowetan (7/11/92)
■ Meiring denies spy project was meant to discredit ANC:

THE chief of the SA Army, General Georg Meiring, has denied jeopardising the peace process by authorising Project Echoes. (274)

"I wish to put on record that I approved Project Echoes as part of my line function. As chief of the SA Army I am responsible for the landward safety and security of South Africa and all its people," Meiring said yesterday. (277)

He said this following allegations that

he wanted to discredit the African National Congress. He said he authorised a trip to London by Captain Pamela du Randt and a facilitator to try to confirm information that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had links with the Irish Republican Army and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation "because the existence of such links would have serious security implications".

Army chief defends Echoes

Sowetan (7/11/92)
■ Meiring denies spy project was meant to discredit ANC:

THE chief of the SA Army, General Georg Meiring, has denied jeopardising the peace process by authorising Project Echoes. (254) (274)

"I wish to put on record that I approved Project Echoes as part of my line function. As chief of the SA Army I am responsible for the landward safety and security of South Africa and all its people," Meiring said yesterday. (227)

He said this following allegations that

he wanted to discredit the African National Congress. He said he authorised a trip to London by Captain Pamela du Randt and a facilitator to try to confirm information that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had links with the Irish Republican Army and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation "because the existence of such links would have serious security implications".

'Shock and dismay'

APR 17/11/82

(274)

a negotiated settlement, it simultaneously conducted "a vicious campaign of misinformation and propaganda aimed at destroying the ANC".

NEW YORK. — The United Nations expressed "shock and dismay" over a report implicating South Africa's military in efforts to instigate violence, officials said.

The UN Observer Team in South Africa (UNOMSA) called for a full investigation into the matter which was revealed in a report yesterday by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said UN spokesman Mr Joe Sills.

Mr Justice Goldstone's standing commission on violence confiscated classified files showing the army used a secret agent to destabilise the African National Congress months before the government and the ANC began democracy talks.

After the documents were seized in a surprise raid at the Military Intelligence unit, Mr Justice Goldstone said there were still "hundreds of files" and called for his investigation powers to be extended in compliance with the Security Council resolution passed on August 17. UNOMSA expressed its total support for Mr Justice Gold-

UN call for full probe into Goldstone revelations on SADF destabilisation

stone, who has also called for a more intensive probe into the activities of the army, the police and some private organisations, Mr Sills said.

In a report on South Africa published yesterday, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the political situation there continued to be explosive and noted a "tendency to resort to intimidation and violence".

"It is imperative that political parties honour the commitments they have made as signatories to the National Peace Accord," he said.

The secretary-general also called on South African authorities to maintain law and order and take measures to end the violence and protect the rights of all citizens.

About 50 observers have been stationed in South Africa since the end of October, working with organisations formed by the peace accord, including

the one Mr Justice Goldstone heads.

In Johannesburg, the ANC said last night Mr Justice Goldstone's revelation that Military Intelligence had targeted the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, confirmed what the organisation had expressed and experienced since its unbanning more than two years ago.

It said in a statement that Mr Justice Goldstone's disclosure showed that the security forces' infiltration of MK in the Transvaal — where some members of self-defence units (SDUs) had become a law unto themselves — had "met with a measure of success".

ANC PWV regional deputy secretary-general Mr Obéd Bapela said his organisation had long suspected a massive infiltration of SDUs in townships in the Vaal Triangle, where "residents were now living in fear".

"Actions like extortions, killings of people and forcing people to be off the streets after a certain time confirm this infiltration of SDUs in the area. Some of these SDU members are not even our members."

"Infiltration is made easier by high unemployment. The report justifies what we have been saying all along about the infiltration of SDUs by the security forces," Mr Bapela said.

Former ANC PWV deputy regional chairman Mr Bavu-mile Vilakazi, now an ordinary member of the PWV regional executive committee, was shot and left for dead in Sebokeng about two months ago. It was recently revealed that his would-be assassin was a member of both the ANC and the local SDU.

The ANC said although Pretoria had claimed to the world that it was prepared to accept

The organisation said it had become clear in recent months that the target of much of the propaganda was MK, and a particular aspect of the campaign was "the much-repeated claim, made without any foundation, that MK elements don SADF uniforms before committing crimes and acts of violence".

"Military intelligence was joined in this campaign by both the police and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The police embarked upon completely unprofessional and partisan behaviour by widely publicising the political affiliation of those arrested, provided they belonged to the ANC.

"More serious is the infiltration of MK and self-defence structures for the pre-determined purpose of diverting them into criminal activity," said the organisation. — Political Staff, Sapa-AFP.

The colonel who cracked it

IT was largely the meticulous detective work of Colonel Henk Heslinga of the Goldstone Commission that helped earn the commission its latest "coup" in the form of a swoop on a secret Military Intelligence (MI) base.

The commission's subsequent discovery of documents pointing to a "third force" within MI was also the first major breakthrough of the Goldstone Commission's special investigative team on the Witwatersrand.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, in yesterday's report of

the raid, complimented Heslinga and the investigative team for their "efficient detective work".

Colonel Heslinga, he said, had followed up information from a witness brought to the commission by the police.

The 45-year-old policeman has been quietly working independently for the commission since it started early last year. He was seconded from the police by the Justice Department to work on the commission as an independent investigator.

A commission source said

yesterday Colonel Heslinga had followed up scores of violent incidents which the Goldstone Commission has probed since its inception.

"When something happened that the Goldstone Commission was focusing on, Colonel Heslinga would be asked to do the necessary detective work," the source said.

Notwithstanding his latest success, Colonel Heslinga was at work as usual yesterday collecting evidence in Natal for the commission's pending inquiry into the Folweni massacre.

Raid on MI: tell of dirt

274

THIS is the full text of the Press statement by Mr Justice R J Goldstone, chairman of the commission of inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

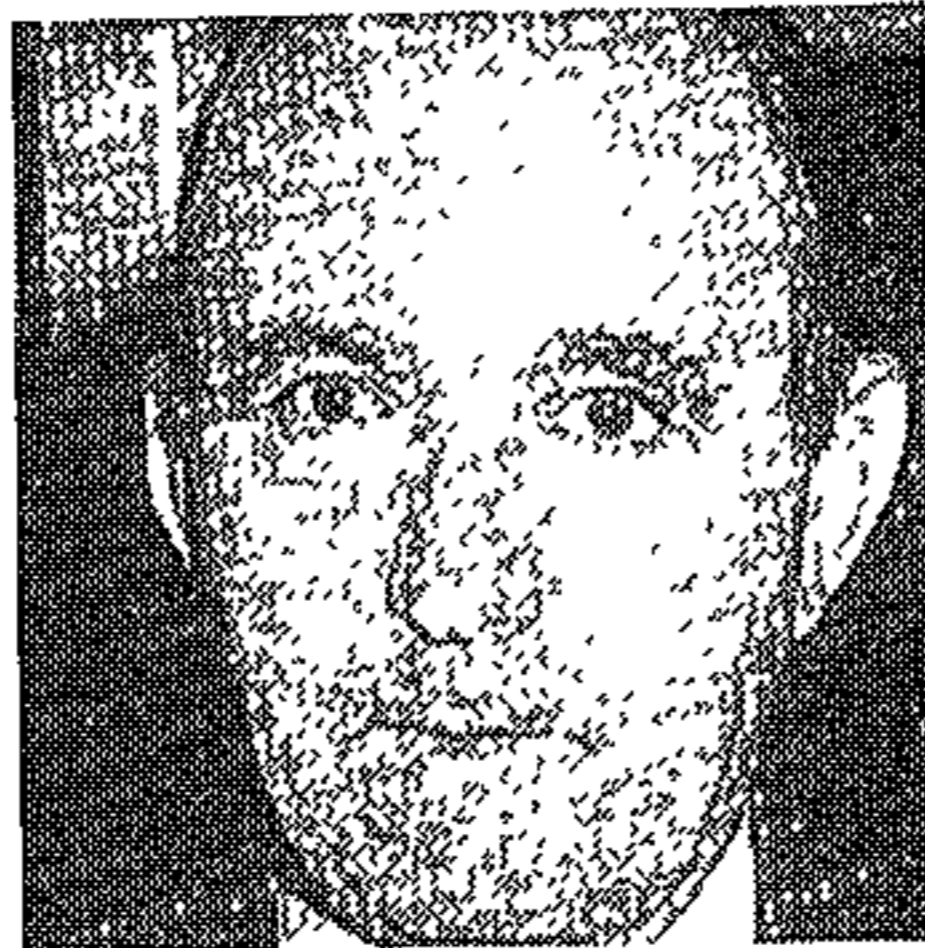
1 Since February 1990, the State President has set the government's face against the involvement of the security forces of the State being involved in criminal, illegal and dishonest practices and particularly in relation to political violence and intimidation. Indeed last Thursday evening the State President stated at the annual foreign correspondents' dinner that it was unacceptable to the government for the State security forces to be involved in party political covert operations.

2 When the commission was appointed, I was informed and assured in unequivocal terms by the State President and by the Minister of Justice that the commission would operate at all times as an independent judicial commission. That assurance has been scrupulously honoured by the State President and the government. So, too, have the other political role players in South Africa respected the independence of the commission.

3 The commission was given unusual and, for South Africa, unique powers. In particular, I would refer to the power of search and seizure.

4 The commission has previously reported that the main cause for present violence arises from the political rivalry between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. It has also reported that it had been presented with no evidence of an organised "third force" and that there was no evidence implicating senior members of the security forces in political violence and intimidation. The commission stated that it would investigate fully any such evidence.

5 On Wednesday of last week, November 11 1992, an investigation launched by the commission led it to a building which housed a large operations unit of Military Intelli-



Mr Justice Goldstone

gence. The commission came to that unit as a direct consequence of a witness brought to the commission by members of the South African Police. On the basis of the information given to the commission's counsel and efficient detective work performed by Colonel H Heshlinga, police official on the staff of the commission, with members of one of the commission's investigation teams, the Military Intelligence operational centre was discovered. Two of the international experts attached to the commission's investigation units participated in the investigation.

6 With the assistance of reinforcements provided by the South African Police, the building housing the Military Intelligence unit was sealed and five files were seized. The files were sought in consequence of the information provided to the commission by the aforementioned witness.

7 The files seized by the commission disclose the following information:

(a) From May 1991 until December 31 1991 Military Intelligence employed Mr Ferdi Barnard, a notorious former member of the CCB.

(b) Mr Barnard's employment resulted from a referral to the "Director of Covert Collection" (DCC) by the Chief of Staff Intelligence, Lt General R Badenhorst.

(c) From May 1991 Barnard was employed for a trial period at a monthly salary of R3 000 and operational expenses of R800 a month. From August 1 1991, he was employed permanently at a salary of R3 500 and opera-

tional expenses of R2 000 a month. That employment was recommended by DCC and approved by Lt General Badenhorst.

(d) As became public during 1990, Barnard is a former SAP drug squad sergeant and has two previous convictions for murder, one for attempted murder and three for theft. In 1984 he was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. The effective sentence was six years. In 1988 he was released on parole and soon thereafter employed by the CCB.

(e) In consequence of his previous convictions, Barnard was not allowed to possess a firearm. On June 6 1991, for the reason that he required it for his personal safety, DCC recommended to Lt General Badenhorst that Barnard should be issued with a pistol. He said that "the options open in request of issuing a firearm are:

- (i) Issue of a SADF weapon;
- (ii) Issue of a front company weapon.

It is recommended that a firearm be issued to this chief agent as his situation in respect of the past and present is totally understood."

Lt General Badenhorst refused to approve the issue of a firearm to Barnard.

(f) On June 20 1991, Barnard submitted to Military Intelligence a suggested plan for the task force he was to lead. The following points emerge from his report.

- (i) It was to specialise solely on the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe ("MK");
- (ii) In particular it was to concentrate on the involvement of MK in crime and its relationship with criminal syndicates.

For that purpose MK members were to be used to infiltrate the criminal elements and where such members could not be recruited they would be criminally compromised. For that purpose use would be made, inter alia of prostitutes, homosexuals, shebeen owners and drug dealers;

(iii) As an example of the manner in which members of MK would be compromised criminally or among their own members reference is

made by Barnard to the case Mr Peter Mokaba.

(During May 1991 Mr Mokaba was widely reputed in the Press as having been a police spy. That was denied by him and soon thereafter he was elected as president of the ANC Youth League).

(iv) Barnard's team had the ability to obtain access to:

- The computer system of the SAP criminal bureau;
- Contacts at immigration control;
- Contacts at licensing authorities;
- Revenue office computers;
- The voters' roll;
- Credit bureaus, and
- An independent group of telephone "bugging experts".

(v) Barnard's plan detailing inter alia the abovementioned information was submitted to senior members of Military Intelligence and thereafter he was employed as a chief agent.

(g) One of the persons used by Barnard or one of his sub-agents was involved in the installation of computers at the ANC headquarters.

(h) Barnard's plan and followed-up reports were submitted to senior members of Military Intelligence. In a report dated August 23 1991 reference is made to a "support agent network" of "prostitutes, homosexuals, night club managers and criminal elements".

(i) On December 19 1991 an article appeared in Beeld in which it was reported that a Mr Christopher Human had appeared in court on a charge of being in unlawful possession of an Uzi machinegun. In a bail application Mr Human is reported to have alleged that the weapon has been left with him by Barnard who tried to recruit him and an escort agency woman as spies for Military Intelligence.

(j) According to the Beeld article a spokesman for the Army denied that Barnard was employed by the Army. That denial was false.

Five files y tricks

(274) ~~274~~

ARG 17/10/92



Ferdi Barnard

(k) On December 19 1991 the Beeld article was drawn to the attention of DCC and "he instructed that (Barnard) be placed 'on ice' immediately".

On December 30 1991 DCC instructed that Barnard's services be terminated with immediate effect "upon instructions from the Minister".

(l) Barnard's services were terminated with effect from December 31 1991. He was paid three months salary in advance (R10 500) — in respect of January, February and March 1992.

(m) A report by the "handler" of Barnard reported as follows on January 9 1992:

"This source was 'sacked' on December 31 91 on instructions of the Minister of Defence. Contact is still being made in order to achieve the following:

(i) Finalize all financial matters source is handling including receipts for an o/s advance of R5 483,95 for medical expenses.

(ii) To stabilise source in order to dissuade from acting irrationally and embarrassing SADF."

(n) In a further report dated January 21 1992, the same "handler" stated that Barnard's "attitude towards SADF still sour but his relationship with (the handler) is strong enough for (Barnard) to stay on track and not to go to a newspaper and cause trouble.

(Handler) attempting to provide (Barnard) "with genuine investigation private work."

(o) References are contained in the files stating that the ANC is involved in criminal conduct including counterfeiting money and illegal importation of weapons.

8 In short, the Barnard files indicate that:

(a) Highly placed members of Military Intelligence were party to the employment of a person with a serious criminal record involving crimes of violence and dishonesty.

(b) The SADF made a public statement denying that Barnard was employed by it when it was known in high quarters that such denial was quite untrue.

(c) At least one senior officer of Military Intelligence was prepared to recommend the illegal arming of Barnard with an SADF weapon. He was able, without any apparent adverse consequence, to himself to make such recommendation to Lt General Badenhorst.

9 In the operational centre in question there are 48 members who operate credit cards. The expenditure by way of the cards involves hundreds of thousands of rands. One of the 48 members, until his recent dismissal, was Mr L W J Flores, who was detained by the British Police on suspicion that he was involved in a plot to murder former policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee.

10 The commission believes that no decent member of the security forces would support or approve of such conduct or behaviour by any branch of those forces. It can only be calculated to undermine their respect for the legitimacy and moral base of their own organisation and jeopardise the efficiency and resolve to fight against crime.

11 In recent weeks the head of the Army, Lt General Meiring has made public statements implicating MK in criminal conduct inter alia regarding the planned use of

"special operations teams" from the PWV area to sabotage government installations in certain homelands and townships. These and other statements have now been publicly supported by the Minister of Defence and General Kat Liebenberg, the head of the Defence Force. The public of South Africa is entitled to be informed by an independent source whether this type of allegation is true.

12 There are widespread perceptions supported by evidence that in Natal and elsewhere the IFP and ANC have ready access to automatic weapons.

13 The South African Police have been singularly unsuccessful in apprehending the culprits responsible for thousands of political murders over the past couple of years.

14 The IFP at marches in Johannesburg and Durban have openly flouted the law regarding the display of dangerous weapons at political meetings. No criminal prosecutions have been instituted against any of the organisers.

15 For months the Azanian People Liberation Army has claimed responsibility for the murder of many white and black members of the police.

16 The morale of the South African Police is being jeopardised daily by verbal and physical attacks on its members. Its capability to fight the frightening level of violence is being seriously eroded.

17 The commission has no doubt that political violence and intimidation in South Africa will not be effectively curbed until there has been a thorough investigation of all South African public and private security forces and armies whether inside or outside the borders of South Africa. For the commission to continue to multiply its inquiries would amount to an attempt to treat the symptoms and not the disease of violence in South Africa.

Objection! Objection!

Two Cabinet ministers take issue with some of the statements made by Mr Justice Goldstone when he disclosed the raid on a Military Intelligence unit and the seizure of five secret files. The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg reports.

Barnard: I'm a scapegoat . . .

Saga-Reuters reports from Johannesburg.

In a day of high drama after the Goldstone Commission's revelation of a secret SADF unit aimed at discrediting Umkhonto we Sizwe, Defence Minister Gene Louw declared himself in "serious dispute" with several of Mr Justice Goldstone's statements — and Mr Louw's predecessor Roelf Meyer said seized Military Intelligence documents falsely implicated him.

The Cabinet meets today to discuss the furor caused by the Goldstone raid on a secret Military Intelligence establishment, President De Klerk said on his return from London.

Mr De Klerk said he was "deeply concerned" by the Goldstone Commission's statement on Monday, which quoted documents saying that the SADF had last year hired convicted murderer and CCB agent Ferdi Barnard to run an anti-ANC task force — and that the then-Minister of Defence had ordered him to be fired.

Last night Mr Louw released a statement saying he "seriously disputed" several aspects of Mr Justice Goldstone's media release. It was incorrect to say that he and the chief of the SADF publicly supported all statements made by army head Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring, Mr Louw said, and a further explanatory statement would be sent to the judge.

Meanwhile Mr Meyer — now Constitutional Development Minister — said the MI reports claiming he had ordered Barnard's sacking, were untrue. He had been out of the country in December last year, when he was alleged to have given the instruction to terminate Barnard's SADF employment.

Mr Justice Goldstone said in a statement that if the reports were found not to be ac-



Mr Gene Louw . . . "In serious dispute".

curate, then Mr Meyer had been unfairly implicated in the matter by MI.

In a subsequent interview on the SABC's Agenda programme, Mr Meyer conceded that members of MI had "apparently" disobeyed his "clear instructions" that no clandestine operations were to be undertaken to discredit political opponents.

Strong action should be taken against these MI members, he said.

Another secret SADF project to discredit the ANC — Project Echoes — was launched during his term of office, but Mr Meyer said it was done without his knowledge and in contravention of his instructions.

Mr Justice Goldstone last night said Mr Meyer had informed him that documents which implied that the minister knew of the employment of Barnard were false.

"On the basis that the reports relied on were false, Minister Meyer has been unfairly implicated in this matter," Mr Justice Goldstone said.



Mr Roelf Meyer . . . "falsely implicated".

Mr Justice Goldstone said "it was assumed by the commission that the references in the MI files would not have falsely implicated the then-Minister of Defence.

"That the files were official files of MI was confirmed on oath by the present senior officer of the MI establishment and there is no other evidence known by the commission suggesting knowledge by the then-Minister of Defence with regard to the employment or dismissal of Mr Barnard."

Mr Meyer said last night in the television interview that he could get "no clear explanation" from MI yesterday about the false information on its files and the matter would have to be investigated further.

"The explanation that was given to me was that this was probably used to emphasise the importance of the termination of the services of Mr Barnard but falsely so," Mr Meyer said.

Mr Meyer said he knew nothing of Barnard's employment — but he had been informed yesterday that Barnard was used as a "source" and not full time.

As the scandal over the discovery of the secret anti-ANC unit entered its second day, there was still no clarity on whether Mr Justice Goldstone

would be given the powers he had asked for to investigate armies.

In his original statement the judge said that the future of the peace process depended on his being given the powers to properly investigate the security forces and other military formations within and outside South Africa.

It is expected that the request will be addressed in a statement after today's Cabinet meeting. In Pretoria yesterday Mr De Klerk said the government believed the Goldstone Commission had played an important role, and would therefore "give careful consideration to the initial information and proposals contained in the statement".

But indicating no quick decisions could be expected, Mr De Klerk said the revelations and proposals contained in the Goldstone statement "will require further inquiries and will form the basis of a report".

Mr Meyer indicated last night that the government would discuss with Mr Justice Goldstone exactly what kind of powers he envisaged and the Government was "in principle not against" the request.

Political observers said Mr De Klerk faced one of his greatest tests. The Goldstone raid, coming in the wake of a series of corruption and "dirty tricks" scandals, as well as the controversial raiding of the Indemnity Bill into law, had severely damaged his credibility. He now had to choose between angering the security forces by authorising a probe into their activities, or turning down the Goldstone Commission — a key element of the government's surviving credibility.

The African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the South African Council of Churches called on the Government to make way for a government of national unity.

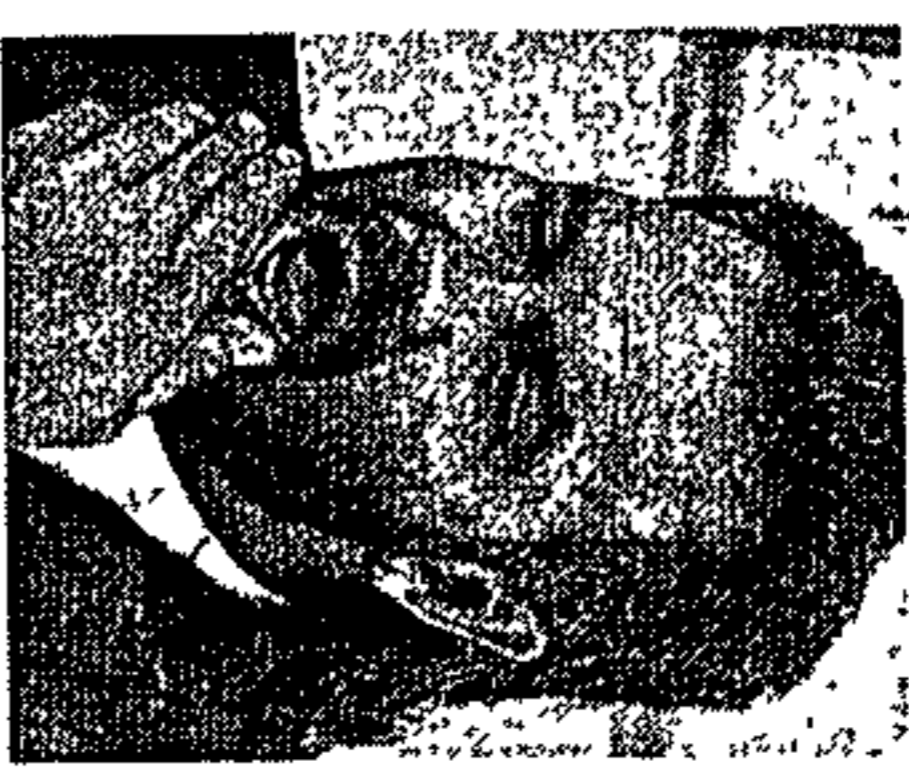
FERDI Barnard, a convicted murderer at the centre of a storm over Military Intelligence "dirty tricks" admits his life has been "rotten with violence".

But the burly former drug squad detective says he fears he is becoming a scapegoat for the crimes of former colleagues in state security services plagued by infighting.

Barnard, who complains business contacts think of him as "James Bond", has long been the focus of allegations of state-sponsored killings and harassment of anti-apartheid activists.

At a news conference yesterday Barnard said: "There are some forces at work here which might even be National Intelligence (Service)-oriented, that are using me as a scapegoat."

"They are giving this thing against me momentum, be-



Mr Ferdi Barnard . . . "In-fighting in the security forces".

cause the momentum just never stops, it's constantly in the Press."

Barnard painted a picture of a security establishment in turmoil as it sought to come

to terms with political reform.

Asked there was an increase in "back stabbing" between the security forces as revelations of wrongdoing by the police and army were exposed, he replied: "Yes, very much so. Everyone is covering themselves."

Barnard said the ANC was deeply infiltrated by the security forces. "From my experience I would say (the ANC was infiltrated) very much, all departments, including the intelligence department, and at a very high level."

A former CCB colleague, Calla Botha, told a Johannesburg radio station yesterday that people misunderstood Barnard.

"What I can say about Ferdi Barnard is that he is a very loyal, emotional and very sensitive person," Botha said.

Angry Schwarz: Our efforts undermined

HUGH ROBERTSON of The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington.



Mr Harry Schwarz . . . "outraged".

Reacting to the disclosures made by Mr Justice Goldstone, a State Department official said today that the commission's findings "indicate that the South African military conducted covert operations against the ANC at a time when the South African government was denying such

activities were occurring". The release of the findings, however, also served to "once more demonstrate the integrity and credibility of the Goldstone Commission."

Asked whether the US now accepted that a "third force" was at work in South Africa, the official said: "The Goldstone Commission has said that the findings do not provide conclusive evidence of a third force fomenting violence in South Africa. The evidence does show, however, that an effort to promote dirty tricks existed in the recent past."

"The disclosure of that information underlines the need for the South African government to assert full control over those within its own ranks who would seek to undermine the negotiating process, and to prosecute those involved in illegal activities."

Crisis meetings

'Dirty tricks' top of Cabinet agenda

CT 18/11/92

(714)

From page 1

Justice Goldstone's comment that police "have been singularly unsuccessful in apprehending the culprits responsible for thousands of political murders over the past couple of years".

"I wish to point out that such a statement could fuel the perception that the police are unwilling or incapable of solving such crimes."

"It also contradicts the judge's own view that the morale of the SAP is being jeopardised on a daily basis by verbal and physical attacks on its members."

Mr Justice Goldstone should "take note of the successes that the police have achieved in solving crimes of a political nature", the general said.

These included 1 241 arrests in connection with 251 cases in which 517 people were killed in political violence.

In addition, the general said, 1 704 AK-47 rifles and 2 802 revolvers and pistols had been seized since the beginning of 1991 and since July last year 16 691 cases of illegal possession of firearms were investigated which resulted in 13 146 prosecutions.

"If the possible consequence of the use of these weapons are considered, thousands of lives were probably saved."

Regarding the case of unlawful possession of an Uzi sub-machinegun referred to by Mr Justice Goldstone, General Van der Merwe said the case had been remanded on request of the defence to February 17, 1993 for the purpose of applying for indemnity.

Mr Justice Goldstone's inference that no action had been taken regarding the carrying of prohibited weapons by Inkatha Freedom Party supporters during recent marches in Durban and Johannesburg, was devoid of truth, he said.

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AN alleged "dirty tricks" campaign by elements of the SADF to discredit the ANC will top the agenda at a cabinet meeting today as the furor over the latest Goldstone Commission revelations continued to build last night.

The revelations came after members of the Goldstone Commission seized five top-secret MI files last week.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced on Monday that the files showed double murderer Ferdi Barnard had been employed by the SADF from May 1991 until the end of December 1991, apparently to run a dirty tricks campaign to discredit the ANC.

The files appeared to have implicated the government's chief negotiator and former defence minister Mr Roel Meyer.

But last night Mr Meyer denied any knowledge of Barnard's employment by the SADF.

He said he never knew anything about Barnard's position in the defence force until Monday's statement by the Goldstone Commission.

And in a statement last night, Judge Goldstone said he accepted Mr Meyer's statement. He said the commission had based its comments on information taken from the five seized Military Intelligence files.

The current Minister of Defence Mr Gene Louw said yesterday in Pieterstburg that the defence force was not a rogue organisation, and would bring criminal elements in its ranks to book.

President F W de Klerk flew back to South Africa yesterday from his visit to London to face the crisis and said he was "deeply concerned".

He said in a brief state-

ment that the government appointed the Goldstone Commission and will "carefully consider" the commission's initial information.

Mr De Klerk added that the cabinet would discuss this at its regular cabinet meeting today after which he would issue a further statement.

Last night Mr Meyer claimed his name had been falsely used in the MI files at a time when he was out of the country. Mr Meyer said that on inquiring why his name had been used "the explanation given to me was that this was probably used to emphasise the importance of the termination of the services of Barnard, but falsely so."

MI LINKED TO MOZ 'KILLER' IN NATAL
See PAGE 2

Judge Goldstone issued a statement in which he said Mr Meyer had informed him that the two reports found in the MI files reflecting that he had instructed that the services of Barnard be terminated were not true.

"It was assumed by the commission that the references in the MI files would not have falsely implicated the then-minister of defence."

That the files were official files of Military Intelligence was confirmed on oath by the present senior officer of the Military Intelligence establishment from which they were seized.

"There is no other evidence in the files or known by the commission implicating or suggesting knowledge by the then-minister of defence with regard to the employment or dismissal of Barnard."

"There is no suggestion in the files that he should have been consulted or informed of Barnard's employment."

"On the basis that the reports relied on were false Mr Meyer has been unfairly implicated in this matter."

"I would like to add that press reports to the effect that I drew inferences in consequence of the reported knowledge by the minister of the dismissal of Barnard are not correct. I made no comments at all in that regard."

Judge Goldstone said.

Meanwhile Mr Justice Goldstone has come under fire from police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, who yesterday claimed the police were prejudiced by the commission of inquiry.

General Van der Merwe's statement followed startling revelations by Mr Justice Goldstone on Monday that Military Intelligence was involved in a covert operation aimed at discrediting UMK-honto weSizwe.

"It is regretted the police were not given an opportunity to test the allegations made before the commission or to present evidence," the commissioner said.

"When untested allegations are presented in such a manner that (they are) perceived as facts, it contributes to a false perception that the police are unwilling or unable to perform its task," he said.

Mr Justice Goldstone indicated that a witness brought before the commission by the police had been the initial link in providing clues to Mr's involvement.

General Van der Merwe said the witness had been brought in "to prove that allegations made to the Vrye Weekblad of 30 October 1992 by Mr. Loao Alberto Cuna are false."

The SAP had wanted to refute Mr Cuna's claim that he had been paid by the police to, among other things, commit certain acts of violence. The general said claims that Barnard had gained access to the Criminal Bureau's computer system could not be established. Police had not been given an opportunity to do so, he said.

To page 2

ANC 'supports commission'

Political Staff

THE ANC has given its full support to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for his commission to be given the authority to investigate the functioning and operations of the SAP, uMkhonto weSizwe, Apla, the KwaZulu Police and certain security firms.

The government has said it is not opposed in principle to extending the commission's investi-

gative scope, but Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said it would need to discuss with the judge "how far and exactly what kind of powers and authority he would need".

Judge Goldstone made the call after releasing information seized from a Military Intelligence (MI) establishment which indicated that convicted killer and former CCB member Ferdi Barnard had been employed by

MI to discredit the ANC.

"The ANC will provide whatever assistance is necessary to enable the Goldstone Commission to carry out the above task," the ANC said in a statement last night.

However, the PAC yesterday expressed its opposition to the call, saying the only body capable of addressing the issues objectively was a transitional authority.

CT 19/11/92

274

Nixon set to receive millions

WASHINGTON. — Former president Mr Richard Nixon is set to receive millions of dollars in compensation after a federal court ruled that he should be paid for the seizure of his private records of Watergate.

Mr Nixon challenged a congress ruling impounding the documents and tapes, but lost.

He has continued to fight for compensation, which led to a ruling by the appeals court here that he should be reimbursed. — Telegraph

SADF admits using ex-Frelimo soldier

Political Staff

THE SADF admitted yesterday that it had "utilised" former Frelimo soldier Mr Jaao Alberto Cuna but only as a "casual source" for the collection of information on the smuggling of weapons and arms caches.

Mr Cuna claimed recently he had taken part in the shooting of a house full of residents near Durban in March or April this year.

He told Vrye Weekblad newspaper he had been employed by a policeman, but subsequent Goldstone Commission investigations have revealed

that his hotel accommodation during a night in Maritzburg was paid for using a credit card linked to the Military Intelligence (MI) establishment.

The SADF said in a statement yesterday that it had only utilised Mr Cuna in July and August last year.

"Mr Cuna's allegations are being investigated by the Goldstone Commission and the SADF therefore cannot comment on these allegations," it added. Asked if the Mr "Boy" Schultz who allegedly hired Mr Cuna was a MI member, an SADF spokesman said: "We know nothing about Mr Schultz."

'Secret files not being guarded'

Staff Reporter

THE remainder of the files that the Goldstone Commission left behind at the Military Intelligence building it raided last Wednesday are not being guarded, according to commission secretary Mr Glen Cuthbertson.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday declined to answer further questions about his startling report which implicated Military Intelligence in discrediting uMkhonto weSizwe (MK).

CT 19/11/92

'R16m needed for returnees'

JOHANNESBURG. — About R16 million is needed to help 4 000 exiles ready to return to South Africa, but the exile committee NCCR has no money.

Repatriations have already cost R54m, with 14 000 former exiles and political prisoners now battling with unemployment and a housing shortage.

The NCCR has accused the government of being uninterested in the repatriations. — Sapa

Farmers and govt agree

JOHANNESBURG. — Manpower Minister Mr Leon Wessels and the SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) have reached agreement on a process to legislate labour law for farm workers based on freedom of association and collective bargaining.

The agreement does not contradict Mr Wessels's earlier deal with Cosatu.

Protest march: Bhutto arrested

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan. — Police arrested ousted prime minister Ms Benazir Bhutto yesterday after she and supporters broke through police barricades to lead a banned anti-government protest.

About 200 police surrounded Ms Bhutto and took her into custody along with other political leaders who once opposed but now supported her bid to oust the government of Prime Minister Mr Nawaz Sharif. — Sapa-AP

From page 1

SADF had lied when it said Barnard had never been in its employ.

It was expected the cabinet would accede to Judge Goldstone's plea to give his commission more powers, authority and co-operation and resources to properly investigate all public and private security forces and armies inside and outside the country.

With international and domestic pressure mounting, the cabinet, a source said, wanted to find the best way of being seen to act while keeping political heads out of the fray.

Even within the government's ranks there was protest at the Goldstone Commission's findings.

Ambassador to Washington Mr Harry Schwarz said he was "furious and outraged". The disclosures, he said, had undermined all the embassy's hard work.

The United States administration has called for the prosecution of those involved in the exposed covert operations.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk and the cabinet face the National Party's parliamentary caucus in Cape Town this morning.

Mr De Klerk, reeling under sharp attacks on the government's handling of the economy, will have to convince the caucus he is taking decisive action on the MI row as well as on the corruption in the independent states which was uncovered last week by the Parsons, De Meyer and Van der Heever commissions.

● Hopes that obstacles are being cleared to make way for negotiations gained ground yesterday when the ANC's "cabinet" adopted a discussion document that opts for a five-stage process of change and possible power-sharing with the NP.

This means the ANC plan and the government's proposals are now very similar and reinforces speculation that multi-party talks could resume soon.

The ANC's proposals included the formation of transitional executive councils, as agreed at Codesa II, elections for a constituent assembly, the adoption of a new constitution and transformation of South Africa into a democracy.

Keep friendships alive with gifts from our exclusive selection



THE BERGKELDER OVERSEAS GIFT SERVICE

Now in its 18th year, this excellent service offers a variety of fine Bergkelder wines, noble Cape estate wines, sparkling wines and Amarula Cream, packed in various combinations. These gift parcels are available throughout the year. They can be ordered and paid for here and delivered to addresses in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, The Netherlands, The United Kingdom, Mauritius, Singapore, Taiwan and Zimbabwe.

For a full colour brochure and order form, please contact The Bergkelder Overseas Gift Service, P O Box 184, Stellenbosch 7599 or telephone (02231) 73480, ext 2506 or fax (02231) 98859.

The pleasure of gift-giving is year-round

BOG 001/E

ANC 'supports commission'

Political Staff

THE ANC has given its full support to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for his commission to be given the authority to investigate the functioning and operations of the SAP, uMkhonto weSizwe, Apla, the KwaZulu Police and certain security firms.

The government has said it is not opposed in principle to extending the commission's investi-

gative scope, but Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said it would need to discuss with the judge "how far and exactly what kind of powers and authority he would need".

Judge Goldstone made the call after releasing information seized from a Military Intelligence (MI) establishment which indicated that convicted killer and former CCB member Ferdi Barnard had been employed by

MI to discredit the ANC.

"The ANC will provide whatever assistance is necessary to enable the Goldstone Commission to carry out the above task," the ANC said in a statement last night.

However, the PAC yesterday expressed its opposition to the call, saying the only body capable of addressing the issues objectively was a transitional authority.

Nixon set to receive millions

WASHINGTON. — Former president Mr Richard Nixon is set to receive millions of dollars in compensation after a federal court ruled that he should be paid for the seizure of his private records of Watergate.

Mr Nixon challenged a congress ruling impounding the documents and tapes, but lost.

He has continued to fight for compensation, which led to a ruling by the appeals court here that he should be reimbursed. — Telegraph

SADF admits using ex-Frelimo soldier

Political Staff

THE SADF admitted yesterday that it had "utilised" former Frelimo soldier Mr Jaoa Alberto Cuna but only as a "casual source" for the collection of information on the smuggling of weapons and arms caches.

Mr Cuna claimed recently he had taken part in the shooting of a house full of residents near Durban in March or April this year.

He told Vrye Weekblad newspaper he had been employed by a policeman, but subsequent Goldstone Commission investigations have revealed

that his hotel accommodation during a night in Maritzburg was paid for using a credit card linked to the Military Intelligence (MI) establishment.

The SADF said in a statement yesterday that it had only utilised Mr Cuna in July and August last year.

"Mr Cuna's allegations are being investigated by the Goldstone Commission and the SADF therefore cannot comment on these allegations," it added. Asked if the Mr "Boy" Schultz who allegedly hired Mr Cuna was a MI member, an SADF spokesman said: "We know nothing about Mr Schultz."

'Secret files not being guarded'

Staff Reporter

THE remainder of the files that the Goldstone Commission left behind at the Military Intelligence building it raided last Wednesday are not being guarded, according to commission secretary Mr Glen Cuthbertson.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday declined to answer further questions about his startling report which implicated Military Intelligence in discrediting uMkhonto weSizwe (MK).

'R16m needed for returnees'

JOHANNESBURG. — About R16 million is needed to help 4 000 exiles ready to return to South Africa, but the exile committee NCCR has no money.

Repatriations have already cost R54m, with 14 000 former exiles and political prisoners now battling with unemployment and a housing shortage.

The NCCR has accused the government of being uninterested in the repatriations. — Sapa

Farmers and govt agree

JOHANNESBURG. — Manpower Minister Mr Leon Wessels and the SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) have reached agreement on a process to legislate labour law for farm workers based on freedom of association and collective bargaining.

The agreement does not contradict Mr Wessels's earlier deal with Cosatu.

Protest march: Bhutto arrested

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan. — Police arrested ousted prime minister Ms Benazir Bhutto yesterday after she and supporters broke through police barricades to lead a banned anti-government protest.

About 200 police surrounded Ms Bhutto and took her into custody, along with other political leaders who once opposed but now supported her bid to oust the government of Prime Minister Mr Nawaz Sharif. — Sapa-AP

From page 1

SADF had lied when it said Barnard had never been in its employ.

It was expected the cabinet would accede to Judge Goldstone's plea to give his commission more powers, authority and co-operation and resources to properly investigate all public and private security forces and armies inside and outside the country.

With international and domestic pressure mounting, the cabinet, a source said, wanted to find the best way of being seen to act while keeping political heads out of the fray.

Even within the government's ranks there was protest at the Goldstone Commission's findings.

Ambassador to Washington Mr Harry Schwarz said he was "furious and outraged". The disclosures, he said, had undermined all the embassy's hard work.

The United States administration has called for the prosecution of those involved in the exposed covert operations.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk and the cabinet face the National Party's parliamentary caucus in Cape Town this morning.

Mr De Klerk, reeling under sharp attacks on the government's handling of the economy, will have to convince the caucus he is taking decisive action on the MI row as well as on the corruption in the independent states which was uncovered last week by the Parsons, De Meyer and Van der Heever commissions.

● Hopes that obstacles are being cleared to make way for negotiations gained ground yesterday when the ANC's "cabinet" adopted a discussion document that opts for a five-stage process of change and possible power-sharing with the NP.

This means the ANC plan and the government's proposals are now very similar and reinforces speculation that multi-party talks could resume soon.

The ANC's proposals included the formation of transitional executive councils, as agreed at Codesa II, elections for a constituent assembly, the adoption of a new constitution and transformation of South Africa into a democracy.

Keep friendships alive with gifts from our exclusive selection



THE BERGKELDER OVERSEAS GIFT SERVICE

Now in its 18th year, this excellent service offers a variety of fine Bergkelder wines, noble Cape estate wines, sparkling wines and Amarula Cream, packed in various combinations. These gift parcels are available throughout the year. They can be ordered and paid for here and delivered to addresses in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, The Netherlands, The United Kingdom, Mauritius, Singapore, Taiwan and Zimbabwe.

For a full colour brochure and order form, please contact The Bergkelder Overseas Gift Service, P O Box 184, Stellenbosch 7599 or telephone (02231) 73480, ext 2506 or fax (02231) 98859.

The pleasure of gift-giving is year-round

BOG 001/E

President to meet Goldstone urgently

ANC 19/11/92
The full text of the statement made by President De Klerk yesterday in reaction to disclosures made by Mr Justice Goldstone after the raid on a Military Intelligence operations centre.

THE Cabinet today gave thorough consideration to the statement which was released on Monday, November 16 1992 by Mr Justice Goldstone.

There can be no doubt about the urgency of addressing, once and for all, the plethora of insinuations, allegations and accusations which are currently being levelled against the security forces. The climate of suspicion and recrimination which has been created by these allegations, by continuous propaganda and by the manner in which these matters have been dealt with by certain sections of the media, threatens the credibility of the security forces and complicates the peace-keeping role which they must play in the maintenance of order and of public safety.

It is important to note that Mr Justice Goldstone's remarks were issued in the form of a Press statement and did not constitute an official report. Accordingly, many of the aspects contained in the statement have thus far not been tested within the framework of the normal procedures applied by a judicial commission.

The government will await the commission's official report, which, it is hoped, will provide it with a fully evaluated basis for further consideration and action.

In the meantime the government has decided on the following action:

I have requested a meeting with Mr Justice Goldstone as soon as possible to discuss with him:

- His request for further resources;
- The scope of his investigation; and
- The speedy completion of his present investigation to ensure that he will be able to submit his report expeditiously, with a view to appropriate consideration and action by the government as soon as possible.

I have, after consultation with the Minister of Defence and the Chief of the South African Defence Force, also given instructions that Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, the Chief of Defence Force Staff, should assume immediate command of all intelligence functions of the SADF, including the Division of Military Intelligence and the intelligence branches of the four services.

I have given him instructions to provide me with a complete and comprehensive analysis of all of the SADF's intelligence activities, and in the light of this analysis and any recommendations which he may make, to report to me as soon as possible on the advisability of restructuring these functions.

I have given further instructions to Lieutenant-General Steyn that he should, in conjunction with Lieutenant-General Alwyn Conradie of the South African Police, secure immediate control over all of the documentation of the Directorate of Covert Collection and that they should as soon as possible carry out a comprehensive analysis of the documentation to ascertain whether any activities have taken place which might be in contravention of the law or of government policy.

This process will take place in support of, and in conjunction with, the investigation which is currently being carried out by the Goldstone Commission. The findings of these investigations, which are relevant to the activities of the Goldstone Commission, will be placed at the commission's disposal. Likewise, any findings which are relevant to the activities of other judicial inquiries will be made available to the relevant authorities or to the appropriate investigating bodies.

Peace meeting is on again despite hiccups

CF 20/11/92 (274)

THE National Peace Committee's crucial meeting next Tuesday is on again, in spite of last-minute hiccups.

Peace secretariat spokesman Mr Val Pauquet confirmed yesterday that the meeting would go ahead but declined to give details.

Committee chairman Mr John Hall has been engaged in intense shuttle diplomacy in recent weeks to ensure that the meeting is held.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki are expected to head their delegations. The government may be represented by Deputy Land Affairs Minister Mr Johan Scheepers.

Sensitivities are such that even the agenda is unlikely to be made public.

Unions join forces for peace

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party and three trade union organisations have decided to pool their resources to identify sources of conflict and work towards peace in support of the National Peace Accord.

In a statement issued after they met here yesterday, the IFP, the United Workers Union of SA, the United Metal Industrial and Allied Workers Union of SA and the United Co-operated Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA said they were appalled by the levels of violence. — Sapa

However, the stand-off between Inkatha and the ANC over the Natal violence is sure to be addressed.

The meeting will be crucial to efforts to arrange a meeting of National Peace Accord signatories, which could in turn give impetus to multi-party talks.

Goldstone to help in SADF probe

274

CT 20/11/92

Political Staff

THE probe by two generals into SADF intelligence activities will be conducted in co-operation with the Goldstone Commission, the government said yesterday.

Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward was addressing concerns raised by the ANC and the DP about the appointment by President F W de Klerk of Chief of Defence Force Staff Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn to recommend ways of restructuring the intelligence section of the SADF. The other general is Lieutenant-General Alwyn Conradie of the SAP.

It emerged at a news briefing yesterday that none of the heads of Military Intelligence departments have lost their jobs or been demoted as a result of Mr De Klerk's decisions.

The Directorate of Covert Collection would also continue operating, "but will now be under the direct command of General Steyn".

Mr Steward said seized DCC files could not be made public as they would compromise projects and "be a death sentence for some informants".

There would be "the closest co-operation" between the two generals and the Goldstone Commission, he said.

Goldstone to probe private armies

By CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night agreed to the Goldstone Commission's proposed investigation into "all other bodies and organisations alleged to be involved in violence".

This follows a request by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for the power to probe the role of the SADF, the SAP, uMkhonto weSizwe, Apla, the KwaZulu Police and certain security firms in violence.

United Nations Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali has also called for the investigation.

A brief statement from government spokesman Mr Dave Steward last night after an hour-long meeting between Mr De Klerk and Judge Goldstone said the SAP would make "sufficient personnel" available "to assist the commission without delay" with the investigation.

Any probe of the KwaZulu Police is bound to be strenuously resisted by the KwaZulu government, which has dismissed allegations that it has played a role in violence.

The PAC has also rejected any investigation into the activities of its military wing, Apla.

The ANC has, however, welcomed such a probe.

'Reservations'

It was also decided that Judge Goldstone would hold talks "as soon as possible" with SADF Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn "to discuss the co-ordination of their activities with regard to the investigation of aspects of the activities of the Directorate of Covert Collection".

This should go some way towards addressing reservations of some organisations about a probe into an SADF unit by an SADF general.

The statement said it was also agreed that "every effort will be made from all sides to expedite an official report on the matters dealt with in Mr Justice Goldstone's statement (on the hiring of convicted killer Ferdi Barnard by military intelligence for an operation designed to discredit the ANC) of November 16".

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in a speech in the Eastern Cape township of Joza yesterday that he hoped General Steyn would "behave as a man of integrity" and expose an alleged army dirty tricks campaign against the ANC, Sapa-Reuter reports.

'S
UM
ENT



Vessels of
Queen Eliza
er the cere

...tion

Most observed stayaway by choice

214
2111192

Political Staff
BLACK men and women in South Africa's metropolitan areas took part in the August stayaway by choice, an opinion survey has found.

One in five of the men and women who responded said they had not stayed away from work at all, and more respondents in the upper in-

come group went to work than those less well off.

More than half of the men and one in three women claimed they had stayed away from work because they wanted to be part of the mass action campaign.

This was particularly the case in the Eastern Cape, more so than in the

PWV and Durban regions, the Omnicheck division of Research Surveys said yesterday after it had released the results of the poll.

The number of respondents who said they had stayed away due to intimidation was minimal (2% of men and 4% of women), but 14% of men and 18% of women said they had been

afraid to go work, although they had not actually been threatened.

"A further 6% to 7% also confessed that the stayaway had given them an excuse to take some time off," said Ms Binky Kellas, a director of Research Surveys.

She said 324 men and 439 women replied to the question about their attitude to the stayaway.

UN mission blames violence on economy

274 et 21/11/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The worsening economy and high unemployment were adding to heightened tensions and rising levels of violence in South Africa, particularly in unrest areas, according to the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa).

In a summary released yesterday of the mission's activities for the period November 1 to 13, Unomsa chief Ms Angela King said this was apparent in many townships, squatter settlements, and hostels visited.

Community infrastructure had vir-

tually collapsed, while extreme overcrowding and lack of safe water and sanitation were characteristic of the areas.

"To address these conditions, the National Peace Committee has established, in a few areas, socio-economic reconstruction and development sub-committees, to work with established agencies to launch reconstruction and development programmes," she said.

She also proposed the creation of a joint European Community/Unomsa task force on socio-economic reconstruction and development. — Sapa

Youths head for course in United States (274)

By Mluleki Gantsho

FIFTEEN South African youths have been invited to the United States to attend a two-month course on conflict resolution, community organising and non-violent change.

The youths are participants in Leadership South, a multi-disciplined life skills programme.

They have been invited by Dr Dudley Weeks, the international director of FutureLinks in the US, to take part in a training programme from December 15 to February 15.

"We need to raise R120 000 to send the youth," said Leadership South founder, Mr Graham Phippen.

"We will try to raise money in the US and in South Africa."

Team leader Mr Eldred de Klerk is already in America and assisting with fundraising, said Phippen.

One of the youths, Mr Mzamo Masito of Khayelitsha, said he had attended FutureLinks conflict resolution workshops in Cape Town.

"I have already facilitated programmes using skills that I learnt," he said.

Security forces welcome SDU plan

A JOINT SA Police and SADF statement has welcomed the envisaged "code of conduct" for Self Defence Units in the townships. *CIPhen 22/11/92*

"This may even prevent SDU and MK members shooting members of their own ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, thinking that they're policemen," the statement said.

The statement said the perpetrators of violence, unlike the se-

curity forces, are "AK-47 wielding, uncontrollable, undisciplined, protection-money-taking groups launching their cowardly attacks from behind women and children".

(274)
The statement said the ANC had, however, conveniently failed to address the issue of the 194 policemen killed this year.

It said the ANC had failed to address the issues of:

■ MK/ANC members arrested

in the Vaal for illegally being in possession of SAP and military uniforms, firearms, explosives and ammunition of Russian origin;

■ The ANC hindering police attempts to investigate and secure scenes of unrest-related murders and crimes; and

■ The recent acknowledgement by the ANC and Chris Hani that they cannot control elements within the SDUs.

...yesterday... Pictures: BE

Goldstone fears publicity

CT 24/11/92
274

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday he had become "terrified" of speaking out in public because of the extensive publicity being accorded his commission of inquiry into violence.

This followed weekend confusion over conflicting news reports concerning the outcome of his talks with President F W de Klerk on Friday to discuss his commission's powers.

Mr Justice Goldstone met French deputy Foreign Minister Mr Georges Kiejman at Bloemfontein airport yesterday, but neither would comment on their discussion.

Mr Justice Goldstone said he was "just terrified" about saying anything

without careful and deep consideration.

His caution comes in the wake of his dramatic disclosures last Monday of a Military Intelligence plot to discredit the ANC and the involvement of convicted murderer and former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard.

Following the ensuing outcry and calls for strong action to be taken, Mr De Klerk and the cabinet issued veiled criticism of Mr Justice Goldstone's method of disclosing damaging information.

Mr Justice Goldstone informed the President's office he was about to make the Barnard disclosures.

● Goldstone to probe witness' lies —

Page 2

A Major identity crisis?

Minister may testify on CCB

274
CT 24/11/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The attorney-general is considering a request to subpoena former defence minister General Magnus Malan to testify at the Dr David Webster inquest.

This follows evidence by ex-CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster, who claimed he thought he told General Malan that CCB agent Ferdi Barnard confessed to killing the Wits University anthropologist on May 1, 1989.

This is the first time General Malan's name has been mentioned in the proceedings.

During earlier testimony Barnard's handler, Mr Lafras Luitingh, told the court that Barnard claimed he had shot Dr Webster to convince his superiors he had a role to play in the CCB.

Colonel Verster — who gave in-camera evidence on Friday — told the court that Mr Luitingh had told him of the confession shortly before he met General Malan.

According to the transcripts of his evidence, Colonel Verster said he thought he had told General Malan: "We think it was Barnard (who shot Dr Webster)

Call to subpoena Malan

because he has said so. But this is hearsay, I have no facts on which to base it."

He later told the inquest that Dr Webster's murder had been only one point on an agenda for a meeting with General Malan in July 1990.

Dr Webster's murder was a secondary concern during the meeting, but it was one of the factors which influenced the future of the CCB.

The meeting was mostly concerned with the CCB agents, who, it seemed to Colonel Verster, were being left in the lurch by the government after the Harms Commission.

Colonel Verster said Dr Webster's death emerged as a detail which influenced this discussion.

Minutes after he said he had told the defence minister of Bar-

nard's confession, he said he could not remember what specific information he had disclosed.

General Malan has previously denied that Colonel Verster informed him of Barnard's confession.

The David Webster Trust has written a letter to the attorney-general requesting that General Malan be subpoenaed to testify.

During the Harms Commission into alleged police death squads in 1990, lawyers acting for the trust also argued General Malan should be called to testify. However, he was not called to give evidence.

Meanwhile, a complaint against a Sunday Times report of Colonel Verster's evidence and General Malan's reaction has been referred to the attorney-general.

Mr JJ Wessels, appearing for Colonel Verster, complained yesterday the Sunday Times story was substantially inaccurate and led to General Malan's comment which contradicted Colonel Verster's evidence.

This contravened the Inquest Act, which prohibited the publication of any information which could prejudice, influence or anticipate the finding of an inquest. The hearing continues. — Sapa

Tussle over who are the authentic Zulus

Sowetan 24/11/92

274

A TUSSELE is developing within the Zulu nation between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party over who can claim to be authentic Zulus.

This has emerged from speeches and resolutions at the ANC's Southern Natal regional conference at the weekend.

The ANC challenge to the IFP and its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over who can speak for the Zulus is similar to the battle within the Afrikaans community over who can claim to be the real Afrikaners.

The inscription on leather briefcases handed out at the regional conference was: "The demon of tribalism must be buried" - the words of a past ANC leader Dr Pixley Ka Isiah Seme.

Mr Jeff Radebe, ANC chairman of the region, said in his address that Buthelezi had claimed "a distorted political status for himself personally and for the IFP generally in our region".

"He claims, for example, that his current position as Chief Minister in an apartheid creation is simply a continu-

■ ANC challenges the IFP and its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi:

ation of his family history. This is a distortion of the past and he reacts emotionally whenever it is raised precisely because he knows that he is wrong."

Radebe said Buthelezi had tried to use ethnicity to turn people against the ANC in Natal.

"Particularly, he continues to abuse the position of the king, dragging him into party politics in a manner which does not befit his station as monarch," Radebe said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the conference had to find ways to expose the fallacy put forward by the IFP and Buthelezi in espousing a narrow Zulu chauvinism.

On violence he said: "While referred to as black-on-black violence, Zulu-Xhosa ethnic conflict, or a power struggle between the IFP and the ANC, the reality is that it is an orchestrated, deliberate policy of Pretoria, using the army, the police and surrogate forces."

Goldstone to probe witness' lies

JOHANNESBURG.—A deserter from the Mozambican army was instigated by "unknown persons" to make a false report about police involvement in political violence to the Vrye Weekblad, the Goldstone Commission said yesterday.

The commission has established a one-person committee of inquiry into the allegations made by Mr Joao Cuna, who has informed counsel for the commission that

he gave false information to the newspaper, commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said.

The newspaper published a report on October 30 quoting Mr Cuna as saying he had been approached by a policeman to attack ANC activists in Durban.

But Mr Cuna told the commission that he had been instigated by "certain persons" to make the false report which led to the Vrye Weekblad article.

The one-man inquiry under senior Johannesburg advocate Mr R M Wise will begin its investigation on November 26.

Mr Wise said both the newspaper and the police had requested the probe.

Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez said yesterday: "If he was fabricating evidence, it is important to know whether one arm of the security forces set up another arm of the security forces." — Sapa

CT 24/11/92

21 killed in violent weekend of unrest

(274) CT 24/11/92

DURBAN. — Three people died in Umlazi near here yesterday, bringing the countrywide weekend unrest death toll to 21.

KwaZulu Police spokesman Colonel Moses Khanyile said four people were attacked in Umlazi's U Section early yesterday morning. Three died instantly.

Eight other deaths occurred in Kwa-Makutha, Umbumbulu, KwaMashu and the Sokhulu reserve near Mthubathuba at the weekend.

● On the East Rand, nine people, including a policeman, were killed at the weekend.

● In Nyanga, a gunman wearing a policeman's jacket was arrested after

he shot at an Internal Stability Unit policeman yesterday.

● The hacked and burnt body of a man was found in Bekkersdal on Sunday night.

● Police and soldiers on Sunday raided the Vosloorus home of the general secretary of Operation Masakhane for the Homeless, Mr Keith Montsitsi.

● Police have seized an arms cache hidden in a cave on the Eastern Transvaal farm Rosenaugh. The farm belongs to Mr P Kruger, who was charged in connection with bomb explosions last year in the region. A man has been arrested. — Sapa

Mandela spells out conditions for peace meeting

DURBAN — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday signalled a willingness to meet Mangosuthu Buthelezi face to face for talks on violence — but only if the latter met a set of demands.

But last night the KwaZulu chief minister accused Mandela of wasting time by lowering out these conditions while our people are dying on both sides.

The conditions were that the ANC be allowed free political activity in KwaZulu; that Buthelezi agree to "disarm his men"; that he agree to a ban on the carrying of additional weapons; and that he agree to fencing and securing of hostels.

Mandela, speaking after a meeting with Deputy French Foreign Minister Georges Kieftman, stressed that the ANC did not believe a meeting of the two leaders would resolve the violence problem. The ANC favoured a meeting of "political leaders across the spectrum".

Mandela, who is in Durban for the ANC's national executive committee meeting, said his organisation had done everything in its power to ensure that Buthelezi, but that the Inkatha leader had failed to attend important meetings with leaders. He was, nonetheless, prepared to meet Buthelezi if he would "comply with the conditions".

Buthelezi said in his statement that ANC members had killed Inkatha members in meetings in the area. "It is unbecoming of a leader of his stature to trot out falsehoods for the purposes of propaganda," he had never armed Inkatha members, while Mandela was the founder and com-

ANC to operate freely in "his areas" and that "the spectre of death in the cities is not one that Buthelezi did not allow the success of men carrying weapons in the success of negotiations".

Buthelezi said in his statement that ANC members had killed Inkatha members in meetings in the area. "It is unbecoming of a leader of his stature to trot out falsehoods for the purposes of propaganda," he had never armed Inkatha members, while Mandela was the founder and com-

which he said killed Inkatha members, who did not want to be fenced in today. He said he would meet Buthelezi in Umtata if it is possible and the ANC government also repeated his demand that ANC government meet next month's proposed first democratic elections. "If we don't resolve this then I think the date for SA's elections will be the date for SA's elections," he said.

Mandela said the meeting with government will be expected to be the date for SA's elections. "If we don't resolve this then I think the date for SA's elections will be the date for SA's elections," he said.

mander-in-chief of Umtata we Sizwe, Buthelezi said it was the hostel residents who did not want to be fenced in today. He said he would meet Buthelezi in Umtata if it is possible and the ANC government also repeated his demand that ANC government meet next month's proposed first democratic elections. "If we don't resolve this then I think the date for SA's elections will be the date for SA's elections," he said.

Government negotiators moving again and get before February. doubts that multiparty talks will resume

Government negotiators moving again and get before February. doubts that multiparty talks will resume

Political Staff (274)

mander-in-chief of Umtata we Sizwe, Buthelezi said it was the hostel residents who did not want to be fenced in today. He said he would meet Buthelezi in Umtata if it is possible and the ANC government also repeated his demand that ANC government meet next month's proposed first democratic elections. "If we don't resolve this then I think the date for SA's elections will be the date for SA's elections," he said.

Government negotiators moving again and get before February. doubts that multiparty talks will resume

Government negotiators moving again and get before February. doubts that multiparty talks will resume

NEWS ANC sets free political activity as pre-condition for a meeting with IFP

Buthelezi turns down

Mandela's conditions

By Themba Molefe

Political Reporter

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected preconditions by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela for a meeting between them.

Buthelezi yesterday said: "I am quite appalled at the preconditions that Dr Mandela has imposed on a possible meeting between himself and myself."

"Dr Mandela must now stop politicking around the issue. We need urgently to act together against violence."
The Inkatha president's reaction co-

incided with a meeting of the National Peace Committee last night. The NPC was to discuss a report by chairman Mr John Hall after his meetings with the two leaders.

Speaking in Durban on Monday, Mandela said the meeting could take place if Buthelezi allowed free political activity in KwaZulu and accepted aspects of the ANC-Government Record of Understanding.

Mandela also said Buthelezi agree to the banning of weapons in public and the fencing of certain hostels.

IFP leader says Mandela is politicking:

Buthelezi said Mandela's demand for political freedom in KwaZulu was spurious.

"There is freedom for any legitimate law-abiding party or organisation in KwaZulu. It is sheer propaganda that Dr Mandela is involved in this demand. Our members are killed almost daily in their own homes in KwaZulu by members of Umkhonto, which he refuses to disband."

Buthelezi said he would stick to his own preconditions.



2714

Peace talks progress

■ Peace Accord signatories agree on 'way forward'

Sowetan 25/11/92
SPONTANEOUS applause broke out "as a positive strategy for the way forward was agreed on" after a crucial National Peace Committee meeting in Johannesburg last night.

In a statement after the five-hour meeting, the committee said consensus on the way forward in the negotiation process was reached.

"As a positive strategy for the way forward was verbalised and agreed on spontaneous applause broke out in the auditorium," the statement said.

It was decided that NPC members would be given an opportunity to report back to their principals, the statement added.

The committee's chairman, Mr John Hall, is expected to address the media

today on the meeting's agenda, "and conclusions arrived at".

The meeting of the committee was to assess a report-back by Hall after weeks of shuttle diplomacy to revive the peace effort.

Alliance well represented

The meeting was also expected to map out strategies to call a meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord.

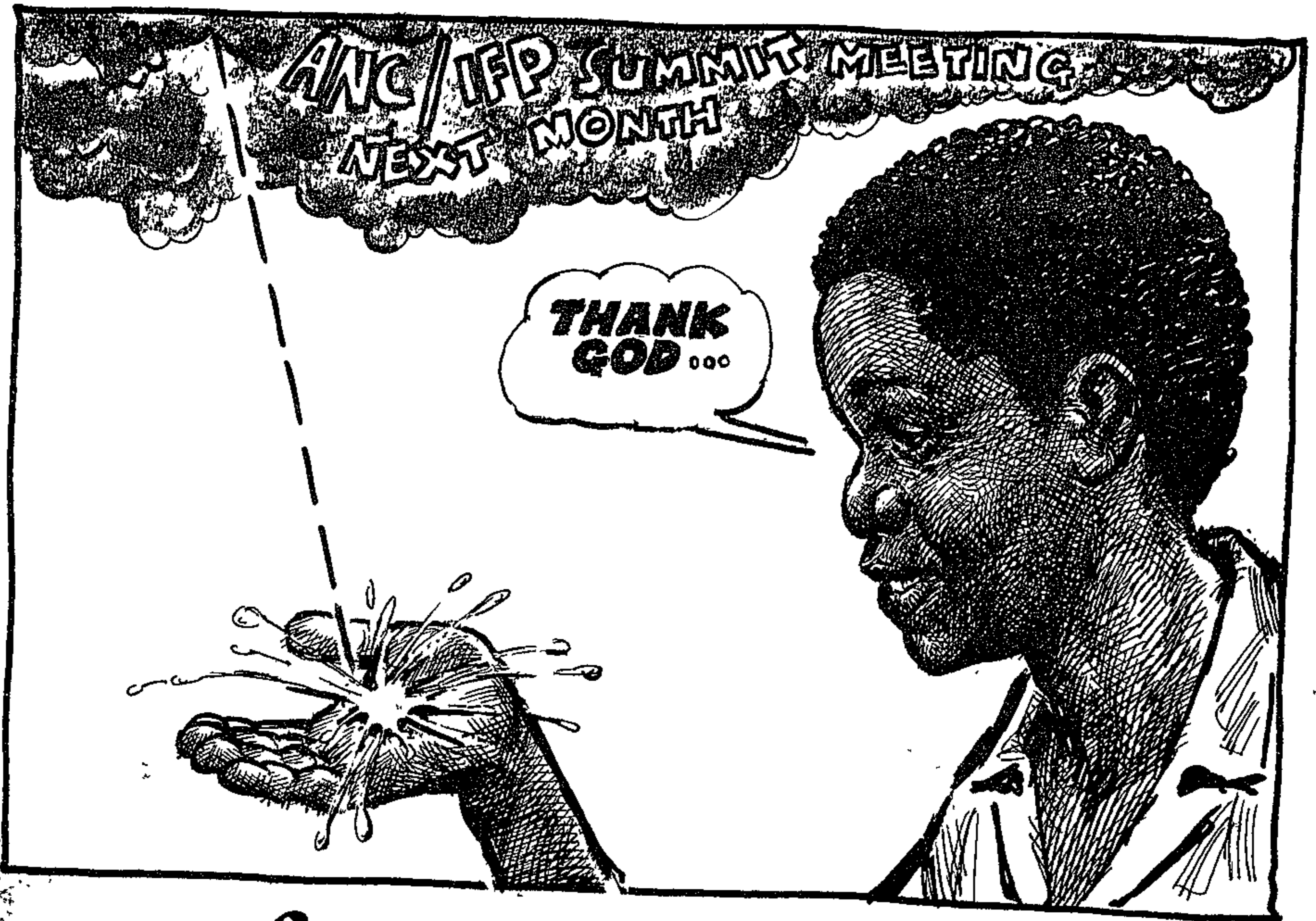
Although key senior officials of the ANC were absent, its alliance was well represented and so was the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose delegation was led by chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The ANC delegation was led by Mr Thabo Mbeki.

270 *274*



FOCUS *Plea for establishment of Joint Peacekeeping Unit*



focus on peace

OUR country is on fire. This fire is like one that has consumed an entire town and many people have already lost their lives in it.

The fire is so bad that to some it seems quite uncontrollable.

No single person or leader, however powerful, is able to order that the fire should stop.

The fire in our country is violence.

Like a real fire, no amount of arguing about the causes of it, or apportioning of blame, can put out the flames of violence and save people's lives.

The arguing and the blaming have gone on long enough and have had the opposite effect: more people have died.

No amount of anger or pride is going to stop the killing.

To continue in this pattern is irresponsible in the extreme - in fact it is criminal.

One thing alone can save South Africa: a commitment to collective responsibility and joint action for peace. This alone is what is needed to douse the flames and kill the smouldering embers.

We are possibly the only country of this size in the world with more than 10 different police or military forces, all operating under different command structures, each with different agendas.

This is a recipe for national suicide.

The idea of a Joint Peacekeeping Unit (JPU) has in the past been scoffed at as idealistic or impractical, but it may be the only fire fighting equipment that will work. The time has come to take the idea very seriously.

The root cause of the violence epidemic is fear and a deep-rooted insecurity felt by all the people. No army, however strong, can deal with this problem.

Each group feels secure only in the presence of its own police, military or para-military force, and what one group regards as its defender, is perceived by others as the cause of their dying. This is the underlying factor that has repeatedly neutralised attempts to end the violence.

Such a unit would be made up of a total of, say, 5 000 persons, drawn from the following police or military groups: SAP, SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Azanian People's Liberation Army, Zulu, Transkei, Ciskei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Gazankulu defence forces, and the police forces of KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, KaNgwane, Lebowa and QwaQwa.

Existing police or military forces need not be dismantled: no single group would presently feel secure enough to agree to this - but each could second police or troops to the Joint Peacekeeping Unit without feeling unduly threatened.

The unit would be under an agreed, experienced international command provided by either the United Nations or the Commonwealth,

Mmutlanyane Stanley Mogoba, deputy chairman of the National Peace Committee, believes the creation of a Joint Peacekeeping Unit (JPU) - composed of personnel from sources such as the SAP, SADF, MK, Apla, etc. -

would go a long way to curbing violence:

Sowetan 26/11/92.

274



forces have. A small group of 50 JPU members would be more effective than 500, or even 5 000 regular troops because it would include people in whom each of the various political and ethnic groups in our country can feel they can trust. For the first time, a security unit in this country would experience the co-operation of all the people.

While the setting up of the such a unit would be costly, it would be cheap at the price - much cheaper than the cost to South Africa's economy of the ongoing violence and the terrible loss of human life.

The National Peace Accord would at last have real authority, with the power to hold violence down while the other peace structures do their necessarily more time-consuming work of conflict resolution at national, regional and local levels.

At Bisho, National Peace Accord monitors, including chairman John Hall, Anton Gildenhuys and myself, together with UN monitors, had to dive for cover behind a Casspir when the Ciskei soldiers lost control and opened fire in all directions.

As I lay flat on my tummy while the bullets flew over our heads, the thought came to me over and over again that if only a Joint Peacekeeping Unit had been in position to act as buffer, this disaster may not have been happening.

There would be two other benefits from the establishment of such a unit and both are going to be needed sooner rather than later: if a Joint Peacekeeping Unit were successful, it would provide an invaluable model for the ultimate creation of one police force and one army for the new South African nation.

And, most important of all, a Joint Peacekeeping Unit would buy us the necessary time and stability for the constitutional talks, free and fair elections, and the interim government which alone can ensure a democratic future for our land.

With such a unit in place, South Africans of all races could finally look forward to seeing peace and harmony established in our beautiful country.

At this Christmas time, it is of utmost importance that we take this call for a Joint Peacekeeping Unit with the seriousness which it deserves

or both. It would be accountable to a specially created element in the National Peace Accord structures. It would have a clear identity: peacekeeping uniforms and flag, peacekeeping vehicles, helicopters, etc.

All personnel would undergo intensive training together in impartial peacekeeping, the art of negotiation and community relations as well as crowd control and use of minimum force.

Elements of the unit would be deployed in about 10 bases around South Africa with mobility to get to trouble spots at short notice.

By its composition, the Joint Peacekeeping Unit would provide checks and balances from within itself - it would deal with fear and suspicion better than the best security or intelligence system.

It would generate confidence and trust never before experienced in this land.

It would have an effectiveness and integrity which none of the present military or police

Woman disrupts Webster hearing

CT 26/11/92 (274) (294)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The evidence of former CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster, who is testifying in camera at the Webster inquest, was briefly interrupted twice yesterday by former women's rights campaigner Ms Adele van der Spuy.

She arrived at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday stating that she wanted to testify at the inquest.

She was twice escorted out of the court room where Colonel Verster is testifying behind closed doors in order to protect his identity.

Ms Van der Spuy, who said she was the ex-wife of a former judge, told lawyers and reporters outside the court room that there had been two attempts on her life.

She accused the CCB of being responsible and also claimed she could name the leaders of the "third force".

Witness box

She also claimed to represent South African taxpayers and the Bond Party, which she said had been registered as a political party in Pretoria last week.

Ms Van der Spuy left after speaking to lawyers representing various parties at the inquest.

Colonel Verster has been in the witness box for five days.

Cross-examination of the former CCB chief is expected to be concluded today.

He will be followed by former CCB co-ordinator Mr Lafras Luitingh, who is to be recalled for cross-examination by Mr P Coetzee, SC, who is representing the SADF.

Mr Luitingh earlier told the court former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had confessed to killing Dr Webster in 1989 to win another contract with the covert organisation.

The hearing continues.

Only 15% of SA Killings 'political'

274 OCT 26 11 42

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Gert Myburgh yesterday said research showed that only 15% of all murders committed in South Africa were politically motivated.

Speaking at the South African Association for Conflict Intervention annual conference at the

University of Port Elizabeth, Mr Myburgh said: "People easily associate our high murder rate with the political situation, while the main causes of conflict and violence are often overlooked."

The police were expected to be "some sort of supermen" who could cure the social ills of violence by "nursing the symptoms".

Mr Myburgh said the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC stemmed from ideological and cultural differences. He said it was "high time" leaders accepted responsibility for controlling their followers.

Another speaker at the conference yesterday, ANC national executive committee member Mr Popo Molefe, said to make the

National Peace Accord "work better", South Africa needed to move faster towards a transitional government and neutral control of the security forces.

Mr Molefe said one problem with the peace accord was state interference — the government declared unrest areas without consulting the National Peace Secretariat.

CP councillor attacks judge

THE Goldstone Commission was turning into a super-monster, Conservative Party President's Councillor, Dr Servaas Latsky, said yesterday.

In debate on the PC's urbanisation report, he said the commission's reckless release of untested allegations had affected the integrity and of the security forces. (274)

The way in which it had publicised so-called covert operations was unacceptable. — Sapa

Boost for faltering peace process

Inkatha and ANC agree to hold summit

B/DAY 26/11/92

~~11/11/92~~

274

NEGOTIATIONS and the stalled peace process were given a major boost yesterday when the ANC and Inkatha agreed to bilateral talks which would include leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The agreement was struck at a national peace committee executive meeting on Tuesday night and confirmed by its chairman John Hall at a media briefing yesterday. It still has to be approved by the parties' principals.

At a separate briefing yesterday, Mandela said the ANC's national executive committee had endorsed the decision for its representatives to meet Inkatha to prepare for the summit between the two leaders, who have been at loggerheads for the past few months.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday Buthelezi had accepted the decision and the issue would be discussed at the weekend central committee meeting.

A multiparty conference would be one of the main items on the agenda of the bilateral summit.

Hall said his understanding of the decision was that the stalemate between Inkatha and government had also been broken. He added that much of the groundwork for the summit had already been completed and final preparations should not take too long.

Mandela said the preparatory meeting, which may be held by next week, would address the conditions set by both sides. On Monday Mandela set four conditions for meeting Buthelezi, who rejected them and presented an agenda for discussion.

However, at yesterday's briefing it

BILLY PADDOCK

emerged that this agenda was not Buthelezi's but the one thrashed out by Hall with Mandela, President F W de Klerk and Buthelezi in shuttle diplomacy since July.

The agenda issues to be finalised are the role of the SAP and the armed forces, the KwaZulu Police and Umkhonto we Sizwe; freedom of political activity; negotiations and the peace process; the suspension of mass action; the record of understanding between Mandela and De Klerk; and an interim peace accord for Natal.

Mandela said no date had been set for the summit but it would be "as soon as possible".

The peace committee also decided to convene an urgent meeting of peace accord signatories to review the peace process and institute more effective mechanisms. Hall said he was confident this would take place this year. Such a meeting was not contingent on the Inkatha/ANC summit, he said.

Hall was pleased with the large turnout at Tuesday's peace committee meeting. He had used the opportunity to confront the executive with the "ghastly" statistics of violence and the stagnating economy.

"I said that none of us could envisage four years ago that we would have been living in a country that looks like this.

"On seeing the statistics and reviewing the situation we decided that it was not an SA that any of us wanted to live in and we had to do something drastic to change the course," he said.

The statistics showed that new invest-

□ To Page 2

Summit

ment as a percentage of GDP had been below 5% since 1984 and was currently forecast at below 3%. Employment was running at half of the economically active population. He said police figures showed that 7 000-9 000 people were killed in politically related violence since January 1990.

The ANC's NEC said it was concerned that killings continued in spite of peace accord efforts and the exposure of the involvement of state agencies in violence.

Sapa reports that Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku, wrapping up a two-day visit to SA, said yesterday he was "most encouraged" to hear of the

agreement on bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha, and he hoped all signatories to the peace accord would meet before Christmas, as a prelude to multiparty negotiations. He warned, however, that the momentum of constitutional talks appeared to be faltering.

□ Our political staff reports that NP peace committee member Chris Fisser, disclosed yesterday that an advertising campaign to promote peace would be launched on March 1. It would be "the biggest advertising campaign yet launched" in SA, with a budget understood to be about R60m.

STAR 26/11/92

230

Stats stun delegates

Alarming statistics, showing that up to 9 000 people have died in politically related violence in SA over the 34 months ending in October, were shown to delegates at the National Peace Committee (NPC) meeting on Tuesday night.

The statistics, shown against graphs reflecting a depressed economy, met a stony silence

from delegates representing the major political parties, according to an NPC source. (274)

The statistics, provided by the SA Police, showed that between 7 000 and 9 000 people had been murdered and 15 000 seriously assaulted in politically related violence between January 1990 and last month.

Scoring points in a game of death

THERE SHOULD have been excitement that the ANC has finally agreed to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party.

We should have enjoyed seeing our leaders tackling the violence with vigour, getting together despite their political differences to find solutions. Our spirits would have risen above the blood and gore around us.

We would have soared above the insanity surrounding us, for example what we saw at the Mlamlankunzi Station in Soweto this week when gunmen simply opened fire on train passengers and injured 36 of them.

Whatever the political motive for such killings, it is insanity. Sadly, that excitement isn't there. We've been left with only a watery taste in the mouth because of the charade played out before the two organisations got to the point of the announcement on Wednesday.

We have watched the incredible dance between the two organisations as they ignored the scores of people butchered every week.

Not quite ignored. Rather, every death was a chance to score points. First, there was the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi sulking because of what the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela said at the United Nations earlier this year.

Buthelezi said he would not sit in the same room as Mandela until he had apologised.



*Soweto
27/11/92
274*

Joe Thlooe's Perspective

The costs of resolving that problem have been enormous, including bringing in former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda to come and mediate.

The matter is still unresolved. When Buthelezi finally decided he should put aside his conditions, the ANC had its turn. It pulled out its own conditions before a summit between

Mandela and Buthelezi could take place.

It was an undignified dance we were watching.

The chairman of the National Peace Committee, Mr John Hall, has had his work cut out shutting between the two organisations to get them to see reason.

The bland taste in our mouths should however not drive us to despair.

The two leaders still have lots of work because the violence continues relentlessly.

They have to delineate a vision of peace for the nation, a vision that will make it unnecessary to spend R60 million on advertising to convince the nation that it needs peace.

It is a vision that should draw all same political persuasions behind it.

They should make it clear in the vision they paint that it is okay for people to differ politically but that turning to violence of any kind to force one's views on other people is intolerable.

They should also work out a programme of making that vision a reality. Of getting the ordinary man and woman in the street to embrace it as his or her own.

They should work out ways of rooting out elements in the community that do not subscribe to the vision.

They should agree on ways the perpetrators of violence can be swiftly brought to justice.

In earlier columns I suggested that once this common vision has been hammered out, the two leaders will have to traverse the country talking to the nation.

And then wherever they have passed, the work of reconciliation and reconstruction should start. It is going to be patient and sometimes frustrating work as the members of the local dispute resolution committees will attest.

It has to be done. The process must be credible. All must believe that it is fair and just and not merely board games where political points are scored. Mandela, Buthelezi and their organisations owe this to the nation.

Paste this letter onto your entry

E

HUNT for CASH: Friday November 27

QUESTION: What is the second name of the writer of the Perspective column published on Fridays? (7 letters in the answer)

Commit fired Sowetan 27/11/92 guns says PAC boss Makwetu

■ Call for greater UN involvement in curbing violence: (274) (136) (137)

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu yesterday welcomed the planned summit meeting on violence between African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but expressed regret it had not taken place sooner.

Makwetu referred to his statement to the United Nations' General Assembly on November 18, in which he said the PAC had reiterated its call for the exclusion or confinement, under international supervision, of mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and the former Rhodesia who were still in South Africa.

"Until and unless these mercenaries are expelled or confined, violence will continue unabated," he said.

Asked to amplify this statement, Makwetu said members of 32 and 31 battalions, Koevoet members, Renamo elements and former Rhodesian Selous Scouts were still in South Africa.

"These people must be expelled from the country or at least put under UN supervision," Makwetu said.

About the presence of UN observers in South Africa, Makwetu said he had told UN Secretary General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali that the UN observers should not merely observe violence and collect statistics, but be "pro-active in ending the violence".

"The most effective way the UN can contribute is to demand the immediate and verifiable expulsion of the mercenaries from our country or their confinement under international supervision."

On the PAC's proposed representative multilateral forum, to the exclusion of bilateral deals, he said this suggested body should have an independent, neutral, foreign chairperson.

The PAC negotiating team would meet a Government delegation on December 9 in Pretoria to discuss this more representative forum, Makwetu disclosed. - Sapa.



**CALLING ALL PAST ACHIEVERS:
YOU COULD WIN R500,00**
Contact Soraya at tel. 643-3241
Or write to her at PO Box 784480, Sandton 2146

R 8864

ANC stands by its conditions for talks

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC yesterday reiterated its position that a meeting between its president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi hinged on the resolution of problems around conditions the two had set for their meeting. *6/10/92*

Sapa reports that Mandela — who is on a brief tour of Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia to brief the Frontline leaders on the state of negotiations — said in Gaborone such a meeting would serve no purpose unless it was certain to “produce results in addressing the question of violence”.

Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos said the statement was “inopportune” when task groups had been formed to prepare for the meeting, but ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Mandela’s statement was consistent with the organisation’s position.

Unless the task groups dealt with the conditions satisfactorily, there would be no point in the two leaders meeting, Marcus said. Vos said that as far as Inkatha was concerned, the meeting was still on.

Buthelezi had rejected Mandela’s conditions for a meeting, which included a climate for free political activity in KwaZulu and a ban on carrying traditional weapons. Instead he insisted that specific items, such as negotiations, the peace process and the suspension of mass action, be on the agenda. The ANC described Buthelezi’s response as “belligerent”. *27/11/92*

● Comment: Page 14

Negotiations process and drive for peace converge

274
~~274~~
~~11/21/92~~

STAR 27/11/92

EVERY time innocent people have been killed in political violence on the Reef or in Natal, renewed calls have been made for IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet.

Until this week, these calls have amounted to nothing.

The reasons advanced by the IFP and ANC on why their leaders should or should not meet have been expanded or changed almost regularly after each massacre.

This has led a source to comment: "Nero is fiddling while Rome burns."

The planned Mandela-Buthelezi summit may or may not lead directly to a lessening of fighting between adherents, real or supposed, of the two major factions.

But increasingly such a meeting, or a multiparty meeting, is being seen by political commentators as the key to progress in the stop-start negotiations process.

Commentators point out that the negotiations process is now undeniably being linked to the peace process.

Previously the Government and ANC argued that it was impossible to proceed with negotiations if the level of violence remained unacceptably high.

Some observers argue that the violence could not be resolved until an interim government has been installed. On the other hand, because of the violence, negotiations for a transitional government cannot proceed.

It took persistent efforts by National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall to break the logjam. On Tuesday night the breakthrough came

It has been a long, hard road to the forthcoming summit meeting between the ANC and IFP leaders. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH looks at the history of the real and purported obstacles.



Chief Buthelezi . . . no Government "surrogate".



Mandela . . . meeting of two individuals can't end violence.

after ANC and IFP representatives to the NPC agreed that their leaders should meet.

Earlier this month NPC sources complained bitterly that the ANC, and in particular the IFP, were "shifting the goalposts" of their conditions for a meeting of all signatories. Until this week the meeting of all signatories could still not be nailed down, largely because Buthelezi insisted on meeting Mandela first.

An all-signatory meeting will bring Mandela and Buthelezi together with leaders of the main parties and organisations to find a joint strategy for solving the Natal violence.

Politicians are regarding such a meeting as the likely route to bring Buthelezi back into multiparty negotiations. He suspended talks with the Government after it reached a bilateral agreement with the ANC in the Record of Understanding

on September 26.

At the crux of the stalemate was Buthelezi's insistence to meet Mandela before a multiparty meeting, while Mandela did not want to meet Buthelezi before the signatories met.

The dispute about such a meeting began when Buthelezi formally objected to the NPC about Mandela's statement to the UN that the IFP was no more than a "surrogate" of the Government.

However, tensions began to simmer at the Codesa working group meetings where the IFP had problems accepting that sufficient consensus — the way agreements were reached at Codesa — meant in practice that the ANC and Government had to agree on a matter.

The tension between the IFP and some of the other negotiating parties finally bubbled to

the surface when the Government and ANC reached an agreement in the Record of Understanding.

This prompted Buthelezi to suspend talks with the Government and to form a lobby, the Conference of Concerned South Africans.

Reacting to the calls for a meeting of the two leaders, the ANC has repeatedly said such a meeting would have to succeed because two earlier meetings had produced no results.

At a Patriotic Front meeting in Port Elizabeth last month, Mandela said: "The position of the ANC, which has been endorsed by the PF, is that this violence cannot be ended or reduced by a simple meeting between two individuals. What is required is the collective wisdom of political leaders across the spectrum, who should come together to address the matter."

"I should also point out that I have gone out of my way over the last two years to sort out the question of violence with Chief Buthelezi, and there has been no progress."

In the latest volley of "I'll meet you, but . . .", Mandela said this week he was prepared to meet Buthelezi if he fulfilled four conditions, but Buthelezi rejected these preconditions, adding that he had only one: the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

Unexpectedly, the deadlock was broken this week, but ANC sources have warned that preparations for the meeting would take some time.

The value of the meeting will be more than a symbolic get-together of two leaders — it could be one of the first steps to get multiparty negotiations back on track. □

NEWS IN BRIEF

R60m drive for peace (274)

THE national peace secretariat hoped to conduct a R60m advertising campaign promoting the principles of the national peace accord, secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said yesterday.

It hoped to achieve the target through donations, including the provision of free television time and print space.

The first phase of the campaign would start in February or March if everything went according to plan, Gildenhuys said.

26/11/92 CAC/19

WO HYPOTHESES regarding the present conflict between Zulus in Natal (but which has spilled over into the Transvaal) suggest themselves. The first hypothesis describes the conflict mainly in terms of the wider struggle for power between white and black, and therefore subordinates the conflict's outcome to that of the wider struggle.

The second hypothesis sees the conflict as already manifesting the characteristics of an independent power struggle, the result of which no longer depends on the wider conflict's outcome. On the contrary, in terms of the second hypothesis, the present Zulu conflict has all the potential for an escalation of serious proportions that exceeds anything yet seen in SA and that, in its own right, makes a solution of the wider struggle impossible.

The conflict in Natal is a Zulu-on-Zulu conflict. On the one hand is Inkatha, representative of an old order of traditional values and culture. On the other is the ANC whose following, in the main, is a younger generation of militants impatient with, or disinterested in, tribal concessions, and who seek their place in a burgeoning industrial society.

Where national pride is an obsession with Inkatha, black liberation and a casting off of the yoke of colonial oppression (of which apartheid is but a particular manifestation) is an obsession with the ANC.

This is not to say that there are not among ANC supporters Zulus with a pride in their tribal heritage, nor Zulus in Inkatha who are increasingly unconcerned about these things and more preoccupied with the problems and attractions of modern urban life. But, in general, the differences described here are a true reflection of what separates them.

In the background of the Inkatha-ANC conflict is a society undergoing profound socio-political and economic change. Industrialisation has not only destroyed the structures of pastoral communities, but has made adjustment an imperative even for the

Natal peace talks provide last chance to avert civil war

BDM 27/11/92.

RONNIE BETHLEHEM

(274)

survival of European-based cultures. In February 1990 the wider white-black struggle for power changed. The opening of negotiations on the establishment of a new constitutional order formally brought the revolutionary struggle to an end.

The focus has shifted away from the violence of rebellion to other forms of violence, and in particular to violence of a black-on-black kind which has all the appearances of a struggle for ascendancy in the black camp. This would be concerned with which party is to control a democratic government once a new constitution is agreed and elections have been held. Seen in this light, the Inkatha-ANC conflict is important not because it is a conflict among Zulus but because if the Zulus and others can be split, the anti-ANC camp can be strengthened even to the point where the ANC could be denied an absolute majority.

However, another perspective equally applies. That is concerned with a sharing of power between the NP and the ANC even in a post-new constitution phase, because only these two parties are seen as being able to deliver white and blacks en masse to a political settlement. Inkatha can make no claims about delivering blacks other than Zulus en masse to such a settlement. It is when this shift has occurred in

the broader picture that the Inkatha-ANC conflict has itself shifted to become, more importantly, a struggle for who controls the Zulus. Given NP-ANC co-operation, Inkatha must become isolated and its cause must drive it towards secession unless it can be given a deal which secures it in its regional context.

At present, the level of conflict between Zulu and Zulu (Inkatha and ANC) in Natal, and also in the Transvaal, is low by international standards despite its high levels of brutality. It is a conflict in which the weapons range from knobkerries and pangas to AK-47s and hand grenades. But this is unlikely to continue to be the case if the conflict lingers on. Especially if NP-ANC resolve to work together to the exclusion of Inkatha were to strengthen Inkatha's anxiety can only deepen.

It would be surprising had the KwaZulu government not already begun to lay plans to deal with contingencies which would include their having to confront an enemy (be it MK or a future ANC-dominated government) with higher levels of retaliation and perhaps even offence. Certainly, it is in a position to do so. With

a significant budget (provided by the present central government) and a coastline which makes the clandestine importation of more sophisticated weapons possible, it can act in such a direction if it chooses.

The same must be true of the other side. An MK based in Transkei is in a position to plan ahead for higher levels of confrontation were these to be seen as serious possibilities.

What is disturbing is the direction the conflict has taken in recent months. Its patterns suggest the implementation of systematic strategies in the pursuit of clearly defined territorial and other objectives. Increasingly, the dimensions of the conflict exceed what can be effectively handled by such institutions as local dispute resolution committees or even the Goldstone commission. It is a conflict which is able only to respond to macro-initiatives at the level of central government and multiparty negotiations.

What gives credence to these observations is the alliance which Inkatha has already begun to fashion with other anti-ANC organisations — the CP, the Afrikaner Volksunie, the Afrikaner Freedom Foundation, and the Ciskei and Bophutatswana governments.

This conveys an impression of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" syndrome but nonetheless exhibits

strategic manoeuvring by the Inkatha leadership. White right-wing elements in the alliance — in a situation in which negotiations and effective government have broken down — would become an obvious source of supply of sophisticated arms were the conflict in Natal to escalate.

Lest all of this should sound too alarmist, it is worthwhile thinking about similar power struggles elsewhere in the world.

First, power struggles, by their nature, occur because no alternative other than a shootout is perceived to exist for the parties involved. They carry on until one side or the other is crushed or the perception is changed. However, that may only be after an accumulation of destruction becomes unbearable.

Second, even where the conflicting parties have appeared unable to afford the purchase of heavy weapons, their acquisition has been achieved on the basis of credit and through the network of the international arms trade. Note the rapidity with which supplies have infiltrated Bosnia-Herzegovina even though the Serbians have had control over the Yugoslavian armed forces and sanctions have been imposed on the country.

Third, power struggles happen either where there is a breakdown or the overthrow of a former controlling authority, and where survival for one of the parties has become the motivating issue. All these points have relevance to the Natal conflict

It is probably correct to say that an escalation of the Zulu war can still be checked. A brief gap of opportunity exists for statesmanship on all sides in the coming talks. However, if these fail to defuse the situation, the danger is real that an escalation will occur with repercussions for a widening of civil war.

Then, for a reason that until now has not been properly considered, the big prize of economic recovery facilitated by socio-political stabilisation and a return to growth in the global economy will have been lost.

□ Bethlehem is economics consultant of a leading mining finance house. The views expressed here are his own.

PAC demands expulsion of 'foreign mercenaries'

THE PAC yesterday demanded the expulsion under UN supervision of foreign mercenaries it said were fomenting township violence. But it suggested it would not allow independent scrutiny of its own armed wing, Apla, which has claimed responsibility for a string of killings of policemen. PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who recently returned from a visit to the UN and Norway, said he wanted the UN to press Pretoria to expel or confine mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, working in the SA security forces. "Until and unless these mercenaries are expelled or confined, violence will continue unabated." He said members of 32 and 31 Battalions, Kooeet members, Mozambican Renamo elements and former Rhodesian Selous Scouts were still in SA. He said Judge Richard Goldstone should investigate the actions of mercenaries "and not witch-hunt against those not responsible for the violence".

UNIQUE NEW WINE FROM HAMILTON RUSSELL VINEYARDS



A PAC spokesman said the organisation had not yet decided whether to allow the Goldstone commission to investigate Apla. "We don't know what Goldstone wants from Apla. Goldstone is studying a specific form of violence and Apla is engaged in a different form of struggle. The matter is still pending," he said. — Reuter.

Mlangeni inquest told of bungling

THE police investigation into the murder of attorney Bheki Mlangeni was fatally flawed from the start, a Rand Supreme Court inquest was told yesterday. Presiding Judge B O'Donovan reserved his findings. Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year when a Walkman cassette player with explosives in the headphones, intended for former police captain Dirk Coetzee, exploded when he attempted to listen to a tape recording.

All the parties represented at the inquest — the family of the deceased, the police, the SADF and the State — said in closing argument that on the totality of the evidence, no finding could be made as to who was responsible for killing Mlangeni. "It is submitted that had a proper investigation been conducted, the findings could have been dramatically different and public confidence and satisfaction could have been promoted," counsel for the Mlangeni family Gys Rautenbach argued. He called for an admonition of the SAP and the manner in which they conducted the whole investigation. Rautenbach said deficiencies in the investigation included the fact that it took police 15 months to apply their minds to the investigation of suspects. Herman Broodryk, for the State, submitted that no factual finding as to the com-

licity of members of the SAP could be made on the evidence at the inquest. He told the court that a great deal of time and money had been involved in the police investigation and that no expense had been deemed too costly. "If the SAP themselves were involved, they would hardly have gone to all this effort and expense," Broodryk said. Etienne du Toit, representing the SAP and individual policemen, agreed with Broodryk that "nothing whatsoever in facts or in allegations" before the court implicated any of his clients. Evidence about the SADF Military Intelligence project Echoes — the visit of Capt Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores to the UK to determine the extent of the activities between ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and the IRA — was irrelevant to the inquest, the court heard.

"To determine whether Flores had any hidden agenda or whether the police were involved in monitoring Dirk Coetzee after the death of Mlangeni would not bring the court any closer to fixing legal responsibility for the death," Du Toit argued. Anton Mostert SC, representing the SADF, argued that no room existed for linking Mlangeni's death with the SADF. "In the circumstances, the court is asked to exonerate the SADF," he said.

Mozambican denies affidavit on killings

PRETORIA — Mozambican army deserter Joao Cuna yesterday effectively denied he had participated in the killing of ANC members in a Durban township last year before abruptly cutting short his evidence before the Goldstone commission. Giving evidence before a one-man commission, Cuna substantially contradicted the contents of an affidavit which formed the basis for a recent report in Vrye Weekblad. In the affidavit, he claimed to have participated in the shooting of between seven and nine people with AK-47 rifles together with a black man and a white man. He told the inquiry that during the trip to Durban, he and men he said were policemen, had collected AK-47s from the home of a Portuguese speaker. Nothing else of significance had happened during the trip, he said. Cuna substantiated other elements of the affidavit, confirming the logistical details of the trip, including the places where the group had stayed and met. He confirmed that he had provided a Johannesburg lawyer with a statement, but claimed that it was not read back to him.

After giving evidence for about two hours, Cuna hung his head and did not respond to questions being asked by the lawyer for the commission. After granting an adjournment, commission chairman Rob Wise said he had been informed that Cuna was extremely afraid and had declined to provide further evidence as part of an open hearing. The chairman adjourned the hearing in order to ascertain by means of a personal interview whether Cuna's fears were justified. Wise said however undesirable it might be in principle, it could become necessary for Cuna to give evidence in the absence of the public and legal representatives if this was the only alternative.

ANC, IFP agree to preparatory meeting

Political Staff

A tough preparatory meeting between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party — aimed at thrashing out the organisations' preconditions for a summit between their leaders — is due to take place soon.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in Gaborone, Botswana, yesterday that a meeting with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would serve no purpose "unless it was certain to pro-

duce results in addressing the question of violence".

He said Chief Buthelezi had posed certain conditions for the meeting and "I have also put conditions".

Mandela's conditions were the creation of a climate for free political activity in Kwa-Zulu, that the ANC should be allowed to operate there, that IFP followers should be disarmed and Buthelezi should agree to the banning of weapons in public, and that hostels

should be fenced off and regular searches conducted "because hit squads operate from there".

Buthelezi has stated his pre-condition only as being that the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

An IFP spokesman said yesterday clarity of such items could only surface during the preparatory discussions.

The decision to hold a preparatory meeting resulted from a breakthrough between the two parties at a National Peace Committee meeting on Monday.

WAB 274

27/11/92

Goldstone gets 'the power'

(2714) REG 28/11/92

Weekend Argus Correspondent

THE Goldstone Commission has not sought and does not seek further legal powers, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced.

In a statement in Pretoria yesterday Mr Justice Goldstone said he had emphasised in his statement of November 16 that from its inception, the commission had enjoyed the widest legal powers to enable it to perform its mandate.

He said the commission had sought the active co-operation of all the relevant parties to enable it to investigate the activities of public and private armies and other agencies alleged to be involved in public violence and intimidation.

It also requested from the government the manpower and resources to enable it to carry out those investigations.

Mr Goldstone said at his meeting with President De Klerk on November 20 there was an agreement regarding the commission's request.

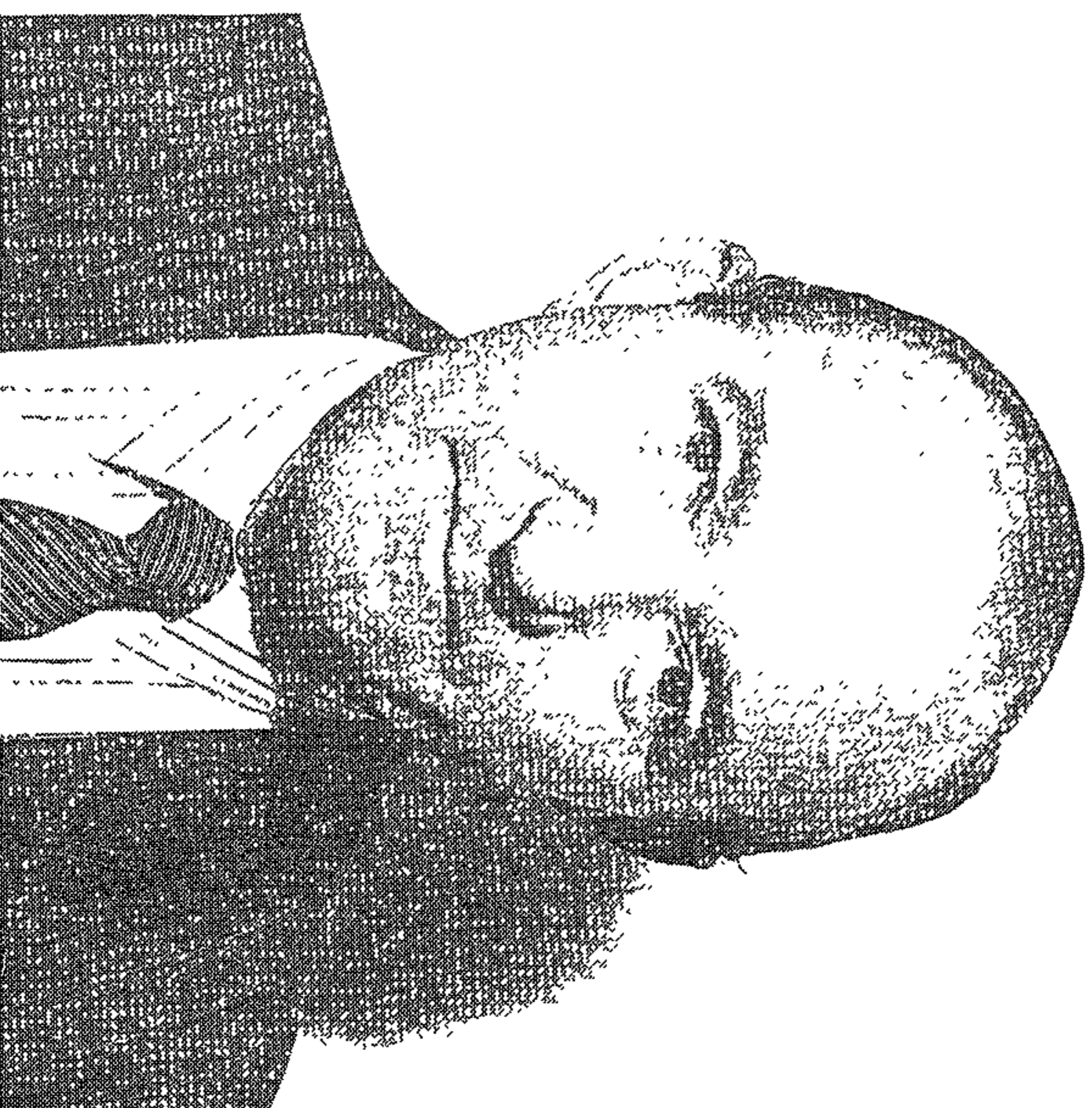
As Mr De Klerk said after the meeting, additional manpower and resources were being placed at the disposal of the commission and details were being discussed.

He quoted from a statement issued yesterday by himself and General Pierre Steyn, saying the government had agreed to give its full co-operation regarding the intelligence activities of the South African Defence Force as far as they were relevant to the commission's mandate.

He said the commission hoped other relevant non-governmental parties also would give the commission their active co-operation.

Mr Justice Goldstone also met senior cabinet ministers yesterday and won a pledge that the government would give the commission access to military information relevant to the probe on political violence.

He said after the meeting with Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, and SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg, that he had not been seeking wider



MORE MEN TO HELP: Mr Justice Richard Goldstone gets more manpower to enable him to get to the bottom of things.

powers for the commission, but manpower and other resources

"The government has agreed to its full co-operation with regard to the intelligence activities of the South African Defence Force as far as they are relevant to the commission's mandate," said a joint statement issued by the State President's Office.

In a related development, a member of the Goldstone Commission, advocate Mr J P Pretorius, has been appointed to work closely with General Steyn who has been appointed to investigate claims of a Military Intelligence "dirty-tricks" campaign

Hopes for an end to political violence soared this week with the announcement that the African National Congress and its rival Inkatha Freedom Party were headed for a meeting that would bring leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi face to face.

The prospect was hailed by political parties and other groupings. More than 2 000 people have been killed in violence this year and the National Peace Secretariat acknowledged on Thursday that violence had heightened since the Peace Accord was signed in September last year.

Police in the Eastern Transvaal seized two more arms caches including a massive 461 kg of plastic explosives, 102 detonators and fuses.

The find was unearthed on a tobacco farm in Schegen area near Nelspruit. This discovery led investigators to a house in the area where several firearms including an AK-47 rifle, one F4 rifle, a revolver, fuses and detonators were found.

Police said 10 publications on explosives were seized during the raid. They included one allegedly entitled: *Umkhonto we Sizwe - An Elementary Handbook Of Explosives*. Last week, police arrested a 39-year-old man after a large arms cache was found in a cave on a Nelspruit farm.

In Soweto, police raided the Dobsonville Hostel on Thursday night, seizing two AK-47 rifles, a revolver, two hand-grenades and several rounds of ammunition.

Police said they had arrested four people in the raid.

In Transkei, military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa held talks with business leaders from Herschel over violent attacks in the town which borders South Africa.

The government told the crisis meeting extra police had been sent to the area to beef up security. Troops had been patrolling the area since armed attacks on motorists last week in which at least two South Africans died.

Goldstone gets pledge on military documents

CT 28/11/92
JOHANNESBURG — Mr Justice Richard Goldstone met senior cabinet ministers yesterday and won a pledge to have access to military information relevant to violence probed.

The judge said after the meeting with the Ministers of Defence and Justice, Mr Gene Louw and Mr Kobie Coetsee, and South African Defence Force chief General Kat Liebenberg, he had sought manpower and other resources for the commission.

"The government has agreed to its full cooperation with regard to the intelligence activities of the SADF in so far as they are relevant to the commission's mandate," a joint statement issued by the president's office said.

A member of the Goldstone commission advocate Mr J.P. Pretorius has been appointed by the commission to work closely with the military officer appointed to investigate claims of a Military Intelligence "dirty tricks" campaign against uMkhonto we-Sizwe exposed by the commission.

● Hopes for an end to political violence soared this week with the announcement that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon.

● The Goldstone committee probing attacks on train commuters postponed its hearing yesterday amid conflicting reports on the Mamlamkunzi railway station attack.

Committee chairman Mr Gert Steyn adjourned the sitting until January 25. — Sapa

NEWS Political violence claims 29 lives in bloody weekend

Four whites gunned down at wine party

Sowetan 30/11/92

274

SA Press Association

■ ABSOLUTE CARNAGE Wine-tasting party

ends in tragedy as four are shot dead:

FOUR WHITES WERE among 29 people who were killed in political violence at the weekend.

In the first known attack of its kind, black gunmen sprayed whites at a wine-tasting party in King William's Town with automatic fire on Saturday night, killing four people and seriously injuring 17 others.

In Umlazi and KwaMashu, outside Durban, six people, including three members of one family, were killed in two separate attacks on Saturday night.

Two people have been arrested in connection with these incidents.

On the Reef, a black constable was shot dead at the Olifansfontein police station near Kempton Park yesterday.

In Tembisa eight people, including a mother of two, died in a hail of bullets after unknown gunmen opened fire on passengers at a taxi rank

near Oakmoor Station on Friday night.

On Saturday, six other people were killed in a hand-grenade blast during a stokvel party in a Sebokeng house.

The man who handled the grenade was said to have been playing with it, threatening to blow everyone.

Predominantly white guests

The King William's Town incident occurred at the Golf Club, where about 60 predominantly white guests were attending a wine-tasting party organised by the local wine-tasting club.

Police liaison officer Captain Nina Barkhuizen confirmed yesterday that two couples were killed and 17 people seriously injured.

She said the attack was the first of its kind

since violence swept black areas since 1990.

Barkhuizen said five men threw hand-grenades into the dining room and bar and started firing R4 or R5 automatic rifles before escaping in a vehicle.

National Party MP for King William's Town Mr Ray Radue, who attended the function with his wife, described the attack as "absolute carnage".

Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, said the police would do everything in their power to track down the killers.

Also in the Vaal Triangle, four members of a Vereeniging family were shot dead by unknown gunmen on a smallholding outside the town early yesterday morning.

CP to 'watch' Goldstone (274)

JOHANNESBURG. —
The Conservative Party
has decided to appoint a
committee of experts to
monitor "statements and
actions" by the Gold-
stone commission, the
CP said yesterday.

21 30111 (92)
"The CP executive
council is concerned
that our security forces
are being uniformly por-
trayed in a bad light and
the ANC as heroes."

The government's de-
cision to co-operate with
the Goldstone commis-
sion in monitoring the
security forces was a
"scandalous capitula-
tion". — Sapa

Goldstone's probe team announced

274

Political Staff

Aug 30/11/92

THE names have been announced of the members of the Goldstone Commission who will hear five days of evidence in Durban this week on the causes of political violence in Natal and Kwazulu.

They are: Mr Justice Goldstone, advocates Mr Neil Rossouw and Mr Solly Sithole, Miss Lilian Baqwa and Mr Gert Steyn.

Evidence will be led by advocate Mr J J du Toit. Sittings began at 11 am today.

All the major political parties and several unrest monitors are expected to make submissions to the commission.

The hearing takes place in the Durban City Hall. It is open to the public, but some evidence could be led in camera.

Mr Justice Goldstone will prepare a formal report on the evidence.

(274)
**Tambo joins
300 praying
for peace**

STAR
30/11/92
ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, his wife Adelaide and National Health Minister Dr Rina Venter were among the 300 people who prayed for peace at the World Trade Centre, east of Johannesburg, yesterday.

The National Prayer Day was organised by the Inter-Denominational Prayer Women's League in light of the "endless killings" in the country. An estimated 2 000 have died in violence this year. — Sapa.

ed on
Sauer St.

JLD
00!

BELOW TO

Flying into a fiery furnace

STAR 30/11/92.



(274)

YEARS ago, I was in the Pretoria office of a senior civil servant. He was a little man, and a huge South African flag towered over him. A few weeks before, the Human Sciences Research Council had published the results of a poll showing that the flag was no longer a unifying symbol in SA. Catching my curious stare, he hissed: "Dis my land en my vlag en wie aan my vlag raak, raak aan my" ("It's my country and my flag, and whoever touches my flag, touches me").

Recently, President de Klerk said much the same to Mr Justice Goldstone: "Whoever touches my security forces, touches me."

By ramming the Amnesty Bill through the President's Council, he has given the same message to the whole country. These are not the desperate feelings of a bewildered man. On the contrary, De Klerk remains what he has always been, a shrewd manipulator playing his cards with consummate skill.

What is he seeking to achieve? It is critically important that South Africans concerned with the unfolding political process, and what it means for our future, re-

flect on the following propositions.

● The Government's idea of a reasonable transition period towards full democracy is nearer to 10 or 15 years than one or two. Power is seductive, and the closer powerful men get to renouncing it, the more inventive they become in finding ways to delay elections.

● To stay in power, all this Government needs is an army and police force that are powerful and loyal. Many South Africans believe the Government's grip on power was weakened by dismantling apartheid and repealing measures such as the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act. It's not true. Franco, Pinochet and Papa Doc prove the opposite. To stay in power for decades, you don't need apartheid laws, all you need is an army loyal to you and the secret police.

● Meanwhile, hedging its bets, the Government is using all of its awesome powers to conduct a brilliant election campaign. It has set out to win 50 percent or more of the votes in the first universal franchise election, and, in alliance with its homeland and triameral allies, this is not impossible. Electioneering is perfectly democratic — until it uses crimi-

nality to achieve its ends.

● Corruption in SA and the homelands is more than a disease; it is an instrument of State power. Since the days of the Matanzima dynasty in Transkei, the Nationalist Government has shown a fine grasp of the uses of corruption to maintain its own power over its servants.

If your office in the government or civil service is making you much richer very quickly, you develop a passionate loyalty to those who keep you in power.

In any election, the Government can rely on this huge fifth estate of graft takers to deliver hundreds of thousands of votes to its centrist alliance. The corollary is that we poor taxpayers would be naive to expect this Government to take decisive action to expose and punish those who siphon off billions of rands of our money every year.

So far, so bad. But the most horrifying proposition is still to come: ● The wave of violent crime that has engulfed this country, including its once-peaceful white suburbs, delivers thousands of votes each and every day to the Government and its allies. The more insecure ordinary people feel, the more they long for

an all-powerful authority to restore order and give them back their personal security.

The only people in this country with the power and skills to restore order are the generals in the police force and army. But the generals and their political masters are the only people who stand to benefit from the continued violence in the PWV townships, on the trains, at the taxi ranks and in the white suburbs.

The Government has skilfully portrayed the township violence as "political", and therefore mysteriously beyond its power. In fact, the "political" killings are also a failure of ordinary policing and detective work. The killings continue because the killers get away with it time after time.

Think about it. Until 1990, a bare two years ago, we had one of the most awesome, effective police forces in the world. How far would a minibus full of men killing passersby with AK-47s have travelled before it was stopped? A hundred metres? Fifty?

How long would random train killings or warlord armies bristling with illegal weapons have been tolerated? A day? An hour?

Now the country is flooded with illegal weapons, and nothing happens.

Last week, a woman I know was frogmarched round her home by an intruder who made her soap her fingers so he could wrench off her wedding band. He was a kindly intruder. He did not rape her, throttle her or chop off her finger; he has not been arrested.

Ordinary blacks fear for their lives, and suffer poverty in the highest unemployment in this country's history — a direct product of the violence. So, every day, more and more black South Africans lose faith in the ANC and its leadership, the Government's main opponent in an election.

Every day, more and more middle class South Africans watch the guts being torn out of the economy and their own businesses, and long for a strong hand to restore order.

The Government is buying votes, and the fabric of our society is the coin with which they are being purchased.

□ □ □

THE Mont Fleur scenario ends in a blaze of optimism with the Flight of the Flamingos. My sce-

nario is blacker. It is the Flight of the Phoenix into the heart of the fiery furnace.

What is tearing this country and its economy apart is the breakdown of ordinary crime prevention and policing. The most dreadful things we read in our newspapers are about crime, and the stories get worse day by day.

We have a right to competent, concerned, accountable policing at the local level. The time has come to exercise community power, to work at local police station level throughout SA, with the tens of thousands of decent, dedicated policemen and women trying to do their best to fight crime.

Let strong local community groups, black and white and coloured, representative of churches, businesses, residents' associations or civics in a local police station area, link with the station captain and his force to discuss more effective policing and help them achieve it.

If we can do that, the Phoenix will fly again. □

● *Nell is a community psychologist working on violence prevention programmes in Johannesburg.*

Way smoothed for hostel fences

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leaders in the PWV region and the Transvaal Hostel Residents Association (THRA) yesterday signed an agreement allowing for the fencing of certain hostels.

The agreement followed a series of meetings between the two organisations that focused on violence, upgrading hostels, and integration of hostel residents with the community.

However, the IFP has vehemently protested against the decision, saying it should have been consulted as many hostel residents were supporters or members of the party. CT11/2/92

The THRA claims to be an independent organisation representing hostel residents, and insists that not all its members are members of the IFP.

The ANC and the THRA said agreement was reached on the need for a more accountable and inclusive process in the spending of R326m allocated to hostels by the government, and that an important role was envisaged for the National Housing Forum. — Sapa

~~274~~ 274

ANC, IFP talks crash

Sowetan 2/12/92
By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE preparatory meeting for the summit between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela collapsed on Monday because of an apparent misunderstanding.

The chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Mr Walter Felgate, Dr Ben Ngubane and Chief Simon Gumede arrived at the Royal Hotel early on Monday for the

Breakdown in communication led to misunderstanding:

meeting with the ANC that was to be led by Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Jacob Zuma.

The IFP thought the meeting had been arranged last week at a National Peace Committee meeting, while the ANC delegation did not arrive.

Mdlalose issued a diplomatic statement saying: "For a variety of reasons the ANC was unable to keep the appointment." He said that he had spoken

with Zuma over the telephone and that they had agreed that the meeting would take place on December 9.

The ANC said there was a breakdown in communication. "We were not aware of the meeting at all," spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said. "Nobody knew about it."

She insisted there was no sinister motive behind the ANC's action, and said "the last thing we would do" was fail to arrive at a meeting.

274

Apla's claim ^{STAR} 2/12/92 could be a hoax ⁽²⁷⁴⁾

Political Staff

A claim by an alleged senior Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) commander — that more King William's Town-style attacks are imminent — could be a hoax, it emerged yesterday.

Sapa reported that "a top Apla commander", Johnny Majozi, said in a telephone interview from Harare that the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress was responsible for the weekend attack in which four people were killed and 17 injured.

He told Sapa: "There will be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas."

He said he found it surprising that "so much noise and police activity" could come as a result of the death of "only" four white people.

PAC deputy chief representative in Harare, Clayton Sibiyi, could not confirm the reports. Majozi was not in Harare yesterday and it was impossible for an Apla commander "to move through Harare without this office knowing about it".

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said yesterday until such time as there was clarity on the PAC's stand on acts of terror by Apla, there could be no further dialogue with the Government.

At the recent meeting between the Government and the PAC in Gaborone, the PAC had committed itself to peaceful negotiation with further talks planned for next week.

Eena reports that one of the survivors of the attack was Mr Justice Michael Claassens, presiding officer in the controversial Sebe-Guzana inquest in Ciskei.

The judge said he was aware of speculation that he had been targeted but doubted this was the case. It was unlikely the killers would have known he would be there.

Women pray for peace

■ Mothers, wives and sisters who mop up the blood will wield swords of prayer:

Sowetan 3/12/92

By Sonti Maseko

274

A Big Prayer meeting, planned to be the last for this year and targeted at drawing in women of all denominations will take place at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg on Thursday next week.

Prayers will focus on peace during the Christmas period and the theme will be Peace and Save the Children, the co-ordinator of the meeting Reverend Motlalepula Chabaku said yesterday.

Chabaku said while prayer meetings in the past attracted women in the mainline churches, "this prayer meeting also needs to draw women praying at home, in school buildings, in the veld under the bridges, all women among the Zionists and indigenous or home churches".

Chabaku urged women in denominations on the Reef, who might need transport to get to the arena to urgently call (011) 337-9351/2/3/4. Buses will be arranged to pick up people from various points on the Reef.

"Because of the intensity of the violence, we have a crisis and women, as is demonstrated in the scriptures, must rise to the occasion.

Blade of the knife

"In our African culture, we have an adage that says the woman holds the blade of the knife in defence of her children and her life."

The service will also be a healing experience for the women, "who often have to mop up the blood of their sons and husbands killed in the violence", to sing, cry and pray in their African languages.

Children, men and women in and outside church organisation are also welcome to attend.

The meeting is sponsored by *Sowetan*, *Radio Metro*, *Radio Zulu*, *Radio SeSotho*, Jabula Foods, Pepsi Cola and Mathibe Printers.

Prayers will start at 2pm.

'Talks held hostage'

NEGOTIATIONS were now held hostage to violence in South Africa, the new US Ambassador, Mr Princeton Lyman, said at Umlazi in Durban yesterday. ~~(214)~~ (214)

Commenting on violence in the country, Lyman said most people were concerned about increasing violence in South Africa and, for that reason, he thought negotiations should be supported. *Southern 3/12/92*

Asked how the coming in of a new US government would impact on that country's foreign policy, he said he could not yet say much about that.

Talks 'held hostage by violence'

The Argus Correspondent

274

DURBAN. — Negotiations were now held hostage by violence in South Africa, the new United States ambassador to South Africa, Mr Princeton Lyman, said here.

He said yesterday that most people were worried about increasing violence in South Africa and for that reason he thought negotiations should be supported.

FRC 3/12/92

Mr Lyman was in Umlazi to acquaint himself with the region and its socio-political dynamics. He met members of the Umlazi Local Dispute Resolution Committee and members of the Red Cross.

He said American relations with a new government would depend, among other things, on who president-elect Mr Bill Clinton chose as secretary of state. This would affect America's foreign policy.

'Leaders whipping up hatred'⁽²⁷⁴⁾

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Both the ANC alliance and the IFP were responsible for serious criminal transgressions of the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone commission heard here yesterday.

National Party MP for Kliprivier, Mr Jacko Maree, attacked the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and the IFP for contraventions of the accord, including provocative pamphlets, war-talk and criminal acts

such as arson and assassination.

He strongly condemned "hard-line communist" ANC Midlands leaders Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Sifiso Nkabinde for having been "very active in stirring up violence and hatred".

He claimed the peace in Mooi River was shattered when moderate ANC leader Mr Derick Majola and his wife were murdered, possibly by his own organisation, and Mr Gwala "whipped up emo-

tions" at their funeral, allegedly starting an 18-month spree of destruction in the Bruntville township. CT 3/12/92

"The role of Mr Gwala in instigating violence merits a separate investigation."

Pinetown DP MP, Mr Roger Burrows, also attacked the war-talk of Mr Gwala and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying they failed to teach the democratic right of free association to their followers.

UN asked to aid Apla probe

(274) CT 3/12/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Goldstone Commission has appealed to the United Nations and the international community to assist in a full investigation into the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The initiative, which the PAC flatly rejected, came amid strong signs that the promising talks between the government and the PAC were on the verge of collapse.

Cabinet sources said last night that the meeting planned with the PAC for next week would not go ahead unless there was "a clear and satisfactory response" from the PAC on the armed struggle and its relationship with Apla.

The PAC and the government were scheduled to meet again on Wednesday, December 9, but a statement on Tuesday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Her-nus Kriel, effectively cancelled the meeting.

The PAC's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said yester-

Attack weapons stolen in Ciskei?

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The weapons used in the King William's Town Golf Club attack might have been the same ones stolen from Ciskei police earlier this year, police said yesterday.

Four people died and about nine were hurt in the attack, in which grenades and firearms were used.

Commenting R-4 and R-5 rifles' be-

ing used in the attack, the Border police liaison officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw, referred to the theft in August of large quantities of arms from police stations in Seymour and Frankfort.

He said the case was being investigated by a unit that specialised in unrest-related violence, as well as by the murder and robbery unit.

day: "We are still awaiting an official letter from the regime."

The government in turn is apparently waiting for a response from the PAC to Mr Kriel.

The PAC has called an emergency meeting of its executive tomorrow following the international outcry over its stance on the Apla attack in King William's Town — but PAC director of information Mr Waters Toboti said yesterday it was the "regime's own indaba if they withdraw from talks".

Meanwhile, the National Party MP for King William's Town, Mr Ray Radue, said that as long as the death sentence for killing re-

mained suspended, South Africa would continue to have high rates of murder.

● And the HNP yesterday demanded the government arrest leaders of the PAC and put them on trial for making "provocative statements".

The HNP in a statement accused PAC general secretary Benny Alexander of "wanting to gain prominence for the PAC through the flow of white blood".

● A man giving his name as Mr Karl Zimbiri of the Apla High Command and claiming to be an Apla spokesman vowed yesterday to attack white suburbs in retaliation for every vigilante assault in black townships.

New US
ambassador
speaks on
violence

DURBAN. — Negotiations were being held hostage to violence; the new United States ambassador, Mr. Princeton Lyman, said in Umlazi yesterday.

Mr Lyman visited Umlazi during a tour to acquaint himself with the region. He met members of the Umlazi Local Dispute Resolution Committee and the Red Cross.

Asked how the transition to a new government in America would affect his country's foreign policy, Mr Lyman said there was not much he could say now.

This was partly because president-elect Mr Bill Clinton had not yet chosen his secretary of state, an appointment that would affect America's foreign policy. — Sapa

'Exiles targets of harassment'

DURBAN — Returned exiles, who came back into the country following the 1990 Memorandum of Understanding between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the South African government, are targets of various forms of harassment by members of the SADF, the SAP, Kwazulu Police and in certain instances members of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

This was evidence in a report by the Natal officials of the National Coordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles, presented at the second sitting of the Goldstone Commission at the Durban City Hall this week.

NCCR Natal Co-ordinator William Leslie said: "Our legal department

has been inundated with reports of severe assaults, arrests on false charges and harassment of the returnees and their families by members of the SADF, the SAP and Kwazulu Police."

According to the NCCR report, 35 returned exiles have been arrested and charged with various charges including armed robbery and unlawful possession of firearms.

However, the commission heard, their arrest on these charges were mere excuses to have them in custody where they were severely assaulted and forced to divulge the names of the returnees living in their areas or give information on Umkhonto we Sizwe activities.

Some of those arrested have been refused bail with the State arguing that because they were returnees they might fail to appear for their trial.

To substantiate these allegations, the case of Qeda Buthelezi, who is currently in custody for an alleged robbery, was cited.

NCCR paralegal officer Banquo Makhanya told the commission that Buthelezi was tortured by police and forced to divulge information about MK activities.

Although Buthelezi's bail application is still pending, Makhanya told the commission that it would be turned down because the applicant was a returnee.

The report also indicated that returnees were not only victims of

harassment but also were also killed. ²⁷⁴ ~~336~~

In the past 12 months, at least 25 returnees have been killed under suspicious and brutal circumstances, according to the report.

Six were said to have been killed by the police and one by members of the SADF.

The report cited the death of Nkosingathi Sylvester Mabaso, for which an inquest is currently being held.

He was allegedly killed by members of the CR Swart murder and robbery unit at Ezingolweni earlier this year.

Police firearms have been confiscated and sent to Pretoria for ballistic investigation. — Sapa.

STAR 3/12/92

Alarm as attacks on security forces soar

274

The increase in attacks on members of the security forces was "startling", with at least 14 security force members killed in political violence in the last week, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

In its latest unrest report, the

HRC said 74 people died and 128 were injured in the week November 25 to December 1.

The death toll was up by 29 compared with the previous week, in which 45 deaths were recorded. "The past week was extremely disturbing," it said.

The HRC said the attacks on the security forces and the weekend attack on diners in King William's Town in which four people died and at least 17 others were wounded "can only serve to set back the course of peace and democracy".

In the past week, 30 people died in Natal, compared to 19 the week before. The death toll in the PWV was 35

The HRC also recorded two train attacks in which one person was killed and 36 people were injured. — Staff Reporter.

Wanted: The Collective wisdom of all leaders

ANC president Nelson Mandela is a troubled man. Last week, after reading *Perspective*, he invited me to lunch to talk about the violence in the land and about a meeting between himself and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He argues that they have been over this ground before and that is why he prefers a meeting of "the collective wisdom" of all political leaders in this country to tackle the issue of violence.

He draws my attention to an agreement, which I publish in full below, between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in January 1991.

That agreement, according to Mandela, should have gone a long way to stopping the violence. Truth is that innocent men, women and children are dying out there. On Wednesday it was in Empangeni.

The agreement should have helped stop the carnage. It was an excellent document that should have laid the foundations for the peace we need desperately.

That it failed was not a failure of ideas or of vision. It was rather a failure of will, a failure to implement.

This is not the time to point accusatory fingers at the ANC or the IFP and blame the one or the other or both for the failure.

It is time to ensure that what ever emerges from the meeting - a preparatory one is on December 9 - is turned into visible action.

That is the challenge facing the two organisation. We all know the constraints that limit the range of solutions but we expect them to be creative within those limitations.

Agreement between the ANC and Inkatha, January 29 1991.

1. Both parties call for an end to the present violence in Natal and the Transvaal. They will take steps to prevent acts of violence and destruction among their members or carried out by their members and they will act to deter other parties from instigating and carrying out acts of violence and destruction.

2. Both parties are committed to political tolerance and freedom of political activity. The ANC and IFP have the right to exist as political organisations with their policies and programmes. The parties will act to create a climate between them free of forced recruitment



Soweto 4/12/92

Joe Thloloe's

Perspective

and vilification.

3. Both parties will act to ensure that all persons with authority over public facilities will allow their use by all people irrespective of their political affiliation. This applies to facilities such as venues and facilities specifically established for recreational and a variety of community activities.

In particular, both parties urge a return to school and normal learning and teaching and will take steps to ensure no pupil is excluded from a school by virtue of political affiliation.

4. Both parties wish to state their firm belief that no matter what agreements may be reached between them, the attainment of peace also requires the existence of an effective peace-keeping role by the security forces and that the South African Government must accept its responsibilities in this regard.

Both parties agree to take steps to ensure that all security force members would:

Act without political bias;
Receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force;
Act and function with due respect for the sensitive community situation that exists.

Both parties believe that it is essential that a reconstruction and development programme is expedited to reduce the potential for violence. This is particularly the case in Natal and in the Transvaal hostels. This programme must be above partisan considerations and be designed to meet the needs of all people irrespective of any affiliation they may hold.

The programme must give priority to refugees and displaced persons arising from the violence and take all steps to peacefully and effectively reintegrate divided communities.

Implementation:

In order to implement the principles agreed upon today the high level contact between the IFP and the ANC will continue through existing joint mechanisms. The committees charged with this task will, after due and proper involvement of local leadership and the grassroots structures, report to the ANC national executive and the IFP central committee on obstacles encountered and progress made in terms of the following brief:

Principle 1:

To develop practical steps to bring about an end to violence between the organisations in these regions, to facilitate local level peace initiatives and to act as crisis contact points. The committees must consolidate and implement existing local agreements such as the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord.

Principle 2:

To ensure that all persons affected by Principle 1 are aware of this agreement and that they take active steps to implement it.

Principle 3:

The ANC and the IFP will cooperate in initiating and implementing non-partisan reconstruction programmes in areas devastated by violence.

All resources available to any one organisation for reconstruction work should, wherever feasible and desirable, be made available to a trust fund to be jointly administered.

Principle 4:

To develop a code or codes of conduct based on accepted principles and practices which do not impinge negatively on the rights of individuals and political groups and which are equally applicable to both organisations and all security forces.

The two organisations also resolved to organise a joint tour by Mandela and Buthelezi of all affected areas.

Weekend massacres shock South Africa

Guardian/Winn W/Mail 4/12-10/12/92
By David Beresford in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA has been shaken by another weekend of violence, including the killing of four whites in a grenade and gun attack on a wine-tasting dinner which threatens to give a new dimension to the political conflict.

At least three gunmen, including two black youths, carried out the attack at a golf club in King William's Town, a small industrial and agricultural centre in the eastern Cape's volatile "Border" area. Two white couples died and 14 other people were injured.

In other violence at the weekend eight people were killed in a gun attack on commuters waiting at a taxi rank in Thembisa township, four members of one family were shot dead on their smallholding outside Vereeniging, and six people were killed by a hand-grenade at a party in Sebokeng.

At the same time, controversy is growing around disclosures by the Johannesburg Sunday Times that the ANC had sent at least 1,000 recruits to its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) out of the country for military training.

Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, confirmed on Sunday that the training was taking place — in Western and Asian countries — but insisted that the de Klerk administration knew about it.

"That is something we told the government in February last year," he said at a rally outside Pretoria. The disclosures are controversial

for several reasons. If President de Klerk did know of the training programme there are likely to be questions as to why it was not publicly disclosed. The Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is expected to react angrily in view of his demands that MK be disbanded as a precondition for constitutional negotiations.

The local National Party MP, Ray Raduc, who attended the dinner with his wife, said they had just finished the meal when two or three men walked into the entrance.

"One offensive hand grenade was rolled into the dining room and a defensive grenade was thrown into the bar area, at a table where two black members of the King William's Town Golf Club were seated," he said. "The assailants then opened fire with an automatic weapon, or weapons . . . the result was absolute carnage."

A petrol bomb was also thrown at gas cylinders outside the clubhouse, but failed to detonate them.

Whites blame the Pan Africanist Congress — identified with the slogan "one settler one bullet"—for the attacks. The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has been attacking the police force and is held responsible for a large proportion of more than 200 killed this year.

● A caller claiming to represent the military wing of the PAC told police that the APLA had carried out the attack.

(274)

Self-defence committees for Azapo

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Organisation will form defence committees throughout the country to defend black communities and enable the organisation to operate and project its views within the black communities, Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

He said members of his organisation's self-defence units would be drawn exclusively from Azapo, to avoid having in their ranks people who were "not disciplined".

At its four-day congress in Port Elizabeth last weekend, Azapo resolved to mediate in taxi disputes, and educate both taxi drivers and owners "on the sanctity of black life".

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said his organisation remained committed to the maintenance of sanctions and the cultural boycott, and would stage pickets against the current Indian cricket tour.

Mokae said Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, at present lecturing at Cambridge University in England, was winding down his business in that country to return home.

Mosala would visit Zambia, where he would hold talks with the Zambian government in an effort to get South African Kati-za Cebekhulu released from prison. Mokae said Azapo was continuing with its investigations into the death of Dr Abubaker Asvat, and that Cebekhulu's evidence would be crucial.

Cebekhulu was allegedly abducted and taken to Zambia.

Ex-ANC leader up ⁽²⁷¹⁴⁾ for attempted murder _{et 5/12/92}

JOHANNESBURG. — A former ANC regional secretary in the Eastern Transvaal and two trained uMkhonto we-Sizwe members have been arrested in connection with a handgrenade attack on a private home last month.

Before arresting MK member Mr Derrick Mpupheku Skosana, police shot dead a man who attempted to throw a grenade at them.

Earlier this week, MK member Mr Nelson Mnisi and ex-ANC regional secretary Mr Joseph Harold Nkuna surrendered to police.

A 17-year-old youth was also arrested after police found a handgrenade and ammunition in Mr Nkuna's house.

The three men and the youth appeared in the Nelspruit Magistrate's Court yesterday on attempted murder charges.

● Two South African policemen were killed in Natal on Thursday night.

Detective Constable V Dhlamini was killed and his wife seriously injured in a handgrenade attack on their Inanda house.

Peace 'possible' as tribes unite

JOHANNESBURG. — Hopes of peace have been raised in Msinga — a violence-wracked corner of north-western Natal — with the formation of Ubumbano Lwase Msinga, a structure designed to unite local tribes.

Chiefs and residents are to meet this month to forge unity.

Chairman Mr Derrick Mgaga said yesterday the organisation had man-

aged to call together all the Msinga tribes on the Reef. He expressed concern about conflict which had been "exported" to places of work.

Faction fighting had claimed more than 20 000 lives since 1965, he said.

"This is an age-old war. But fighting has taken a sinister turn. Everyone — mother, father, granny, even dogs — is being killed." — Sapa

The other policeman, who died in a handgrenade attack on his KwaMashu home, had not yet been identified.

● Five magisterial districts in the Western Transvaal have been declared unrest areas. They are Vryburg, Delareyville, Marico, Rustenburg and Lichtenburg.

The decision may have been taken in view of fears of disruptions during this month's independence celebrations in Bophuthatswana.

● Police have arrested a hostel resident following an attack on commuters at a Johannesburg station last month.

● In Ratanda, near Heidelberg,

three policemen were injured when a handgrenade was thrown at their vehicle while they were trying to disperse a crowd of about 200 people on Thursday night.

● A truck was petrol-bombed and destroyed at the Lwandle Hostel near Strand on Thursday afternoon.

● Vereeniging policeman Lance-Sergeant Jacobus de Bruyn was wounded when the two occupants of a bakkie fired shots at his vehicle yesterday.

● The Palm Springs Civic Association has blamed Thursday's murder of Dr Helga Kuhn on the "tsotsi" element which was "tearing the Vaal Triangle apart".

Black deaths, white deaths - All are South African deaths

HERE he stood, large as death: white South Africa's worst nightmare. A black man with a gun, pointing it at people for no fathomable reason other than the pallid colour of their skins. And worse ... he grinned before he opened fire, before he made he rolled among the innocents ripped their limbs from their bodies.

It has long been a curiosity to the outside world that in the whole history of apartheid, the number of straightforwardly racial black-on-white "revenge" killings has made up but a fraction of the vast national death toll. Whites here have thought about it too, but the fear has been too deep to be spoken. No longer, after King William's Town.

Now white people, ordinary decent white people, are frightened as never before. Brutal robbery, and the rape and murder that so often accompany it, is one terrible, reprehensible, but perversely comprehensible thing. The golf club killings are somehow different. They are a vision of outright madness.

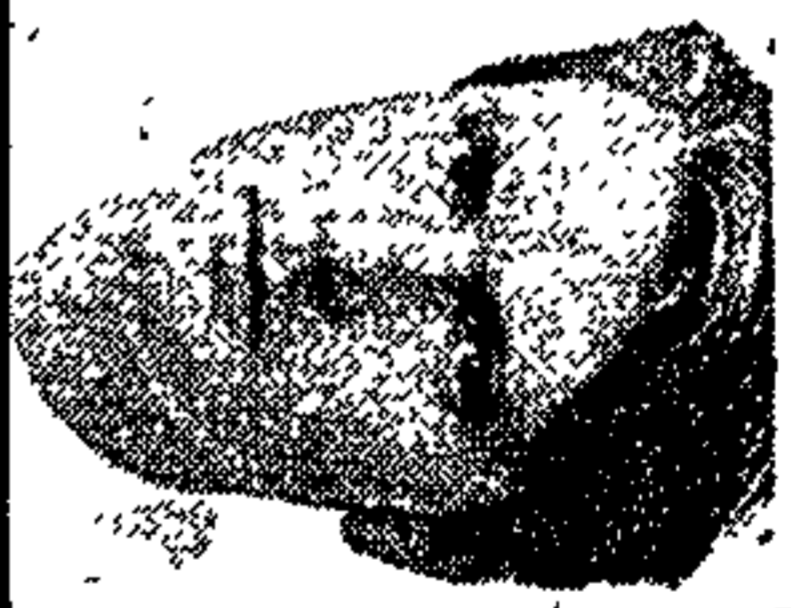
How have we reacted? In a way, in my view, that feeds the madness rather than fights it. We have had an orgy of recriminations, of "my-loss-matters-more-than-yours" idiocy. Whites have howled in proper, but uneven, outrage. Blacks have screamed in anger at the fact that the white outrage was absent at Foleweni, Esikhawini and a hundred more place-names now known for their massacres above all else.

Both responses are understandable, of course, but lamentable at a moment in our history when we must all help each other or surely perish.

It is true, what the foreigners say about us: we South Africans have been brutalised by the seas of blood in which we swim. Whites especially are callous about atrocities in the townships, where most of the victims of our political folly live. But can it help anyone to take pleasure from the whites' pain when it arrives?

SMR 4/12/92
UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

SHAUN
JOHNSON



I BELIEVE we have to understand, and overcome, one giant obstacle that stands in the way of us all discovering our common humanity.

I believe we have to understand and overcome one gigantic obstacle that stands in the way of us all discovering our common humanity. This was middle-middle-class South African suburbia benignly at play. Whites know people like the victims, are people like them, people who have never seen a Boipatong or Crossroads, and who simply cannot fix a picture in their minds when they hear a report of a massacre at a shebeen or night vigil. Now, with a small leap of understanding, they can and must. And on both sides of the still-intact racial divide, we can share compassion and anger and above all the will to make it stop — whether in King William's Town or Khayelitsha. It is possible for a society, united to one end, to change itself.

It is not true, as some media reports have it, that the golf club attack was the "first of its kind". There was the random, mad black-on-white stabbing spree on Durban's beachfront. Further back, there was Pogo and Bashee River.

But if they did not focus the national mind, then perhaps King William's Town can. Black deaths, white deaths — all deaths are South African deaths, and for each we will pay an equal price.

Our country is in many ways unique. In the matter of fratricidal killing this is not so. In this week of black and white horrors I happened to read an account by a man who had just returned to his native Northern Ireland. He wrote: "(My nation's soul) is a soul that never quickens except to the dead, harsh rhetoric of its demagogues. It is a soul that is content to be soothed by the dull pieties of its priests and pastors. The horrors that occur almost on a daily basis are now taken for granted. A killing condemned is a killing forgotten ..."

"One of the most striking features of Northern Ireland is the gulf between middle- and working-class people. The killing is almost entirely confined to the poorer quarters. As far as most middle-class Ulster people are concerned, it might as well be happening in Bosnia as Belfast. The real problem is smugness. It is all-pervasive, and prevents people from confronting the consequences of their own hatreds and bigotries — some 3 000 corpses and still rising."

How painfully easy it would be to substitute "South Africa" for "Northern Ireland", and, just multiply the death toll. We can learn from the level of self-knowledge that the Irishman has achieved.

I was also struck this week, reading the journal of William Ten Rhyme of the Dutch East India Company, written in 1673 when he first came into contact with our land and its nascent citizens. Of us Ten Rhyme wrote: "Nothing is more barbarous than this country, where the rugged climate and rocky mountains seem to have produced men of their own kind". His words make me angry. But can we prove him wrong?



BRIEFS

274

1992 death toll up by 38%

JOHANNESBURG. — The death toll this year in political violence in South Africa has increased by 38 percent compared to last year, the Human Rights Commission said. ARG 7/12/92

In its November report on political violence, the HRC said that 3 324 people had died since the beginning of this year until the end of November.

— Sapa.

Rights group calls for ANC deaths probe

JOHANNESBURG. — The German-based International Society for Human Rights has called for an investigation into the deaths of opponents and critics of the African National Congress. (274) (1992)

In a letter to President F W de Klerk, a copy of which was also sent to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, ISHR secretary-general Mr Robert Chamber said it was essential that "unsolved assassinations and murders be thoroughly investigated" CT 7/12/92

The ISRH referred to the murders of Mr Bartholomew Hlapane and his wife who were killed after giving evidence on ANC funding to a United States Senate hearing, as well as the deaths of Mr Chris Hani's former bodyguard Mr Sipho Phungulwa, and Mr Giraffe Mthembu. — Sapa

Drop in political deaths reported

POLITICALLY related deaths dropped to a nine-month low of 263 in November, according to the latest Human Rights Commission (HRC) report on repression.

HRC national director Safoora Sadek said the declining number of killings could be attributed to the increased presence of international observers at potential sites of conflict.

She said there had been a noticeable shift in violence from the Transvaal to Natal and this trend could be reinforced by the return of Transvaal hostel dwellers to Natal over the festive season.

While the 114 people who had died in the PWV was below the 1992 monthly average of 161, a total of 132 had died in Natal, the report said.

Of the 263 killed in November, 140 had been victims of vigilante actions, while the security forces had killed three and injured 38, it added.

At least 3 324 people had been killed in

RAY HARTLEY (274)

violence during 1992 — about 38% more than this time last year, the report said.

A total of 17 security force members were killed in November and a further 12 were injured in 31 separate incidents, the HRC said.

Meanwhile, a total of 461 members of the police force have been killed since President F W de Klerk's February 1990 speech, police statistics show.

A police spokesman said yesterday the 1992 death toll of 209 policemen represented a 66% increase on last year's figure of 145 deaths, while the figure was almost double that for 1990, during which 107 policemen had been killed.

Sapa reports from Durban that a man was killed in Kwamashu early yesterday, bringing to at least seven the number who had died violently in the greater Durban area at the weekend, police said.

Policeman did kill ANC man

MARITZBURG — A police warrant officer, 30-year-old Hendrik Steyn, was convicted yesterday of murdering an ANC member and attempting to murder another, both reputed to belong to a self-defence unit.

In his judgment in the Maritzburg Supreme Court Judge Page sharply criticised Steyn's commanding officer, Capt Joseph Erasmus, for his conduct during the investigation.

The judge said, "It is deplorable that a commanding officer of a unit, out of a misplaced loyalty towards one of his members who committed a crime, neglected his honesty and duty as a policeman to see that justice is done."

Furthermore, he had doubts that the mishandling of the case was limited to the commanding officer, as the whole unit refused to stand at an identity parade.

The judge ordered that his remarks be forwarded to Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe for any action "he sees necessary". — Sapa.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



Investec Holdings Limited

ANC will not smash Apla - Macozoma

■ **ANC will be guided by human rights provisions and the law:** *Sowetan 8/12/92* ~~ANC~~

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

AN ANC government will not hunt down Apla and crush it, the movement said yesterday, responding to comments reportedly made by one of its senior officials in Namibia yesterday.

The ANC's Mr Sakkie Macozoma said yesterday that it was not his movement's official policy "at this stage" and that it was premature to speculate now.

"We have said that we condemn what Apla is doing, because we don't think it is necessary to attack people on the basis of their colour.

"As to what measures we will take, we cannot say now.

"An ANC government will obviously be guided by provisions for

human rights and due process," Macozoma said. *(274)*

He was reacting to a comment reportedly made by an ANC official who accompanied Mr Nelson Mandela in Namibia yesterday.

The official was reported by the French news agency, *Agence France Presse*, to have said that an ANC government would not tolerate terrorism.

"We will lock them up. We will find them and lock them up. We will smash them," the source reportedly said.

Widespread condemnation of Apla's alleged attacks in the Eastern Cape last week continued yesterday.

The Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth and political parties in South Africa all condemned Apla's actions and the PAC's "failure to rebuke its armed wing".



5 years for Women will pray



Violence is neither black nor white



Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback
By Sonti Maseko



with Tim Modise

Much as the two attacks against civilians - allegedly by the PAC's military wings Apla - are distasteful, they have sent a message to whites in the country that violence was not only a problem of the black community.

Several callers condemned the attacks last night on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show. Others said the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks confirmed perceptions that this society valued white lives far more than black lives.

Fears were also expressed by some about a possible rightwing backlash, but one caller said the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army attacks could be a backlash against continued killings of black people. Other callers wanted to

discuss problems in the music industry and education.

"The more the rightwing hoves to the right the more the leftwing will move to the left. I deplore their deeds (Apla) much as I deplore the rightwing or the security forces involved in violent acts."

"Apla attacks will have more negative consequences than anything else. It will increase racial tension and we will have revenge attacks and the sad thing is that more innocent black

people will die."

Terror, Harrower Park, Cape Town

"Although it looks like the crisis in education is over, it has only begun. A week after minister Ahe Williams (education and culture in the House of Representatives) agreed to withdraw the rationalisation programme, his boss (state president De Klerk) said rationalisation would go ahead."

Boyce, Newlands, Johannesburg
"Blacks have been dying and their

blood has been flowing for a long time. We have never heard the State President appealing to the outside world to condemn or not support their killers like (it is doing) with Apla."

Ndoda, Johannesburg

"Benny Alexander was evasive and did not answer any question put to him (on television, Sunday night). My impression is he is connected to this Apla story that is why he did not want to give the story."

Sammy.

Violence level (274) drops in November

JOHANNESBURG. — Political violence in South Africa reached its lowest level for nine months in November, but was still up on last year's death toll, two monitoring groups said.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) put November's toll at 263 deaths, the lowest since February's 234.

But the figure was above 1991's monthly average of 215 deaths, the HRC said, putting the running total for the year at 3 324 deaths, 38 percent up on last year's comparable figure.

The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), which has often clashed with the HRC, put the death toll for the year up to the end of November at 2 924, and said that on current trends, the final toll for the year would be 18 percent up on last year.

The SAIRR said that by the end of the year, nearly 15 000 people would have died in political violence that broke out in September 1984, initially as clashes between police and the black community.

Since 1987 the violence has been fuelled by a power struggle between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress.

About two-thirds of all deaths since 1984 had occurred in the last three years, since ANC leader Nelson Mandela's release from jail in February 1990 and Inkatha's decision in July 1990 to become a political party. — Sapa-AFP.

Next Goldstone probe targets arms

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

~~274~~ 274

The Goldstone Commission's next inquiry is into the illegal importation and distribution of automatic weapons and their use in South Africa in the furtherance of political violence.

These hearings are to be held at the University of Cape Town tomorrow and on Friday.

The commission has just completed hearings in Pietersburg concerning the taxi wars in

Alexandra and is to resume a final hearing in Durban on Monday into the causes of violence in Natal.

This will wrap up the hearings of the Goldstone Commission this year.

The team will get the ball rolling again on January 4.

An inquiry into the truth of allegations made to a weekly newspaper by Joao Cuna, a former member of Ferdi Barnard's Civil Co-operation Bureau cell will continue next year.

STAN 9/2/92

274

National agreements 'have not helped quell violence'

BIDAM 9/12/92

274

RAY HARTLEY

THE national peace accord, the Codesa declaration of intent and five bilateral accords between the ANC and government had failed to reverse the growth of violence, the SA Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

The country was going through its second worst year of political violence to date, with 2 924 people having died in political killings by the end of November, the institute said.

This represented an 18% increase on the 1991 number, institute figures showed.

The Human Rights Commission earlier this week said political deaths had dropped to a nine-month "low" of 263 for November — well above the 1991 monthly average of 215 deaths a month.

Institute spokesman Paul Pereira said SA's worst year of violence remained 1990, when 3 699 people were killed.

The institute said fatalities in political violence since September 1984, when political killings started on a large scale, would probably reach more than 15 000 by the end of 1992.

"Nearly two-thirds of all deaths in political violence occurred in 1990, 1991 and 1992," the institute said.

Pereira said the institute believed violence would be combated more effectively if the national peace accord was amended to prohibit "peoples' war" and the struggle to make the country ungovernable.

He said other steps that could be taken included:

□ The renunciation by churches of the Lusaka Declaration in which SA churches said liberation movements had been compelled to use force to fight apartheid;

□ Enforcing ruthlessly the ban on weapons including those displayed in public;

□ A decision by the state to respect the rights of both boycotters and non-boycotters during stayaway actions;

□ Public commitment from political leaders supporting the right of people to participate in or abstain from political actions;

□ The replacement of the R1 rifle used by the SAP's Internal Stability Unit (ISU) with a less lethal weapon;

□ Increasing the minimum age of ISU members from 21 to 25.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Durban that a man was shot dead by unknown assailants at the KwaMashu hostel on Monday evening.

our friends in the S Tr

▲ MPA 993

Hearings on arms smuggling

LLOYD COUTTS

THE Goldstone commission would hold public hearings tomorrow and on Friday on ways to curb the illegal importation of automatic weapons into SA, the commission said yesterday.

The hearings will be held at the Breakwater campus of the University of Cape Town.

A police spokesman said most AK-47s were brought into SA from Mozambique and Swaziland. Most of the weapons, often sold by former Frelimo soldiers, ended up in Natal, the eastern Transvaal and the PWV fetching between R500 and R1 500.

A liaison forum for the SAP and Mozambican government officials had been established for high-level contact on the issue of arms smuggling.

Police had confiscated 7 238 illegal firearms up to October 10, including 2 854 rifles (with AK-47s), 2 227 pistols and 2 157 revolvers. The confiscated weapons were destroyed, the police spokesman added.



Micor Holdir

(Registration number 69/0956 ("Micor"))

Offer to Micor

Micor shareholders were

— Micor would dispose share capital of Micor management ("the C

ER

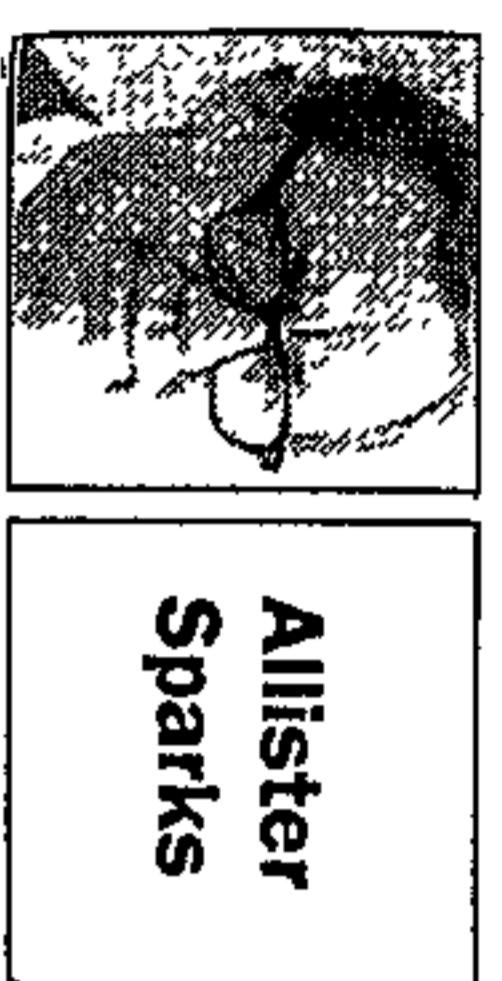
YEAR RANTY LAN

FREE

Beware the monster that is breeding in our midst

STAL 2/12/92

(274)



Allister Sparks

WE are witnessing the making of a monster. Apla launches a series of racist attacks on white soft targets, and the PAC leadership claims it has no direct control over the activities of its armed wing. In the Vaal Triangle, disgruntled members of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe have run out of control and are forming armed gangs of trained men answerable to no one. And, as recent evidence to the Goldstone Commission and the Webster inquest has shown, a large part of the State's own military-security apparatus is acting on its own, beyond the control of the civil Government.

We may even be involved in a clandestine war in Angola, once again, as our neighbours protest that we are overflying their territory ferrying arms to Jonas Savimbi. The military denies it, but the military lied to us last time. The Government protests its innocence, but does the Government even know what the military is doing?

The country is chock-a-block with weapons, there are thousands of people who know how to use them, controls are breaking down

and a Rambo spirit fills the air. It is a recipe for an unguided civil war, which is now the greatest of all the threats facing this tortured land.

We have only ourselves to blame. We have created this monster with our glorification of militarism on all sides of the racial conflict. Like Cadmus of Greek mythology, we have sown the dragon's teeth and now we have a harvest of armed warriors ready to slay one another in an orgy of mindless violence.

Violence begets violence, and in this blood-soaked land we have become drunk with aggression. We kill for a farthing, or just for the heck of it. Robbers shoot without need and householders fire at shadows. Fathers blow away their families, a wife kills her husband with a crossbow and we slaughter one another on the roads with un-equalled abandon.

It has its roots in our violent history: in slavery and the frontier wars; in the extermination of the San people and the conquest of the land, in Shaka and the *Mfecane*, in the struggle for survival of a pioneer people and in the white-on-white violence of the Boer War.

But the modern cycle began with apartheid: with the poisoning of men's minds with racism and the clinical cruelty of a system that placed ideology above humanity, that so blunted human sensitivity it could destroy people's lives without guilt or remorse. Even today President de Klerk feels no need to say sorry.

Such institutionalised violence inevitably provokes a reaction. And when that reaction is blocked from expressing itself through normal political channels, it equally inevitably goes underground and resorts to violence. Thus were born the liberation movements and their armed struggles.

So the cycle began, with the armed struggle producing a counter-revolutionary response and the youth of our nation becoming caught in a spiral of vio-

lence and militaristic indoctrination.

The result is that we have created a culture of violence. We have glorified armed struggle. Cries of *Aluta Continua!* fill the air, may the struggle continue. There are the glorious guerrillas and, on the other side, the glorious "boys on the border" who fought for *volk en naste* against the forces of the supposed Evil Empire.

Young men, children, go to political rallies carrying wooden AK-47s. They sing songs of praise to the guerrillas. Political demonstrators parade through public streets brandishing arsenals of lethal weapons and their political leaders claim this is part of their cultural heritage.

Young whites strut about in their army uniforms, proud of being Reces, Parabats, members of Special Force units. We have old Selous Scouts and Grey Scouts from Rhodesia, 32 Battalion. Koo-voet, the Civil Co-operation Bureau and now the Director of Covert Collections.

We have generals so contemptuous of the civil process, who are so far above the law, that they order

their subordinates to conceal evidence and they lie under oath in court and nothing happens to them.

The Defence Force still celebrates the Cassinga Massacre, our Mai Lai when South African paratroopers slaughtered a thousand people, including women and children, in a refugee camp in southern Angola on May 4 1978. "This day reminds us that paratroopers are a special breed of men," declares the current issue of the SADF magazine, *Paratus*.

On the flip side, Azanyu, the youth wing of the PAC, expressed its "amazement" last Saturday that the ANC should have seen anything wrong with three people walking into a crowded restaurant, planting a bomb under a table and leaving it there to explode and mangle 19 ordinary, everyday civilians.

Surely it is time to start demilitarising this country, and by that I don't mean just slashing the Defence Budget and ending conscription but demilitarising our minds as well. We must stop glorifying violence. We have to start inculcating a culture of tolerance, and we can't do that as we chant

Aluta Continua!, shout "one set-
 ther one bullet" and fire AKs into
 the air at funerals.
 In the army, I'm told, training
 methods are still geared to the
 philosophy of the Total Strategy.
 Nothing has changed. The com-
 munes are still coming and the ANC
 is still the devil incarnate. And I
 wonder whether it is any different
 with Umkhonto's new recruits
 doing their covert training in
 Uganda.
 That is where the change must
 begin - in the training camps. I
 would like to see a new kind of
 national service replace the old, a
 conscription to perform not mili-
 tary service but service to the na-
 tion, with all our young people,
 white and black, required to work
 together for a year on public
 works projects to help build this
 nation and remould their minds
 into attitudes of mutual tolerance
 and service to others.
 Perhaps there is a lesson for us
 in the tale of how Cadmus's dra-
 goons, when they had slain one ar-
 other down to the last five survi-
 vors, threw down their arms and,
 crying, "Brothers let us live in
 peace!" joined with him in build-
 ing the city of Thebes. □

PAC firm in spite of criticism

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday pulled out of all further talks with the PAC following the Azanian People's Liberation Army's "declaration of war" on white civilians.

A defiant PAC responded by vowing not to abandon its military wing, or the armed struggle.

The PAC also effectively opted out of multi-lateral talks by announcing it would not join Codesa and warned that the decision by the government and the ANC to revive the negotiating forum would be "the greatest threat to peace and stability".

As the Conservative Party last night asked its supporters to report for the party's "Home Guard" to help counter Apla's planned terror campaign against soft targets, police in Pretoria asked the public to be particularly safety-conscious during the holidays.

As criticism of the PAC continued yesterday, one of the organisation's staunchest allies, the Zimbabwean government, warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said: "We have warned the liberation movements, especially the PAC, to stop using Zimbabwean soil to make such statements... We do not want Zimbabwe soil to be used for hostile activities against South Africa or any other country."

As the Commonwealth, the European Community and the United Nations joined growing criticism of the PAC, the South African representative of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Legwaila Joseph

To page 2

From page 1

PAC firm

Legwaila, said a decision on whether to continue funding the PAC will have to be taken by OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim.

The PAC's tough stance on its Apla ties was criticised by the OAU, which said it supported efforts to achieve peace and not the propagation of violence.

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, the Nigerian secretary-general of the Commonwealth, yesterday strongly condemned PAC military wing violence as a threat to people of all races in South Africa.

The PAC's secretary for political affairs, Mr Jaki Seroke, said today's scheduled talks had been cancelled on Pretoria's instructions.

The government also told the organisation no further talks would take place until the PAC's attitude towards Apla had been satisfactorily clarified.

He added: "If talks should be based on good behaviour, in the prevailing violent atmosphere in the country nobody should be talking to anyone."

"Until there is mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime, the PAC is not bound to condemn the armed struggle conducted by Apla against the settler enemy structures," he said.

Referring to meetings with the government in Nigeria in April and in Botswana in October, Mr Seroke said the PAC's position had been frankly put.

PAC publicity and information director Mr Waters Toboti said Apla was an integral part of the organisation and the PAC would not abandon it despite possibly endangering talks.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the agreement between the government and the ANC to revive Codesa was insensitive, provocative and short-sighted.

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) said yesterday the white victims of the attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown were victims of a war and their deaths deserved no more attention than those of black victims of violence.

The Pan-Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) announced its support for Apla and warned President F W de Klerk any attempt to take action would start "the mother of all battles".

● Mr Nick Mitchell, executive director of the United Kingdom/South Africa Business Association, yesterday appealed to the ANC to "go beyond condemning" Apla, and help the security forces reduce or eliminate the new threat.

Honour peace undertaking, Meyer tells PAC

Political Staff

APR 9/12/92

LINES of communication between the government and the Pan-Africanist Congress could remain open but the PAC would have to honour an undertaking binding it to peace before talks could resume, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said today.

He was speaking after the government cancelled talks due to have taken place with the PAC today.

The PAC has claimed that the government knew what its attitude was to its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the "armed struggle".

Mr Meyer said the PAC had committed itself to the effective suspension of violence in a joint statement after a meeting with the government in Botswana in October. On the strength of this the government had been willing to continue talking to the PAC.

The organisation had now been told today's meeting had been shelved because its leadership refused to distance itself from acts of terror by Apla.

The PAC should not expect to be drawn into constitutional talks while it had a dual approach to negotiations and violence.

The PAC is insisting that its "armed struggle" will not be abandoned in spite of the breakdown of talks with the government.

The organisation has re-emphasised its links with Apla and says that if the government wants to cancel today's talks, it is "their own indaba".

The Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation has meanwhile announced its "unwavering support for military operations" conducted by Apla and warned President De Klerk that any attempt to take action against it will start "the mother of all battles".

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said the PAC could not abandon "armed struggle" until the objectives of the struggle had been realised.

Until there was a "mutual cessation of hostilities" between the PAC and the government, the PAC did not have to condemn Apla, he said.

"If, as they say, talks should be based on good behaviour, in the prevailing violent atmosphere nobody should be talking to anyone."

Shakeup in the SAP is set for January

RAY HARTLEY

A MAJOR police shakeup including the appointment of two new deputy commissioners of police and the launch of the community relations division will take effect from January next year.

Visible policing head Lt-Gen Louwrens Malan and criminal investigation chief Lt-Gen Basie Smit would both become deputy commissioners in January, a police spokesman said yesterday.

General Johan van der Merwe would continue as police commissioner.

Lt-Gen Simon Chetty, who will head the new community relations division, is expected to be appointed to the 22-man police board, which includes community representatives, but this could not be confirmed by police yesterday.

Wits policing research project spokesman Janne Rauch said both Malan and Smit had good reputations as leaders in the police, but the appointments failed to inject much-needed new blood into police leadership.

She questioned the fact that Smit, Malan and Van der Merwe all had backgrounds in security policing and would hold the three senior positions in the police.

Smit is a former head of the security branch. The new community relations division would only succeed if it consulted directly with communities over its strategies, Rauch said.

She said a consultative committee, which included community representatives needed to be established to avoid unilateral decisions by police on community relations.

Malan headed up operations during the "Battle of Ventersdorp" last year when police and right-wing demonstrators clashed outside a meeting addressed by President F W de Klerk.

Both Malan and Smit currently serve on the police board.

SADF forced to cut back on personnel

STEPHANE BOTHEMA

INTERNAL unrest in SA would continue for at least another 10 years and it would be necessary to maintain an effective defence force, SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg said yesterday.

More SADF troops were presently being deployed internally on a daily basis than during conventional war situations in Angola and Namibia, Liebenberg told a media briefing in Voortrekkerhoogte.

Despite this situation, reduction in government spending had forced the SADF to cut 6 110 army, navy and air force jobs in the 1992/93 fiscal year.

Liebenberg said that since 1989, the SADF's share of state expenditure had dropped from 15,7% to 9,6%. However, the defence budget was still too high and the SADF had been forced to introduce further cuts in terms of guidelines laid down for the next financial year.

Until tabled in Parliament, the new defence budget was secret, he said.

"Government had provided the SADF with new strategic guidelines as early as October 1989 and started implementing our Plan 2000. The financial cutbacks were more severe but, most importantly, more consistent each and every year than what we expected," Liebenberg said.

The SADF was now focusing on staff in its rationalisation because it could not afford to further cut its capital expenditure programmes for the updating and renewing of weapons systems.

"Further cuts on these programmes would have destroyed technology retention and para-

STEPHANE BOTHEMA

lysed the SADF and the arms industry's capability for technical renewal and replacement of weapons into the new century," he said.

SA Air Force chief Gen James Kriel told the briefing that 3 872 SAAF jobs would be terminated by the end of 1995.

Since last year, 2 789 jobs had been cut, including five brigadiers, 41 colonels, 44 commanders, two captains and 1 665 non commissioned officers.

The SA Army had to effect a cut of about R174,5m in full-time personnel strength by March 31 next year, SA army chief Gen Georg Meiring said. The army would have to reduce by 1 722 permanent force members, 530 civilians and about 860 general assistants, he said. Since 1989, the SA Navy has retrenched 22% or 2 400 of its personnel, Navy chief Vice-Admiral R Simpson-Anderson said.

In addition, the marines were disbanded, the area commands were closed, six naval bases in commercial posts were closed and operational command and control was centralised at naval headquarters, he said.

Although the Navy this year suffered far less from rationalisation than the other services, an additional 450 personnel would be retrenched by closing down SAS Jalsena in Durban, rationalising the SA Naval Dockyard, Simon's Town and SA Naval Works and the "fine tuning" of previous rationalisations.

SADF Medical Services escaped with no immediate staff cuts because an earlier rationalisation programme had been completed.

UN envoy urges SA to press ahead with talks

WILSON ZWANE

UN SPECIAL envoy to SA Tom Vraalsen said yesterday acts of terror should not be allowed to derail constitutional talks.

Speaking to journalists in Johannesburg before his departure to New York, Vraalsen said he was convinced the movement towards multiparty talks, which had gathered momentum in the past two weeks, indicated eagerness on the part of major political parties to "get down to business".

Alluding to the recent killings at King William's Town and Queenstown, he said these "developments" threatened to disrupt the multiparty talks.

"They should not be permitted to do so. I firmly believe that it is time for all parties in SA to renounce violence and come to the negotiating table."

Vraalsen appealed to all parties to co-operate with Judge Richard Goldstone during his investigations into the activities of security forces and liberation movements, including the PAC's armed wing Apla. Vraalsen said he would present a report on his findings to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali tomorrow. He would not be drawn on the contents of the report.

TIM COHEN reports from Pretoria that a 20-page briefing, in which the SA intelligence services were described as a "headless monster", was handed to UN monitors recently.

Military Research Group member Rocky Williams delivered the briefing before recent revelations by the Goldstone commission linking military intelligence to planned acts to discredit the ANC.

He said it was becoming increasingly clear that President F W de Klerk did not enjoy the confidence of the major actors within the security establishment.

Williams, formally both an SADF sergeant for eight years and an MK member for five years, told the monitors it was important to avoid conspiracy theories when dealing with the existence of current covert operations. The approval of these operations by executive levels had yet to be proved, he said.

Death toll at worst over past three years

ARG 10/12/92 (274)
The Argus

Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — More people died in political violence in South Africa in the past three years, than in the period between September 1984 and 1990, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The institute, which revealed that more than 15 000 people had died in political violence in the country since the outbreak of violence in Natal in 1984, said nearly two-thirds of those deaths had occurred in the past three years alone.

And on present trends, the institute said, the country was likely to end 1992 with 18 percent more deaths in political violence than last year. It said nearly 3 000 people had died in political violence from January to the end of November this year.

The institute said that while politically-related deaths for 1991 had dropped by 27 percent compared to 1990, that declining trend had already been reversed.

That was in spite of five bilateral agreements and two multilateral accords, namely, the Codesa Declaration of Intent and the National Peace Accord.

Supporting efforts towards peace

STAV 10/12/92

Before leaving South Africa at the end of a two-week visit, UN Special Envoy Ambassador Tom Vraalsen gave his impressions to the Editor-in-Chief of The Star, RICHARD STEYN, and senior political writer PATRICK LAURENCE.

MY GENERAL impression (on the situation in South Africa) is somewhat mixed

Overall, after meeting all the parties participating in the negotiations, I am cautiously optimistic. Over the past few weeks there have been a number of encouraging developments putting the negotiations, so to speak, back on track.

There is obviously a convergence, a meeting of minds among some of the principal players. Also, the decision to convene a meeting of signatories of the Peace Accord, and parallel efforts aimed at resuming a multiparty conference in some form.

On the more negative side is the high level of violence, but I am encouraged to see that there is broad agreement that the violence must not be allowed to frustrate efforts aimed at a negotiated solution. Another negative is the economy, which is not able to provide new jobs.

One thing that I have stressed in all my meetings, right across the board, is that the negotiating process should be inclusive.

On Chief Buthelezi's federal option:

I see the proposal put forward by Chief Buthelezi a few days ago as a draft that will be one of the inputs to the negotiations when the multiparty conference is reconvened.

I have not spoken to him since the announcement; I have spoken to some of his chief advisers, which confirms the impression that this is a draft, one of many that will be on the table as they start negotiations.

On Apia and its alleged campaign of violence:

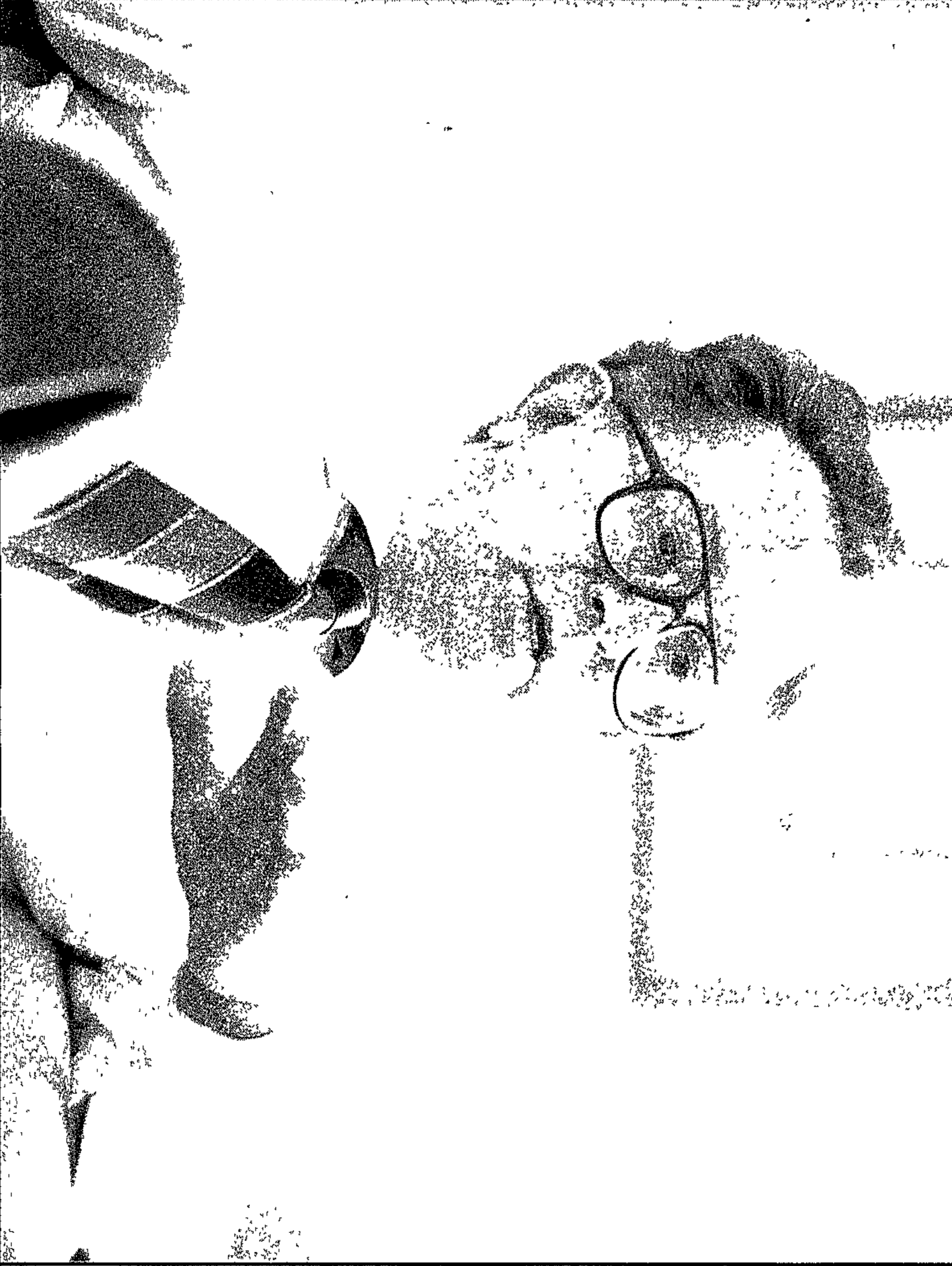
Any kind of violence in whatever form and from wherever it comes must be condemned. That is absolutely clear. I would encourage the PAC to take a very clear position on this. Whatever their relationship with Apia, I believe the PAC should come out very clearly and dissociate itself from or condemn this kind of activity.

You have probably seen the statements made both by the OAU representative and by the UN Observer Mission, as well as those of the Government and the ANC and others, which are unanimous that these types of activities are to be condemned.

On the UN's role so far:

The UN's main objective is to be supportive of the peace process. Its arms and efforts are to achieve a negotiated solution to the problems of the country, and to arrive at a new dispensation for SA. The UN is not here to interfere or to impose any kind of a solution; it is for the South Africans themselves to work it out. The Security Council has taken a decision that observers are to be deployed to work with the Peace Secretariat and to be supportive of the peace structures.

We believe that the Peace Accord is a very important element and part of the structure that you need in order to arrive at a negotiated solution. I believe the observers are doing their job. This is my impression and, from speaking to people, the comments I get are favourable. It seems that the efforts



Optimistic . . . UN Special Envoy Tom Vraalsen believes negotiations are coming back on track. Picture: Joao Silva

made by the observers are generally appreciated, so I think that is adequate for the time being. I do not think we need to consider changes in the mandate. I think they have sufficient flexibility.

As to the number of observers:

Well, for the time being, if I

should recommend changes, it might be only a slight increase in the numbers. But, generally speaking, it's enough.

On the UN's concern with South Africa:

The UN has been concerned with the situation in SA for decades. The fact that Mr Vance came, and that I'm here now, is

an expression of continuous concern on the part of the UN Secretary-General at the level of violence and the situation as far as negotiations are concerned.

It is also an expression of a desire on the part of the Secretary-General to be as supportive and helpful as possible in promoting and supporting the

process. I don't think one should underestimate the concern that you find not only in the UN but in the international community in general.

From the UN's point of view there is a recognition that SA is

a totally different situation now than it was four years ago. I have been extremely well received by all parties, the State President, the Cabinet, by the ANC and all the principal actors. They have been very cooperative; they have been very generous with their time and my impression is that they appreciate the interest of the international community and of the UN.

On perceptions of the UN as an honest broker:

I have not met anyone who has questioned the impartiality and the objectivity of the UN.

On the people he met:

There is nobody I wanted to see that I wasn't able to see. Right across the spectrum, all have been very generous with their time.

On the role of the media:

It is extremely important. In this country, as in my own country, the media, to a large degree, set the agenda, via the electronic medium, TV/radio, or print. They should bear this very much in mind in the way they deal with the information they receive. I would wish that the positive things that happen get as much coverage as the more negative things. Unfortunately in this country, news tends to be negative, and the good things that might be small don't get the same kind of attention. So I think there has to be a balance here.

On his future role in SA:

That is for the Secretary-General to decide, because he is under an obligation to report to the Security Council at regular intervals and to provide the council with objective and impartial information so that it can act on the basis of such information. So I'll submit my report to

him and then he, in turn, will submit his own report to the council. Whether there is anything more in the future for me, that is for the Secretary-General to decide; that's his prerogative.

On the Goldstone Commission:

I believe the work Mr Justice Goldstone and his commission is doing is extremely valuable to the whole process. It attempts to create confidence in the country and the UN is very supportive of what he is doing. If he should need support over and above what he is given, we would consider that favourably.

The UN is encouraged by the decision of the Government and the ANC to work with the judge and his commission on investigating the security forces and other armed formations. We sincerely hope that the remaining actors, so to speak, Apia and KwaZulu, will do the same. Judge Goldstone made an appeal the other day for support from the international community, particularly the UN, and we will do whatever we can to be supportive of him.

On investigation by Goldstone into Apia:

The PAC has said that the political leadership is separate from Apia, that Apia acts independently and that if Apia is to be investigated, so to speak, by the commission, a request will have to be made to Apia, and not the PAC.

Whether the UN profile should be higher:

There might be some who would like to see the UN taking on additional tasks, but nobody has put forward specific proposals. Changing the mandate of the UN is, after all, up to the Security Council. Generally speaking, there is satisfaction with the role the UN is playing. □

274

STAV

Women set to pray for peace

South Africans react with anger to the violence taking place daily, but a prayer meeting at the Standard Bank Arena from 2 pm to 4.30 pm today will be a way to react peacefully. (274)

Thousands of women from church groups and women's organisations are expected to attend the meeting, project

STAR 10/12/92

co-ordinator the Rev Motlalepula Chabaku said yesterday.

The theme of the day of prayer is "Women calling for peace to save the children".

Transport will be provided from pick-up points in the PWV area. If you wish to attend, and need transport, contact Chabaku at (011) 337-9351/2/3/4. — Staff Reporter.

Death toll drops

By PAUL STOBER

(274)

DESPITE the Azanian People's Liberation Army's declaration of war on whites, the Human Rights Commission has reported a significant decrease in the number of incidents of political violence in South Africa.

In the past week the death toll in political violence was only 19, after an average of more than 60 deaths a week for the past nine weeks.

In Natal, the scene of some of the worst political violence, the toll dropped from 30 last week to 12 this week. *W/Mau 11/12 - 17/12/92*

No train attacks were reported for the first time in nine weeks and no security force deaths were reported, compared to 14 deaths last week. This was despite three reported grenade attacks on security force members. The commission said security force actions had resulted in 18 injuries but no deaths.

One person was reported to have died in police custody this week which brings to 117 the number of deaths in police custody this year.

The commission noted that further temporary immunity was granted to a number of African National Congress leaders, who are key to the negotiation process, for a further three months.

A Matter of fact

Bomb attack puts more pressure on de Klerk

Guardian/Wim W. Marais
 PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk is under pressure to take action against the Pan Africanist Congress after a bomb attack on a restaurant in which 19 whites were injured, five seriously, writes our Correspondent in Johannesburg.

The second random attack on whites within one week turned attention from bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the government, in which progress appeared to have been made towards restarting multi-party constitutional negotiations in February.

The rightwing Conservative Party said the government's failure to take action made them responsible, and the ANC described the bombing as "the work of desperadoes who are not confident of pitting their strengths against other parties in a democratic election

which they realise is imminent".

Police blamed the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army. It followed its reported threat to kill more whites after the gun and grenade attack two weeks ago on a winetasting dinner in nearby King William's Town, which left four whites dead.

The government and the ANC, meanwhile, were optimistic at the end of their three-day meeting at a secret rendezvous. In a statement, they said they had agreed on "the need for a speedy movement from the current situation to a democratic dispensation".

● Two British women, one a young mother on holiday, were found murdered last week on a remote beach in northern Natal. They are thought to have been raped and their bodies thrown into the sea before waves washed them back.

27/12/11
 27/12/11
 27/12/11
 27/12/11

274

114

Goldstone told of disciplinary action

CAPE TOWN — The ANC had undertaken to investigate fully and discipline officers or structures if they were proven to be involved in the illegal importation, distribution and use of weapons, the Goldstone commission heard yesterday.

Peter Harris, for the ANC, said the organisation and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe remained committed to their undertakings in the 1991 D F Malan Accord which prohibited armed attacks, infiltration of cadres and material, creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action and military training outside SA.

The ANC recommended that a special unit comprising investigators from the ANC, Inkatha and security forces be established by the national peace secretariat to investigate illegal arms imports and that

the unit's progress be monitored regularly by the Police Board.

Louis Visser SC, for Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, asked that the commission's terms of reference be extended to investigate all illegally possessed firearms and all forms of politically-related violence, not only political violence which was also public.

He said neighbouring countries should be obliged to curb the inflow of illegal weapons from their territories through international treaties and, failing their cooperation, appeals should be made to the UN and the OAU.

Earlier, Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, also called for broader terms of reference to include an investigation into "pseudo-operations", in which attackers pretended to be security force members. — Sapa.

ANC officials stand accused

DURBAN — Seven men, including ANC officials from the upper south coast, appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court yesterday in connection with the deaths of 24 people at Mpushini in the Umbumbulu area during October.

South coast ANC organiser Sibusiso Darlington Magweyana, Folweni ANC chairman Elias Mkhize and three members of his committee were among the accused.

The case against the seven men was postponed until February 11. — Sapa.

Warder admits helping prisoners escape

THE prison warder who helped "Blue Light" gang member Gavin Schultz and Godwin Webb, who had been convicted of fraud, escape from prison earlier this year, pleaded guilty yesterday to charges of defeating the ends of justice, forging official documents and assisting in their escape.

In a confession made before a magistrate earlier this year, read out in court

GAVIN DU VENAGE

yesterday, 24-year-old Anton Nel admitted he and a policeman accomplice, former Sgt Lucas Cornelius, helped the men escape.

Schultz and Webb had promised him R100 000 for his help and, after initially refusing to take part in the scheme, Nel had agreed.

Nel said his parents had been about to divorce, leaving his mother destitute,

and he would have used the money to support her.

Schultz's girlfriend had telephoned him to say that a policeman whose name was "Shane" would collect the two men from prison. But Shane failed to get in touch with him and Nel decided to find his own policeman. He asked Cornelius, who was stationed at the Norwood police station, to join the scheme.

Nel obtained documents

authorising the temporary transfer of a prisoner to police custody for questioning, and got Cornelius to sign them.

Schultz and Webb were "transferred" on January 30. Two days later they admitted they could not pay the promised R100 000.

Webb handed himself in and Schultz was arrested in Cape Town.

The State withdrew charges against Schultz, who was to have stood trial with Nel, and the case was postponed until February next year, pending a psychiatric evaluation of Nel.

Lindum Reefs Gold Mining Company Limited

ng in lition

the ac-
se had
"good
to cor-
dures.
ement
1 last
er's of
ebank
subsid-
be re-
why it
office
nistra-
h, it
ware",
or a
been
plain
ie the
rking
ng at

they intended to rely upon the aforementioned scheme to spread rights onto Stand 50 Rosebank when, in fact, it was previously claimed that Stand 50 had no other potential than parking", the investigation report said

The management committee agreed to request the Administrator to rectify a 1980 Provincial Gazette notice stating that the intent of the developer's application was only to approve an additional 5 000m² of retail space and not an additional 31 181m² of office space.

Veale confirmed the possibility that, under certain circumstances, and after a court order had been obtained, the building might have to be demolished.

JH Isaacs could not be reached for comment last night.



Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel responds to a question at a news conference held in Pretoria yesterday. Picture SUE KRAMER

Govt does not discount cross-border raids on Apla

PRETORIA — Government would not rule out cross-border pre-emptive raids to combat Apla actions against SA civilians, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told a media conference yesterday.

He estimated the size of Apla to be about 120 people and said it had bases in Transkei and Zimbabwe.

He said government was not "looking for trouble" with its neighbours, but had a responsibility to protect its citizens.

A cross-border raid would be the last resort and government would not do it unless it possessed hard facts.

He said he was pleased by the Zimbabwean government statement ordering Apla to stop making claims regarding its criminal actions from Zimbabwean soil.

Kriel noted that Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa had not made a similar statement.

The ANC, in a statement yesterday, said threats of cross border military action were "totally unacceptable".

"It is irresponsible, unstatesmanlike and provocative in the extreme. It lends credence to the argument that agents provocateurs may be responsible for the acts of terrorism in the eastern Cape region, the intention being to rationalise an attack on these territories.

[Handwritten signature]
TIM COHEN

"These misgivings are reinforced by the raid conducted by the SAP on the ANC regional office in East London, ostensibly looking for Apla members, and the unwarranted arrest of three ANC members.

"An attack against Zimbabwe would destabilise the entire southern African region, including the delicate peace process in Mozambique," it said.

It said ANC president Nelson Mandela would raise the matter at the special emergency meeting of the Frontline states in Harare today.

Meanwhile, an Apla commander, Vuma Ntinkinca, said in Umtata yesterday that Apla had several bases in SA, particularly in the PWV area. He said attacks launched by Apla on the Reef, including the deaths of several policemen, proved the army had bases in the PWV area.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the PAC said after a meeting with the DP in Johannesburg yesterday it recognised the destructive effect of violence and "in particular the killing of innocent civilians", but adamantly refused to distance itself from the attacks on soft targets in King William's Town and Queenstown.

Five killed in townships

[Handwritten: 274, BLOOM 11/12/92]
DURBAN — Five people were killed in separate incidents in KwaZulu townships on Wednesday and yesterday morning.

KwaZulu police said two people died and one was seriously injured when a "powerful device" exploded at a house in Esikhawini yesterday.

The bodies of two children — who were shot dead — were found near Kwamakhutha on Wednesday.

A 14-year-old youth was also shot dead at Sawpits near Umbumbulu.

In Johannesburg, four people were injured on Wednesday and yesterday in incidents on or near railway properties in the Germiston area, police said.

And taxi driver Maria Molefe was shot dead by a passenger in Roodepoort on Wednesday — Sapa.

Goldstone told of disciplinary action | ANC officials

NEWS Children tell audience about violence children have to go through

Thousands come to pray for peace

By Isaac Moleli

PEACE CALL Women appeal to politicians to save country:

THE EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE ON children and calls for peace and reconciliation dominated yesterday's prayer meeting at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg.

3000 people from all denominations and political persuasions. Some people expected, however, failed to arrive because of transport problems. "Candles of peace" were lit to highlight the importance of the day.

Speakers at the meeting condemned the violence which has claimed thousands of lives, and appealed to the leaders of political organisations to come together to save the country from collapse. One speaker, Mrs C Chitja, described

the event as the day of prayer by "mothers all over the country concerned about violence". Another speaker, Mrs P Makhene, told the worshippers: "Yesterday we were worried about our leaders who were languishing in jail. But today,

when we are supposed to celebrate, violence has become our daily torment". A testimony by children affected by violence drew gasps of shock from the audience. One, Janina Chitja, said many had been left homeless and orphaned. Sowetan's managing editor Mr Joe Thlooe said the newspaper would continue to commit itself to the concept of Nation Building by making space available in the paper for that purpose.

Sowetan

11/12/92

274



Burial societies to talk about killings

Sowetan 11/12/92

By Joshua Raboroko

■ **STOP CARNAGE** Violence and

unemployment are on the agenda:

THE 120 000-strong National African Co-operative Societies of South Africa (Nacssa), representing burial societies, women's and meholisano clubs, is to hold its second annual conference at Funda Centre in Soweto on December 13 starting at 9 am.

The theme of the conference is *Peace and Stability - Effects of Violence on Burial Societies*.

Issues such as unemployment, drought and the recession will be addressed.

The association has chosen this theme in response to the large-scale violence which has also seen some of its members being killed.

"We want peace and stability among our people," said Nacssa chief executive Mr Sam Muofhe, explaining why they decided on the theme.

"Stop this carnage," Muofhe appealed. "This violence has caused misery to many black families."

Members of the association had died in acts of violence at an average of two a week since last November and unless something was done very urgently "the toll will increase," he said.

Most of the victims were in the Transvaal. The association was now also operating in Natal.

Nacssa had paid out more than R100 000 to bereaved families through its burial scheme between December last year and November this year.

"Apartheid has devastated not only South Africa but southern Africa and we are all paying the price," Muofhe said.

"We are concerned at this bloodbath that is at the doorstep of every family.

"It is important that peace and stability be restored in our country. We must talk peace and discipline to our children, spouses and relatives.

"We must explain how painful it is to die in trains, buses, taxis and even in our homes.

"If we are to achieve peace, it is essential that every household be inculcated with the spirit of unity among our people," Muofhe said.

He believed it was not the job of political leaders alone to stop the violence but the responsibility of every

citizen.

The conference would also look at the problem of unemployment that has left thousands in abject poverty, especially in the rural areas.

According to statistics compiled by the Urban Foundation, there are between four to six million people who are unemployed in South Africa, the majority of them blacks.

Muofhe said membership of the societies was declining because many people could not afford to pay their monthly subscriptions.

Most parts of southern Africa were ravaged by the worst drought which has brought misery to many.

"Cattle have died in their hundreds because of the lack of grazing. Only a massive relief effort can prevent millions of people from starving" Muofhe said.

One of the highlights of the conference will be the appearance of the Reverend Joe Tshawane and the Discover Develop and Expose Singers, who will sing to remind all about the people who died in the senseless killings in the black community.

274

We have believed for too long that violence works, writes Saths Cooper

Tyrants have led us up garden path

STAR 11/12/76

274

SOUTH Africa at the best of times has been a violent society where the explicit message has been that violence works.

I define violence as an act of omission or commission that causes hurt and pain to individuals and from which individuals seek protection.

A major act of violence has been the apartheid system that has achieved notoriety in the second half of the twentieth century, almost following on the heels of the earlier notorious systems of fascism and nazism.

The violence of apartheid has created socio-political-economic conditions that have drastically reduced this country's humanity and capacity, but certainly the response to apartheid has further thrust this country along the road of massive physical instability and psychological insecurity.

In an inexorable way violence has been proved to work, especially since June 16 1976.

What kind of inhumanity is it that allows its most important asset, its people, to be terrorised

by random and wanton killing, and then frantically seeks to evade its responsibility and culpability?

Yet that same society has thrust political leadership to unaccountable demigod status and is despondent when magical cures are not effected. For too long have the citizens of this country tolerated the tyranny of bigots who treat us as they treat each other: cavalierly, with complete disregard and disdain.

Yet we the citizens put these people into office and feel helpless when they hold us in thrall in this terrible way. Oh, for that remarkable day when a Minister will merely offer to resign! Nay, when a public figure will accept responsibility, even the admission of human fallacy.

But we are a society accustomed to an almost singular line of white male mediocrity in national leadership, with a few notable exceptions, where that overweening self-righteous machismo has dictated that to admit not having answers, taking the citi-

zensry into confidence, and creating conditions of citizen participation would be tantamount to macho suicide.

There is a lot of colour now in national leadership and likely to be more in the future; my hope is that it will not continue the male mediocrity.

In a very bizarre way we have incorporated the effects of apartheid in our behavioural response patterns: intolerant, violent reactions, labelling as enemy anyone whom we suspect disagrees with us. There is an imperceptible gap between violence being done to us and our integrating that violence into our behaviour and in turn resorting to violence.

We have allowed such political dominance over all aspects of our lives that we are now paying dearly for it.

Political leaderships in this country continues to take for granted its putative support base and will unfortunately mistake votes for further compliance.

The cost to our country, so tragically divided against itself, is im-

mense in economic, social, political, physical, and psychological terms.

For how long will we continue to be beaten in this way by this gang of significantly self-serving leaders? As long as we don't demand accountability from them, and as long as we continue to put them on the pedestal of power without recall.

Let us regain our communities, our institutions, our decision-making, and in the process regain the trust of our children, showing our children proud role models.

Only then will democracy prevail, only then will peace, stability and security be established in our country.

A society that ignores, or otherwise continues to overlook and marginalise its future, its children, is a society doomed. □

● *Dr Saths Cooper is executive director of the Family Institute. This is an extract from his Abu-Baker Asvat Memorial Lecture delivered at The Indiscarator's recent Human Rights Award function.*

PAC, DP VOW on violence

(274)
CT 11/12/92

Political Correspondent

THE PAC and the Democratic Party yesterday pledged to work "as a matter of urgency" towards achieving an end to violence and a "comprehensive cessation of hostilities" in South Africa.

However, the parties warned after a meeting held at the PAC headquarters in Johannesburg that the current strife could not be divorced from a political settlement.

The two delegations headed by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and DP leader Dr Zach de Beer held wide-ranging discussions on the political situation in the country.

In a joint statement read afterwards by Mr Makwetu, the parties noted that they both "recognise the destructive effect which violence, and in particular the killing of innocent citizens, has on

'We will
work to
end the
hostilities'

the creation of such a climate".

Saying the PAC reiterated its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities, Mr Makwetu said it was also necessary that a multi-lateral forum be convened to decide on the modalities for electing a constituent assembly.

"Both (parties) view the convening of a multi-lateral forum to decide on the modalities for electing a representative body

which will draw up a new democratic constitution as an important step both in resolving the issue of violence and achieving a political settlement," the statement said.

The parties discussed the recent attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown, but were not able to reach "an agreed view" on these events.

"(But) in a more general discussion on the urgent need to bring violence to an end, we did find considerable common ground."

Sapa reports that when Mr Makwetu was pressed on the question of Apla's complicity in the attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown, he retorted that his organisation would not subject itself to trial by the media.

"The PAC is on record as saying we are committed to the cessation of hostilities. Any day the regime is prepared to talk to us, we are ready," he said.

SADF 'can't do task'

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

THE SADF could not carry out its task to the best of its ability due to a shortage of necessary equipment, which stemmed from operating within a shrinking budget, the Goldstone commission heard yesterday.

The full Commission, chaired by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, is hearing submissions in Cape Town on the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in South Africa.

Mr Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, said the SADF's role in the importation, distribution and use of illegal arms, included manning border posts, promoting border patrols, and manning roadblocks at probable weapon influx routes.

The SADF had to operate within a shrinking budget which led to a shortage of the necessary equipment and resulted in them not being able to perform their tasks on a larger scale. There was shortage of roadblock equipment and apparatus to trace weapons, ammunition and explosives on persons in vehicles or buildings.

To make searches easier, Mr Rabie asked that the commission

'Raid hostels, informal areas for arms' — ANC

HOSTELS and informal settlements should be raided on a regular yet random basis to help combat the problem of illegal arms, the ANC's legal representative told the Goldstone commission in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Peter Harris, for the ANC, said that police raids seemed to uncover only small caches. However some large caches had been found at a hostel on the East Rand where police seized 23 AK47s.

He submitted that the seizure of

weapons was not enough to combat the problem in that arrests must be made and convictions secured. He suggested that identified problem areas, such as hostels and informal settlements be raided on a regular, yet random basis.

Mr Harris said it appeared that Mozambique was the major source of AK-47 rifles and according to press reports Renamo members sold the weapons in Mozambique to Swaziland-based arms smugglers.

The hearing continues today.

recommend definite rules regarding the packing of freight vehicles which would make inspection easier.

Weapons brought in by refugees from Mozambique and Swaziland in all probability is sold for cash or food. This could result in a criminal element selling weapons for profit as well as possible influx on behalf of paramilitary groups or organisations.

He also called for broader terms of reference to include an investigation into "pseudo-operations", in which attackers used security force uniforms, insignia and similar vehicles to create the impression they were security force members.

Mr W L Wepener, for the South African Police, told the commission that covert intelligence and infiltration operations were essential to combat the import and distribution of weapons. There were 11 covert anti-crime units already operating throughout the country.

Mr Wepener said problems relating to the use of illegal firearms for political purposes could only be effectively addressed through a political settlement.

The Commission heard that 711 people had been killed and 809 injured by AK-47 assault rifles alone during incidents of political violence from July 1, 1991 to November 30 this year.

Millions for campaign ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ for peace

CT. 11/12/92
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace Committee is planning to launch a R100 million marketing campaign for peace by March, following a R3m peace campaign in the press and on radio and television over the holiday season.

The campaign, to be directed by advertising agency Hunt Lascaris free of charge, is the largest advertising project of its kind commissioned by a South African institution, according to industry sources.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said yesterday the campaign was designed to boost the peace process by stimulating grassroots initiatives and publicising the peace accord.

A 16-member subcommittee, which included advertising executive Mr Reg Lascaris and Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste, was planning the campaign, he said.

R100m campaign for peace

(274)

RAY HARTLEY

THE national peace committee is planning to launch a R100m marketing campaign for peace by March, following a R3m peace campaign in the Press and on radio and television over the festive season.

The campaign, to be directed by advertising agency Hunt Lascaris free of charge, is the largest advertising project of its kind commissioned by an SA institution, according to industry sources.

National peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said yesterday the campaign was designed to boost the peace process by stimulating grassroots initiatives and publicising the peace accord.

A 16-member subcommittee, which included advertising executive Reg Lascaris and Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste, was planning the campaign, he said.

The main campaign was expected to be launched towards the end of March and, depending on donations of media space and time and on sponsorship for materials, could amount to "in excess of R100m", he said, adding that earlier reports of a R60m campaign had been "misleading".

Peace committee spokesman Val Pauquet said the R3m campaign to be run over Christmas would launch the committee's new slogan "Peace in our land" and would ask the question: "What have you done for peace today?" A peace song recorded by SA musicians would be used in the campaign and the hymn Silent Night would be incorporated in festive season advertise-

□ To Page 2

Peace

ments, she said.

She said the committee had already commissioned a R1,8m production and market research project to establish what South Africans understood by peace. The money for this had been provided by the Justice Department.

The campaign's creative director, Mike Schalit, said it was regarded "as the most important project in the country at the moment". The Christmas campaign would consist of a 60-second television commercial in five languages on all television stations, a 40-second radio spot in nine languages to be carried by all radio stations

and a print advertisement which would be carried in most newspapers.

The March campaign would include information on how to use national peace accord structures and would launch a "peaceline", which people could phone to report incidents of violence.

Pauquet said the committee was also searching for a new symbol to replace the present graphic depicting people sitting around a table. The new symbol was likely to depict two doves.

She emphasised that R100m was a projected amount as the funds had not yet been raised in full.

□ From Page 1



Work for peace, women urge leaders

Star 11/12/92

274

By Thabo Leshilo

About 2 000 Christians from different denominations made an impassioned plea for South Africa's leaders, especially President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, to put aside their differences and concentrate their efforts on working for peace. The occasion was the "Wo-

men Calling for Peace/Umtshandazo Wamakhosikazi/Thapelo Ya Bomme" prayer meeting for peace held in Johannesburg yesterday.

"Women have been chosen as ambassadors for peace in our country and should take this message to all our leaders to make them see things in one spirit," a speaker said.

"We pray for the precious lives of our children that have

been lost, for reconciliation in the whole continent of Africa," said church and community worker Cathy Makhele.

Unable to control themselves, some women in the crowd cried openly while the crowd was being led through a prayer describing the horror of violence that has become endemic.

The Human Rights Commission has estimated that this

year alone 3 600 people, 40 per cent more than last year, would have died in the continuing violence by the end of 1992.

The meeting was supported by the National Peace Committee (NPC) and church leaders.

"The sheer horror of conditions in our townships is not fully appreciated by all South Africans," said NPC chairman John Hall in statement.

th at se a ti a n 2 v n

Covert action best arms smuggler trap

Star 11/12/92

CAPE TOWN — Covert police operations had proved more successful than conventional methods in uncovering arms smuggling networks and these operations could be extended in the future, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

The full commission, chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone, is hearing submissions in Cape Town on the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in South Africa.

W.L. Wepener, for the South African Police, said covert intelligence and infiltration operations were "absolutely essential" to combat the import and distribution of weapons. Eleven covert anti-crime units were already operating countrywide.

He recommended the establishment of a special unit to infiltrate and expose weapon smuggling networks from the source to the destination. Arms smugglers who were linked to several transactions could be given heavier sentences. Wepener said problems relat-

ing to the use of illegal firearms for political purposes could only be effectively addressed through a political settlement.

However, effective control over African National Congress arms caches inside the country was needed in the interim to prevent the distribution of illegal weapons. "We are not asking that the ANC's arms caches be placed immediately under police control."

Searches

"But we believe the ANC should, as a start, make available to this commission all information which it has regarding the illegal import and distribution of firearms," he said.

Improved co-operation with neighbouring states, particularly Transkei, increased penalties for offenders and legislation regulating the packing of freight to facilitate police searches at international borders were also recommended.

The commission heard that 711 people had been killed and

809 injured by AK-47 assault rifles alone during incidents of political violence from July 1 1991 to November 30 this year.

In 1991, illegal weapons confiscated included a total of 1 090 AK-47s, 2 150 pistols, 1 075 revolvers, 632 home-made rifles and 1 600 kg of explosives.

Wepener said weapons were "freely available" in Mozambique and were smuggled by organised syndicates to Natal and the Witwatersrand.

Conflict between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, taxi wars, train violence, faction fights and the increase in crime due to deteriorating economic conditions all helped to create a demand.

The commission also heard police had uncovered weapons smuggling networks in hostels on the Witwatersrand.

Police infiltrated such a hostel network and "bought" arms from smugglers.

A similar network selling illegal Mozambican firearms to buyers in the Kruger National Park area, was also uncovered in August. — Sapa.

Bop to cut sentences of prisoners

Star 11/12/92

More than 1 500 prisoners in Bophuthatswana will be affected by a general amnesty announced by President Lucas Mangope during the homeland's 15th anniversary independence celebrations last week, it was confirmed yesterday.

A Bophuthatswana government spokesman said the number of prisoners in the territory as of Wednesday stood at 1 561, and all, including long-term inmates, would have up to 18 months cut from their sentences. Those serving six months or less would be freed.

He said although the number of prisoners serving sentences of six months or less was not available, hundreds would be released by the end of the week.

He could not confirm if former Bophuthatswana Defence Force member Warrant-Officer Timothy Phiri, one of the leaders of the aborted coup against Mangope's government in February 1988, was classified as a political prisoner or not.

Political organisations in the homeland, including the ANC, have been demanding the release of Phiri and Chris Makgala. — Sapa.

elsewhere.
Removal of the race

laide. — Sapa-AFP.

cause of the tobacco
laws. — Sapa-Reuter.

R100-m to be spent on peace

By Carina le Grange (274)

As much as R100 million in sponsored funds would be spent on peace over the next few months, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said in a statement yesterday.

Gildenhuys was responding to what he called a "misleading" report

on a R60 million marketing campaign.

He said the facts were that a media campaign of R3 million, which had been donated by the press, TV and radio, would be launched this Christmas to communicate the objectives of the National Peace Accord.

It was expected that the main part of the

peace campaign would be launched at the end of March. This could amount to more than R100 million, but would depend on donations of media space and sponsorship.

Gildenhuys said there would also be production and market-research expenses of about R1,8 million.

Panel to probe claims against SAP

Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

A permanent independent board chaired by a judge to investigate allegations of misconduct against the police is to be appointed early next year, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Kriel said at a Pretoria press conference that the Cabinet had already approved the leg-

islation to establish the board.

It would probably be tabled early in the next session of Parliament starting at the end of January, he said.

Kriel said the board would be chaired by a judge and run by an attorney-general.

It would have its own inspectors to investigate allegations of criminal conduct against the police.

He confirmed that the board to be launched next year was the same as the committee he referred to in August when he announced a package of measures to improve the image of the SAP.

He said then that the committee would fall under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Justice and not the Minister of Law and Order who controls the SAP.

It would thus be independent.

DP and PAC resolve to help end violence

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party yesterday committed themselves to creating a climate conducive to negotiations, but failed to reach an agreement on last week's attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.

In a joint statement issued after a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, the two parties said they recognised "the destructive effect which violence,

and in particular the killing of innocent citizens", had on the creation of a climate in which negotiations for a new democratic constitution could take place.

"Both (the PAC and DP) will work towards achieving the ending of violence and a comprehensive cessation of hostilities as a matter of urgency. The PAC in particular reiterates its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities with all concerned

"Both agree that the matter of violence cannot be divorced

from that of a political settlement," the statement said.

The DP and the PAC said they viewed the convening of a multilateral negotiations forum to decide on elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as an important step in resolving the problem of violence and achieving a political settlement.

Although last week's attacks on white civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown were discussed, no agreement was reached on this issue.

STAR 11/12/92

274

THE TRANSITION
~~274~~
From the outside

FM 11/12/92

274

~~3014~~
Can SA resolve its crisis of violence without international assistance? The civil war developing in Natal, the spiral of random violence in many other parts and bickering among political leaders suggest not. Establishing a transitional government would go a long way towards helping the parties to reach acceptable solutions but it might not be enough to keep SA on the road to a peaceful transition to democracy.

So far, all the main parties have resisted any role for international monitors beyond observer groups and participation by observers or investigators in the activities of the National Peace Commission and the Goldstone Commission. However, growing acceptance — by government in particular — of the credentials of the UN, the OAU and the Commonwealth, could open the way for increased involvement.

Though SA cannot be compared directly with other southern African trouble spots of the past two decades, international intervention has had reasonable success, since Zimbabwean independence in 1980, in ending conflict in the region and overseeing free elections. Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia are good examples, with Angola and Mozambique now regarded as failures.

Douglas Anglin, political science professor at Ottawa's Carleton University, says in terms of the number, variety and scale of foreign intervention initiatives undertaken, southern Africa has been at the forefront "serving as something of a laboratory for the continent and the world."

Speaking at a conference in Tanzania earlier this year on peace and security in the region, Anglin said international monitoring of the peace and democratisation processes became essential in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique "once the parties reached the point where they were prepared to abandon a military solution in favour of a political settlement."

His paper was published recently by the Centre for Southern African Studies at the

CURRENT AFFAIRS ~~274~~ ~~3014~~

University of the Western Cape. Though he spoke before the Angolan election and subsequent crisis, as well as the signing and subsequent collapse of the Mozambique peace accord, Anglin's comments on what are essentially the prerequisites for success give clear indications of why the two countries have reverted to conflict.

In Angola, as in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia, the major parties were committed to the electoral process because they believed they could win. But unlike the other three, the outcome of the Angolan presidential election was indecisive, which cast doubt on the fairness and freedom of the process, resulting in the resumption of hostilities.

In Mozambique, Anglin argued, a "major disruptive element" within the peace and monitoring process was the Renamo leadership's total lack of any sense of commitment or consistency. FM 11/12/92.

The success of the transitions in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia did not imply that international monitoring was unnecessary, but rather underscored the value of independent outside observers in ensuring free and fair elections.

Though Anglin did not discuss SA in detail, his general comments indicated the possible value of international mediation in ending SA's conflict — especially in Natal, where government appears powerless to play the role of honest broker.

There is little doubt that, to avoid an Angolan-type situation, intensive foreign monitoring of SA's electoral process will be essential to ensure acceptance of what is likely to be a close outcome. But ending the violence is obviously a far more pressing problem and one for which the international community has started to develop special skills. Anglin said the move beyond "conflict settlement" to "conflict resolution," especially in southern Africa, was "highly significant."

While similar in concept, the two functions differ. Conflict settlement seeks to modify the behaviour of parties by ensuring agreement with a set of agreed rules, whereas conflict resolution involves changes in attitudes, goals and values to eradicate the underlying causes of strife. "It goes beyond the preoccupation with the technical provisions of a treaty, to a concern for the spirit required to give it life."

Two issues are of particular significance: the integration and re-orientation of rival security forces and the broader question of national reconciliation. "Neither issue is the exclusive responsibility of international monitors, though monitors have been instrumental in promoting conflict resolution initiatives in each of the spheres."

Anglin says the world still faces formidable challenges in southern Africa, including possible roles in SA, Lesotho and Malawi. But "whether the international community is capable of demonstrating the imagination and commitment to seize these opportunities when they present themselves is by no means certain."

Apla and AWB

South 12/12 - 16/12/92
By Rehana Rossouw
and Quentin Wilson

A NEWLY-FORMED shadowy Cape group this week threatened a campaign of assassinations to stop the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the AWB.

An anonymous caller told SOUTH this week that unless political organisations "stopped their nonsense", their leaders, including PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, would be assassinated.

The threat follows two bombing incidents for which Apla claimed responsibility.

The attacks — one in King William's Town and one in Queenstown — left five people killed and 34 injured.

The caller said 20 people, most of them former SADF members and some of them snipers, had attended a meeting in Cape Town on Monday night where an organisation called the Civil Protection Group was formed.

'Avenge'

He declined to give his name or a telephone number where he could be contacted.

"The purpose of the Civil Protection Group is to avenge innocent people who are hurt or killed in bombings," the caller said.

"We are going to start eliminating the instigators from the top, starting with Benny Alexander and Eugene Terre'Blanche.

"It doesn't matter whether it's the PAC or the AWB or the Boerevolk Party, we will take revenge."

Asked whether he thought it was correct to avenge violence by using violent means, the caller said the group was being forced into taking such action.

"The simple reason why we are doing is this that we want these people to stop their nonsense.

"Every time an innocent person is hurt the government does nothing about it."

Meanwhile two sources who are close to the PAC said Apla's terror campaign against whites was an expression of the deep conflicts within the PAC "rather than an attempt to step up armed resistance.

The sources told SOUTH this week that deep divisions exist between three camps within the organisation.

The sources said all attacks claimed by their military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), should be seen in this light.

According to one source, these attacks "are primarily concerned with sending a sharp, clear message to any PAC leaders who are interested in negotiations".

"Since the ANC and the NP's secret talks where they agreed to revive Codesa, there is considerable concern among many people in the PAC that others in the organisation were preparing to join in these negotiations. To many, this is unthinkable," he said.

There are believed to be three main camps within the PAC:

- the "liberal African nationalists" who believe the PAC has to negotiate or find themselves completely in the cold politically.
- the "radical Africanists" who believe it is impossible for the PAC to successfully negotiate freedom with a "settler regime"; therefore liberation can only be attained through the barrel of a gun.
- an "in-between" group which believes that it is important to directly influence negotiations, while at the same time retaining the ability to strike uncompromisingly at the government.

The "liberal African nationalists" are said to be led by deputy president Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, publicity officer Mr Barney Desai, secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim and head of human resources Mr Mark Shinner.

The PAC's student wing, Paso, is a main force driving the radical Africanists. Mr Thami Mohlomi, who wrote a series of militant articles last year for Apla's publication, "Azanian Combat", is a key theoretician for this grouping, according to the sources.

The "in-between" position is allegedly headed by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, secretary for political affairs Mr Jacki Seroke and ex-Apla chief Mr Johnson Mlambo.

According to one source, the bombings tried to roll back the gains made by the liberal group.

After the PAC's exploratory talks with the government in Abuja, Nigeria, and again in Gaborone, Botswana, the organisation was set to join a revitalised Codesa beginning next year.

Moves to muzzle summer

Star 12/12/92

CAPE TOWN — The Goldstone Commission is to appoint a committee to urgently investigate methods of fighting the importation and use of weapons and explosives in South Africa.

This step had the blessing of the SADF, ANC, SA Police, the KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the commission said in a statement yesterday.

Casualties

They had also "agreed to cooperate fully with the committee". The commission appealed to all other involved parties or groups to assist the committee. Their assistance would enable the commission

to recommend steps aimed at reducing the high casualties and damage to property caused by the weapons.

The commission, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice R Goldstone, yesterday ended a preliminary hearing during which it received "helpful" submissions from the SADF, ANC, SAP, KwaZulu government and IFP.

In a related development, the IFP is reportedly not happy to hear that the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association (THRA) has, without informing it, reached an agreement with the ANC "aimed at promoting peace in the PWV region".

IFP spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu strongly rejected the agreement's proposals, which include fencing around certain "problem" hostels, 24-hour police presence around them, and surveillance of hostel members by random searches. These are to "prevent the move-

OWN CORRESPONDENT and STAFF REPORTER

ment of arms and dangerous weapons and implements".

Ndlovu said hostel residents should not be treated like animals, with "police and other people looking in at them through fences".

He said all parties should be consulted when such agreements were reached, if the peace process was to be effective.

He complained that even though Chief Minister Buthelezi had been in the PWV area in October to support a march against the fencing of hostels, the hostel residents themselves were entering into agreements that made provision for fencing to be erected.

Wesley Dlamini, speaking on behalf of the THRA, made it clear that he thought the object of the

agreement had been confused by certain members of the media.

"The agreement is not about fences and police presence," he said, "but about speeding up the upgrading of hostels and the integration of hostel residents into surrounding communities. The fences are only proposed as a stabilising measure for hostels where a developmental approach would not be suitable."

About the THRA's relationship with the IFP he said: "The IFP have always been our friends, and we understand their position in terms of the confusion of issues."

Dlamini told the Saturday Star that the THRA wanted to depoliticise the hostels dispute, but that the agreement did make allowance for liaison with all relevant parties — including the IFP.

But he said that for progress to be made in the reconstruction process, the THRA needed to talk to those

parties with whom it had been at loggerheads.

The Government's upgrading initiative (R326 million, administered by the Transvaal Provincial Administration) has been criticised by all parties involved.

Funds

Ndlovu said the TPA was not doing enough in its efforts to upgrade the hostels, while the agreement between the ANC and the THRA stated that "both parties are generally dissatisfied with the manner in which these funds are being disbursed."

It further stated that the TPA did not devote enough effort to consulting local interests, and that "black local authorities are inappropriate structures for the ownership, upgrading, management and upgrading of hostels".

(274)

10

~~274~~
Frontline
summit
STAR
12/14/92
silent
on Apla
attacks
274

PATRICK LAURENCE

HARARE — Seven Frontline states yesterday called for an end to violence in South Africa, warning that it would derail negotiations and delay the formation of a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

But the seven states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — refrained from specifically condemning attacks on white civilians by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and the refusal of the PAC to dissociate itself from the attacks.

Condemned

A communique issued after the summit — which was attended by ANC and PAC representatives — condemned violence generally and urged "all parties to go to the negotiating table".

At a press conference after the day-long summit, Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira was emphatic that the issue of Apla terror attacks had not been discussed.

Anticipating the direction of a question from Saturday Star he said: "No, that was not discussed."

Earlier, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe called on the ANC, PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party to form a united patriotic front against President F.W. de Klerk's administra-

● TO PAGE 2.

Frontline

● FROM PAGE 1.

tion. The front should draw all "bantustan" leaders into its ranks, Mugabe advised in his address.

Mugabe's counsel was endorsed by the summit, which declared: "The strength of the oppressed people lies in unity and good leadership... a common front would not permit the minority regime to pit them against one another and against the interest of the suffering majority."

Contravention

Another issue which occupied the attention of the summit was Angola, where the refusal of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to accept defeat in the UN-supervised election in September has threatened to plunge the country into renewed civil war.

Associated with the spectre of a fresh round of fighting in Angola are the alleged contraven-

tions of the airspace of four Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe — by South African aircraft. The summit expressed "disappointment and amazement" at Unita's stand, urged Savimbi to "respect the democratic process" and counselled him to join the government formed by President Jose dos Santos on December 4.

Covert

On South Africa's alleged attempts to intervene in Angola and subvert the democratic process, the communique said: "The summit views with growing suspicion the apparently renewed military activities of the SADF in southern Angola and condemns violations of the airspace of Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe by South African aircraft."

In a statement last week, the De Klerk administration denied that South African aircraft had violated the airspace of neighbouring states on covert missions into Angola.

Women pray for meeting

By MARTIN NISOENGOE

A HIGHLY emotional prayer meeting held at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg heard that Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi must meet to prevent the country being turned into a wasteland.

Speaker after speaker at the open women's prayer meeting stressed the need for the two leaders to meet, and said that was the only way to stop the carnage in Natal and the Transvaal. 13/12/92.

Many women broke down and wept uncontrollably when a leading Soweto church woman, Christianah Chitja, told the huge gathering that there must be a change of heart between Buthelezi and Mandela.

One of the main speakers, P Makhene, said: "Yesterday we were worried about our leaders languishing in jail. But today when we are supposed to celebrate, violence has become our daily torment. Many families have been left homeless and have no hope of ever rebuilding their houses."



EMOTIONAL... A women at the open prayer meeting which called on leaders to meet.

Picture: TLADI KHUELE

Kriel warns Apla of hot pursuit

274

CT 11/12/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa would consider raids into Zimbabwe to attack bases of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, which has declared war on whites, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

"That would be the last resort," Mr Kriel said in answer to a question at a news conference. "Obviously we would not like to do anything like that. We are not looking for trouble with our neighbours."

The minister estimated that there were 120 Apla members trained in Zimbabwe and Transkei inside and outside South Africa.

On denials by Zimbabwean and Transkeian leaders that Apla guerillas were trained in their countries, Mr Kriel said they did not know what was happening in their countries.

An Apla commander, Mr Vuma Ntikinca, said on Radio Transkei yesterday that Apla had several bases in South

From page 1

Border

274

Africa, particularly in the PWV area.

Mr Kriel said any decision to take cross-border action against Apla would have to be taken by the State President and cabinet.

"I cannot say that we will or will not consider cross-border raids, but it is also fair to say that it cannot be ruled out."

Mr Kriel would not be drawn on which countries the government believed was financing the PAC, which in turn provides funding to Apla.

He said the matter was being investigated and that it would be taken further by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Kriel said it had been made clear at meetings with the PAC that the armed struggle would either have to be suspended or terminated for the PAC to become part of the negotiation process.

"We cannot negotiate with guns on the table next to us," he said.

He said that the PAC, by supporting Apla's attacks on civilians, was effectively excluding itself from negotiations for an interim government.

CT 11/12/92
● The Conservative Party said yesterday that there was no reason why the SA Defence Force should not mount hot pursuit actions into Transkei to destroy alleged Apla training bases.

● Church leaders are seeking an urgent meeting with the PAC and Apla.

To page 2

the

SA experienced horrific year — Idasa

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA experienced a "horrifying" year in 1992, Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said in his year-end assessment yesterday.

The breakdown of Codesa negotiations was followed by a display of petty politicking, he writes in the

latest Idasa journal "Democracy in Action".

"We have witnessed a sickening increase in violence which has left thousands of South Africans dead and many more thousands injured. Thousands have been displaced," Dr Boraine said.

Disclosures had also been made of massive corruption in the

government and the so-called homelands.

"Lying and deceit by people in high places in the SADF have apparently become the norm and in almost every instance, no one has had to accept the blame for this abuse of power," he said.

Amnesty International also disclosed widespread abuse of funda-

mental human rights in ANC camps.

"As if this catalogue of woe is not enough, the cold-blooded attacks on King William's Town and Queenstown have seen the South African conflict cross a new threshold.

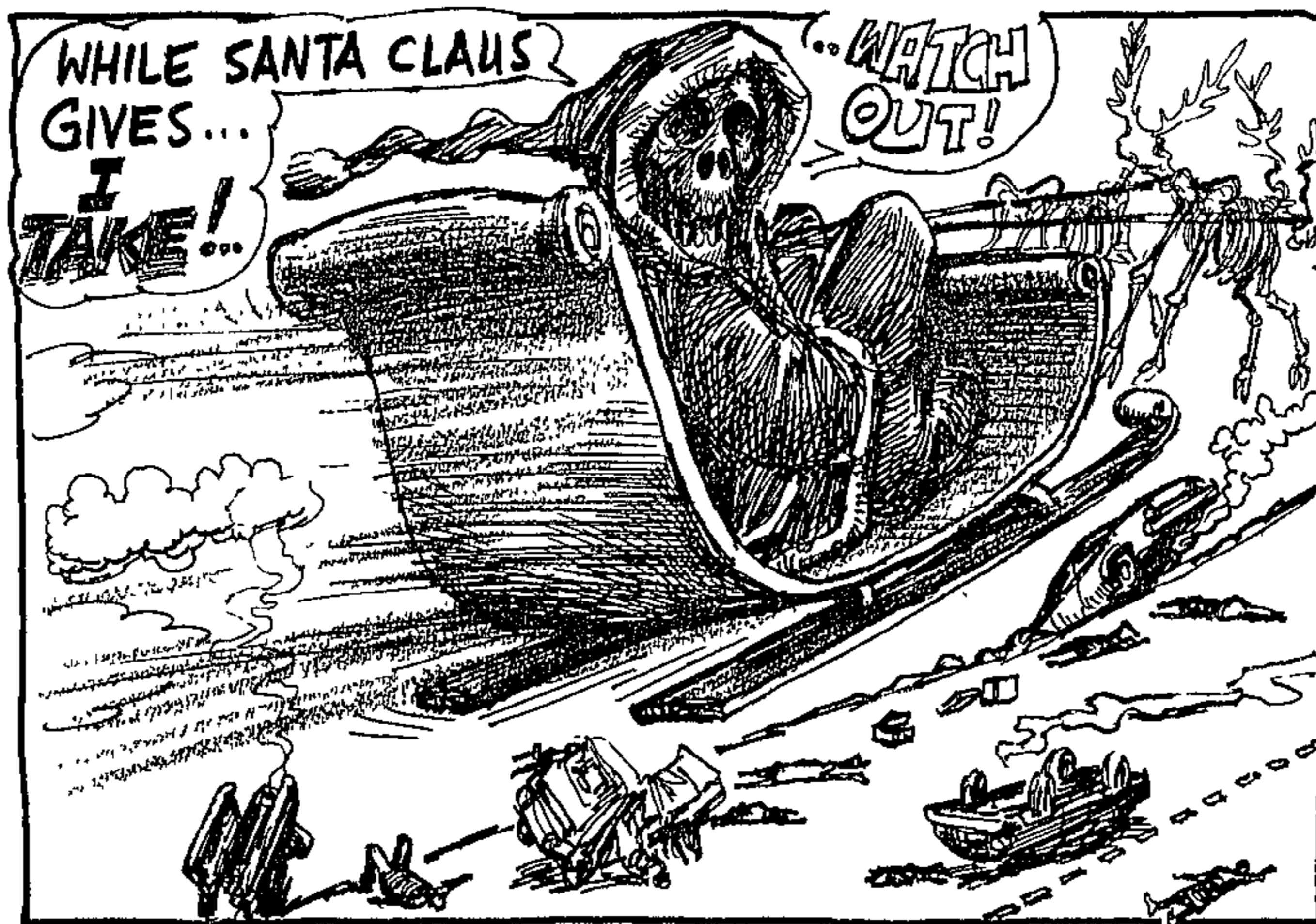
"The posturing by the leadership of the Pan-Africanist Congress in

regard to these attacks is unacceptable," he said.

Dr Boraine said the announcement by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of plans to adopt a regional constitution was "irresponsible in the extreme" because inherent in this proposal was the threat of secession.

274
CF 16/12/92

FOCUS Why does the OAU allow America to usurp its function?



focus on Somalia

“CRY AFRICA, CRY” Was it poet Ingoapele Madingoane who wrote those lines? Or was it Don Mattera in his lament over the Nkomati Accord when he also said “Was hunger so great that you had to eat the crumbs from the tables of these brutes?”

These thoughts have been haunting me since US troops landed on the shores of Mogadishu in a blaze of publicity

In a nutshell, this is what has been giving me sleepless nights. Where the hell is the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), that body that brings together all African states to preserve life and limb on the continent?

Somalia disintegrates

We have witnessed, as if in slow motion, the disintegration of Somalia

Bare bones, or as one man put it, walking corpses that look like death warmed over, were paraded on international television screens day in and day out

Warlords took over the country and made it impossible for relief to be distributed to areas of need

And indeed, the emaciated and dying children came to represent the face of Somalia, with the only physically strong and well-fed people in that country seemingly the gunmen in their jeeps

International aid organisations tried, yes they tried, to bring in relief but it ended up in the stores of the gunmen who ruled Mogadishu airport and harbour

And the OAU did nothing. As more and more people died, it was left to Butros Butros Ghali, the UN secretary general, to call for armed aid from afar

And so we see today American troops landing in Mogadishu in a blaze of publicity and the gunmen disappear from the scene

It is like the recolonisation of Africa

These American troops land in Somalia and disarm the gunmen. They are cheered by the emaciated thousands and seen as saviours

OAU nowhere to be seen

And the OAU is nowhere to be seen. Is it impossible for the OAU to muster an army that could go into Somalia and do what the Americans did?

I always thought that Africa may be impoverished in many respects but the soldiers were always there. How do African leaders feel when they see Africans cowering before these G-men and their armaments?

What are the psychological effects of this invasion by America? As the gunmen disappear from the scene we see sleeping men being

Sowetan 17/12/92.

The Organisation of African Unity has been silent about the suffering and death in Somalia. But the local representative of the OAU has been quick to condemn the killing of four whites in King William's

Town. **Mathatha Tsedu** asks why



A Somali, in disagreement with the military intervention in his country, argues with a heavily armed US Marine in Mogadishu.

A lone man tries in vain to stand up and speak about how he does not want to be shoved around by strangers and foreigners - but even the caption says he argued "briefly"

It was the picture of this man that really touched my heart. Here was a solitary man making a stand that was to have been made by the OAU, as far as I am concerned

But they were not there. Instead, here at home, we see an OAU representative, Mr Lekgwaila Lekgwaila, waffling loftily about the deaths of four whites in an attack in King William's Town

OAU concerned about peace

The OAU, he pontificated, was concerned about peace and life. Hence their condemnation of the King William's Town attack. Like hell, I think, they are concerned but is it the lives of whites that they are worried about and not the Somali gunmen who were effectively killing thousands?

struggle as if this country was already free and under a democratically elected government

Principles thrown overboard

Long-standing principles and positions of the OAU and contact and recognition of the settler minority and racist regime here are being thrown overboard in an apparent scramble to embrace the white oppressors of this country

Legitimate struggles by black people against economic exploitation and political oppression are being criminalised in the name of peace. Whatever happened to justice being the prerequisite of peace

Where was Lekgwaila and the OAU when Savimbi refused to accept the results of a democratic election in Angola

Instead we saw Pik Botha, the messenger of aggression, suddenly wearing the mantle of peacemaker, with the OAU sidelined

One could go on about the OAU and speak about Liberia, Mozambique and Sudan. But the

DP calls for urgent talks with ANCO

13/01/92
17/12/92

RAY HARTLEY

RELATIONS between the ANC and DP have hit rock bottom following the ANC's alleged disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha near Cape Town on Tuesday.

DP regional secretary Jasper Walsh yesterday wrote a letter to the ANC demanding an urgent meeting, and called for strong disciplinary action against ANC members who disrupted the meeting.

DP spokesman Ken Andrew said relations between the two parties would sour unless satisfactory answers were given to DP demands and the "undoubted involvement of ANC members in the disruption". He said the meeting between the DP and ANC, if it went ahead, would discuss the incident in detail and try to establish an understanding regarding future DP meetings in the townships.

Our Political Staff reports that ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak yesterday withdrew his accusation that Apla had been responsible for the disruption at the meeting, saying it was based on "a genuine misunderstanding".

However, Boesak added that the anger at the meeting seemed to have flared when DP MP for Wynberg Robin Carlisle said the DP had never been involved in violence. "Such a statement from people who are seen as armchair politicians who chose the soft option of the tricameral parliament is outrageous in its insensitivity," Boesak said.

The PAC had earlier rejected Boesak's efforts to shift the blame for the disruption to Apla, saying it did not "have a problem with political organisations organising meetings in the townships".

Carlisle said ANC claims not to have been behind the demonstration were questionable because prominent ANC member Nomatjala Hanganana was involved "continuously and vocally" in the disruption. The ANC has claimed Hanganana was sent to the meeting to try to keep events under

control, but Carlisle said she had been involved continuously and vocally in the violent disruption of the meeting and had not exerted any authority to prevent the violence.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would investigate the disruption and take "the necessary action" against ANC members found to have participated in the disruption.

Andrew said the disruption resulted from ANC concern at the DP's rapidly growing coloured and black membership. "There is an awareness that down the track, the DP will be a serious contender for a significant chunk of black support. There are very many black people who do not favour a militant, hostile approach to politics," he said.

Unlike most SA political parties, the DP did not carry the baggage of apartheid, violence, intimidation and socialism, he added.

The DP was experiencing "very rapid and very significant" growth in the coloured areas of the western Cape where it now had about 40 branches.

Membership in the black areas was "trickling in" but this would be boosted by an end to intimidation, he said. "In some townships, the DP youth has to function as an underground organisation."

DP membership in the Free State was overwhelmingly black and the party was beginning to establish itself in the northern Transvaal, he said.

A third of the delegates attending a recent DP national congress in Johannesburg were black, he added. "The ANC will be judged, in the final analysis, not so much by its fine utterances or its lofty ideals but by the actions of its members and supporters," he said.



Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa makes a point during his news conference in Johannesburg. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

SA judge may head Transkei's Apla inquiry

13/01/92
17/12/92

RAY HARTLEY

TRANSKEI would probably appoint an SA judge to investigate claims that Apla had launched attacks on civilians from bases in his territory, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

In an interview, he said he agreed with a statement by UN observer mission leader Angela King that it was not the role of the mission to investigate Apla bases in Transkei.

He said he wanted the mission simply to monitor the Transkei inquiry into the bases to ensure impartiality. The UN could send observers to Transkei whenever it wished, but the Goldstone commission would not be welcome because it was an SA government-appointed institution.

An SA judge would probably be appointed to head the investigation, but it was too early to speculate on who this would be, Holomisa said. Transkeians would defend themselves against the SADF if it raided their territory on the pretext of attacking Apla bases, but this would be a last resort, he said.

"It is the right of Transkeians — not just the Transkei Defence Force — to defend themselves. Our public has been conscientised, they know what to do," he said. Contingency plans had been drawn up to cope with SADF incursions into the homeland, he said.

However, Holomisa expressed the hope that government would not contemplate going ahead with the raids, which have been condemned by the UN and the patriotic front.

He said the police commissioners of SA and Transkei were in contact and he had advised government it could reach him at his office if it wished to discuss anything with him. The recent war of words between himself and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi over Inkatha's threat to secede if a federal constitution was not adopted, had not resulted in any "bad blood", Holomisa said.

He said there was nothing to justify a meeting with Buthelezi over the issue, because it was "just politics".

Comment Page 6

JPA reports 'link of

UN call to Goldstone on armies

274 17/12/92
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Judge Richard Goldstone needs the freedom to investigate the armed wings of liberation movements inside South Africa and in neighbouring countries, UN observer mission head Ms Angela King said here yesterday.

Ms King said liberation armies must be scrutinised if Judge Goldstone is to achieve his stated goal of investigating the role of security forces and armed formations in political violence.

“What is giving us some concern, though, is whether he (Judge Goldstone) can actually get co-operation from all the parties involved.

“We certainly encourage all the countries involved to welcome him and (grant) full access. We would hope the parties that have armed wings would also encourage those armed wings to cooperate fully,” she said.

Ms King's remarks coincided with a statement by Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa that Judge Goldstone remains unwelcome in Transkei because he was appointed by Pretoria.

However, Gen Holomisa reiterated that the UN is free to observe events in Transkei.

Ms King said recent ANC disclosures about abuses in its camps in neighbouring countries were an example to other leaders of the kind of disclosure that was needed to heal the wounds of the past.

“It was not a pretty picture and I think the disclosure must have taken quite a bit of soul-searching,” she said.

news in brief

Unrest at its lowest ^{So weta} _{17/12/92}

THIS past week's national toll in violence increased to 32 from the previous week's low of 19, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday. (274)

The toll in Natal doubled to 24, confirming that this province was still turbulent, and the PWV area remained relatively calm with eight people killed during the past week, the HRC said. The security forces, according to the HRC report, had one member killed and two injured. - Sapa.

UN monitor backs Goldstone

JUDGE Richard Goldstone needed the freedom to investigate the armed wings of liberation movements inside SA and in neighbouring countries if he was to achieve his stated goal of investigating the role of security forces and armed formations in political violence in SA.

UN observer mission leader Angela King said yesterday: "What is giving us some concern, though, is whether he (Goldstone) can actually get co-operation from all the parties involved."

"We certainly encourage all the countries involved to welcome him and have full access. We would hope the parties that have armed wings would also encourage those armed wings to co-operate fully."

King's remarks came as Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa reiterated his

B/DAM 17/12/92
RAY HARTLEY

view that the UN was free to observe events in Transkei, but said Goldstone remained unwelcome because he had been appointed by government.

King said recent ANC disclosures about abuses in its camps in neighbouring countries were an example to other SA leaders of the kind of disclosure that was needed to heal the wounds of the past.

"It was not a pretty picture and I think the disclosure must have taken quite a bit of soul-searching."

The Goldstone commission was well respected and Goldstone himself was "held in very high regard" in the international community, she said.

□ To Page 2

Goldstone

B/DAM 17/12/92
"We in the international community are prepared to give any assistance that is required (to Goldstone). We were assured that he's happy with what the president told him about his mandate," she said.

On the peace accord, King said it was a good document, but much work was needed to get it to achieve its aims. The national peace committee needed to make sure that all parts of the SA community felt the document belonged to them.

Efforts were needed "to make the leadership more representative of the parties and the national or ethnic entities in the country. They need to bring in women's

~~SA~~
274
groups, they need to bring in community groups. There needs to be a greater awareness of what people on the ground think about certain issues, because one good thing about it is that it is a structure that's built at all levels.

"But at this point it gives the impression that it is functioning from the top level down and I think it needs to percolate, because there is a general perception that the grassroots were not involved in its creation," she said.

Leaders in peace structures realised the need for this new direction and were working on improving it, she said.

● Picture: Page 3

□ From Page 1

'Mass action until the end of minority rule'

274

ARCT 17/12/92

VUSI KAMA, Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress would not stop programmes of mass action until white minority rule ended, ANC regional executive committee member Mr Dullah Omar told a rally in Athlone

Mr Omar said the ANC would continue mass action unless the government made a firm commitment to elections for a constituent assembly by next December

He said the ANC would make sure the first non-racial elections marked the end of white minority rule and that there was true democracy

He was addressing about 250 people. Some marched from Guguletu to the rally at Athlone stadium

Also present were ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak, ANC legal expert Professor Kader Ismail and regional executive committee member Mr Christmas Tinto.

Mr Omar said the media had underplayed gains made by the ANC in the past year.

"As a result of the struggles we have waged, the government has now agreed to set up a constituent assembly and they have accepted that elections for a non-racial South Africa are not far off," he said.

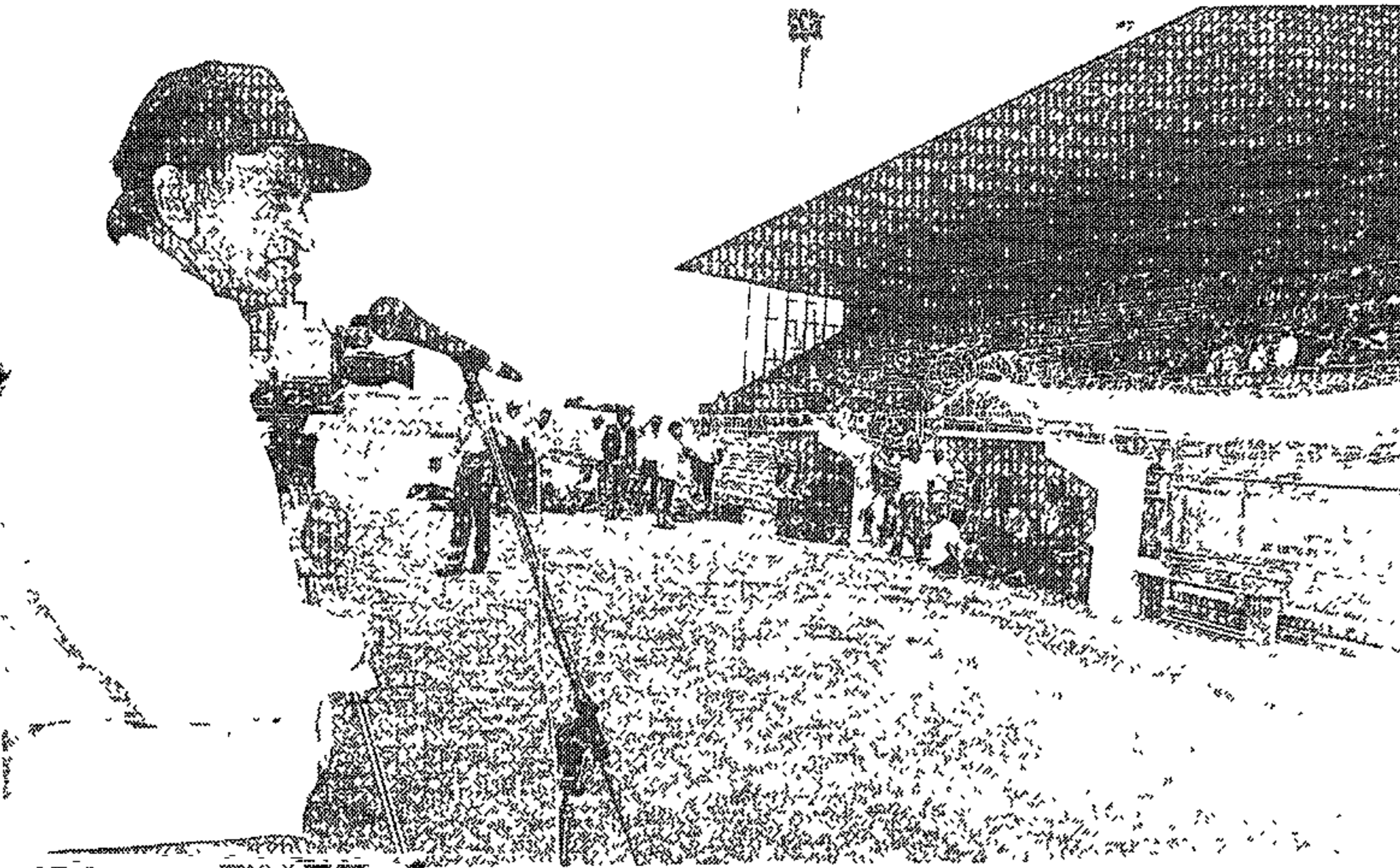
He said the government's acceptance of a constituent assembly was the "greatest achievement" the ANC had had this year, because in the past the government had refused to consider the issue.

He warned that the struggle was not over.

"We still have a government that is mismanaging the country and which cannot control the violence."

Dr Boesak said it was important on December 16 to remember "all those who died in the struggle for liberation".

Part of the programme was a soccer match between first division team Lightbody's and volunteers from the audience.



Pictures: HANNES THIART, The Argus

MAKING A POINT: ANC regional executive member Mr Dullah Omar makes a point during a speech at a sparsely-attended rally for peace and democracy at Athlone Stadium.

**NPS plans taxi
peace indaba**

JOHANNESBURG.

The National Peace Secretariat plans to hold a conference on taxi wars, it announced yesterday.

All parties involved in taxi violence, including representatives from all taxi associations, the Minister of Transport, financial institutions and transport unions, were invited to the January meeting. — Sapa

Violence boosts Sanlam death claims payouts

ARG 17/12/92

Business Staff

274

SANLAM paid out nearly 20 000 death claims for about R900 million in its latest financial year — on average about R3,5 million every working day of the year.

The amount is 18 percent more than in the previous year, and the number of claims rose by 8,3 percent, says Chris Swanepoel, Sanlam's chief actuary.

The R900 million is a sizeable amount, but he says it should be seen in the context of a total payout of R5 900 million made to policy-owners and their beneficiaries during the financial year.

Violence in some form or another was the biggest single cause of death claims and the R256,9 million paid out on 4 669 claims represents nearly 30 percent of all Sanlam death claim payments.

The 1990-91 figures were R191,3 million in respect of 3 801 claims.

Vehicle accidents are still claiming many lives, also among Sanlam clients. Altogether 2 154 death claims were paid out in 1992 for an amount of R139,9 million — 27,5 percent more than in 1991, when R109,9 million and 1 884 claims were involved.

Heart ailments and other diseases of the body's circulation system formed the major cause of death claims due to illness. The 6 306 payments made for R246,0 million compares with R218,9 million for 5 814 claims in 1991.

Cancer and other tumours (2 504 death claims) resulted in payments of about R113,7 million in 1992. Last year the figures were 2 350 claims for R88,8 million.

Also high on the list were diseases of the respiratory system, eg asthma, bronchitis and other diseases often linked to the smoking habit.

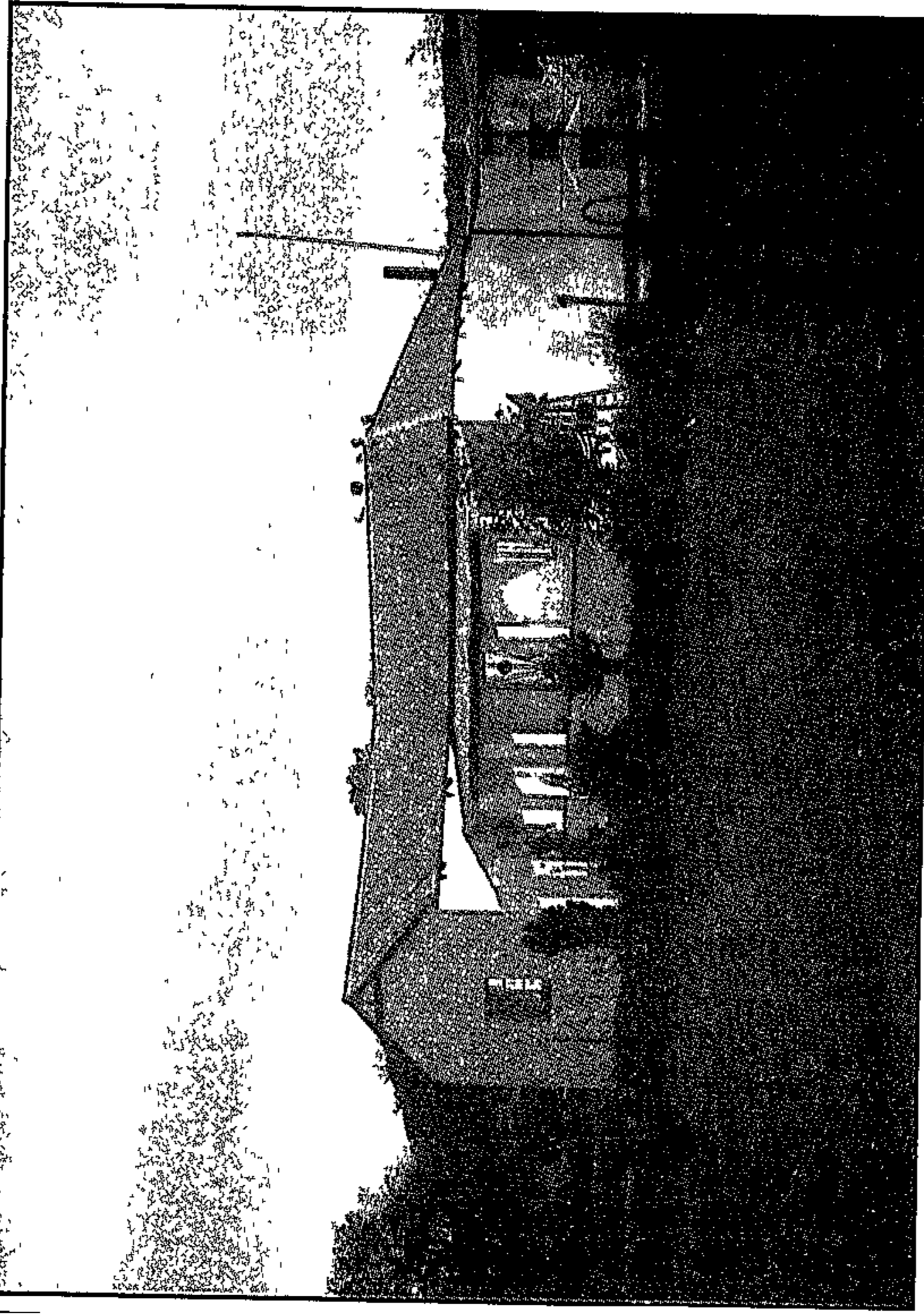
In this group, claims rose to nearly R1 million a week (R48,7 million in respect of 1 388 claims, against R34,9 million for 1 144 payments the previous year.

Sanlam paid out more than R18 million (538 claims) in the past financial year as a result of diseases of the digestive canal. The previous year it was R15,8 million (493 claims).

Mr Swanepoel says there was a small decrease this year in claims due to drownings: 77 payments in 1991-92 amounting to R3,4 million, against R4,7 million paid in respect of 78 claims the previous year.

Suggestions to promote peace over festive season

STAR 17/12/92. (274)
 Pretoria Correspondent



Silent night . . . a R3 million media campaign launched to publicise the National Peace Accord will focus on peaceful sequences such as this tranquil home at dusk . . .

Tie a yellow ribbon, hold a street party or leave a peace message on your answering machine.

These are among the suggestions offered by the National Peace Accord's marketing committee as part of a campaign aimed at ordinary people to promote peace over the festive season.

"We believe that it is only when every person in South Africa starts taking responsibility individually for the peace process that we can hope to see substantial progress in this area," said spokesman Elspeth Graham.

Among the other suggestions to promote peace are:

- Instruct switchboard operators to use a "peace phrase" when answering the phone, for instance "Have a peaceful day".
- Liaise with your local supermarket to have a "peace bin" to collect food to distribute to violence-ravaged communities.
- Call for a minute of silence for peace at social gatherings.
- Put a peace slogan on no-

tice boards in foyers of hotels, offices and other public places.

- Allocate a wall in your area as a wall for peace slogans.
- Request DJs at your local radio station to play peace songs, including carols.
- Call your local newspaper editor and let him or her know what your community is doing to promote peace.
- Fly a peace banner from your factory, office block, hotel, front garden, or school.
- Organise a "switch-on" of headlights as had been done in Durban recently.
- Wish everyone a peaceful day as you leave a shop, elevator or even a meeting.
- Grow a "peace garden" (for assistance, phone Allison 315-1920), or plant a "peace tree" at a hospital or community centre.
- Organise a "What peace means for me" painting competition for children in shopping centres or libraries or ask children to write about peace to the local newspaper.
- Arrange a "walk/run/dance/sing for peace" on the beach or at a picnic spot.

Now it's up to you.



. . . and this family bedtime scene where the joy of reading is shared. The filming is in a farmhouse near Meyerton. Pictures: Jacob Rykloff

Inkatha rallies around high food prices

W/Mail 18/12-22/12/92 (274)
By CARMEL RICKARD

INKATHA starts a national programme of "mass action" tomorrow, targeting food prices.

Official Ed Tillett said the new campaign would begin this Saturday with pickets in shopping centres in and around Durban.

Control boards' "fixing" of market prices will be a target of Inkatha's campaign, entitled "Food for the people". Due to escalate in the new year, it will focus on government intervention in the market, the fact that so few foods are exempt from VAT and the statutory powers given to so many agricultural control boards.

Inkatha has often criticised the African National Congress and its allies for programmes of mass action, saying they are intimidatory and are not the correct means to achieve the aims of the alliance, however praiseworthy these objectives may be.

However, in the last few months the Inkatha Freedom Party has launched catchy drives of its own including the "Disband MK" programme. This campaign, so far more notable for the picture opportunities it presents than for the numbers involved, has seen women dressed in black, accompanied by children, staging protests outside the homes of people alleged to have links to MK or to be in a position to influence the organisation.

There have also been large-scale marches in Johannesburg and Durban with themes such as the unenforceability of a ban on carrying "cultural weapons". Officially some of these have been labelled "marches of the Zulu nation", but this nice distinction appears to elude most people inside and outside Inkatha and to exist more in the minds of top organisers than anywhere else.

Violence is scaring off foreign investors, says UN's Angela King

SA POLITICAL leaders and businessmen were unaware of the extent of the effects of violence and instability on foreign investment, UN observer mission leader Angela King said.

She said in an interview that recent efforts by Finance Minister Derek Keys to explain the poor state of the economy to political parties were going some way to addressing the problem, but SA remained unattractive to foreign investors.

"I don't think that with the degrees and levels of violence and instability that SA would be a good investment option. It

would be difficult for us as a community to invest in the country or fully lift sanctions. It was feared (earlier this year) that the country was out of control and violence was escalating."

King said political rivalry, electioneering and leaders' tendency to abandon forums where there was disagreement instead of talking through differences were obstacles to negotiations.

"No party or group of parties should try to stall the process or hold the process hostage by incidents of violence or petty personality issues. In KwaZulu and the Wit-

RAY HARTLEY

watersrand there is a tendency for certain parties, if they can't come to agreement, to leave forums rather than sit down.

"Our job is to be of nuisance value. We just have to make sure that everybody keeps talking."

There appeared to be an organised force behind much of SA's violence, but there was insufficient evidence to label this a third force, she said.

"It does seem that there is an element of engineering in what happens. In the Wit-

watersrand area, for example, the train violence is not the ANC and Inkatha, it is random killings.

"I am convinced that everybody wants peace and that if they talk about armed conflict or the use of force, this is the very last resort. But they don't always have mechanisms, or want to accept mechanisms that lead to a meeting of the minds or a greater understanding," she said.

"We have been pressuring government to put out a proclamation (prohibiting the carrying of weapons). They have to do something very quickly about it, because

the guns keep on coming in across the border and they are very cheap."

King described the record of understanding between government and the ANC as "a major coup", but said Inkatha's rejection of it had led to greater caution on all sides. "There was a pulling back on several sides," she said. Government had perhaps not expected Inkatha's reaction and the ANC had perhaps begun to realise it was not helpful to be seen to side with government.

From Page 1
 To Page 2

Angela King

8/10/91 18/12/92

sion had established its neutrality with most parties, and added that the only way to deal with apartheid was not by armed struggle but by negotiation.

SA remained in a good position to cope with violence

"In this country you have a government, you have structures, you have forces of law

and order, whether you support them or not is irrelevant.

"We are still at the preventive diplomacy stage where we're trying to contain the dispute. The next stage is peacemaking which we are also doing to bring hostile parties together around a table," she said.

● Comment Page 6

King

Symbolic Govt vital - Amissah

Sowetan 18/12/92

■ Political killings amaze Commonwealth observers: (274) ~~SECRET~~

By Mokgadi Pela

A MORE representative government might be better able to defuse the violence than the present regime, Commonwealth observers said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Chairman of the observer mission to South Africa, Mr Austin Amissah, told a media briefing that South Africans felt the political process had to continue despite the violence.

He said the Commonwealth observers were happy to learn that multiparty talks would continue.

He said the observers were amazed at the level of "indiscriminate political killings" in the country. "The sooner the cause of the violence is identified and rooted out, the quicker will the source of instability be removed," Amissah said.



New year brings fresh hope for SA - Mandela

By Ismail Lagardien

The past year has been the most difficult of the past three years of South Africa's democratisation, the president of the ANC Nelson Mandela said in an exclusive interview with the Sowetan today.

But, Mandela explains, the new year dawns with hope for a better period wherein the vacillating and uncertain political situation, the violence and poor economy could become controllable.

He explains that a "great deal of progress" has been made through negotiations over the past three years.



Nelson Mandela... surge for peace will survive sabotage from far left and right.

Elections

He points out, too, that the surge for peace in South Africa will withstand efforts by the far-right and far-left to the contrary.

"I can assure you that there is no political force in this country that can stop the peace process."

"Elections will be held towards the end of next year. We have no doubt about this."

He said the year was ending on a high note.

"The achievements of negotiations are there for everybody to see."

He listed as among the most significant, the decision to resume multiparty talks through Codesa, and the agreement to hold elections for an interim government by the end of 1993. Mandela said more had to be done to control violence.

"But it is not a simple matter, because violence is not just a clash between two black organisations — as many people try to reduce it to.

"Judge Goldstone has given between six and seven reasons. If I remember correctly, of the causes of violence.

"The State security services are deeply involved in this violence, the aims being to prevent a transformation to a democratic system of government and, in particular, to undermine the ANC.

"That is the purpose of this violence.

"It has failed in both its aims. It has not been able to stop the progress towards a peaceful settlement — it has not crippled the ANC."

Mandela strongly criticised the white community's response to the violence.

"According to the National Peace Secretariat there are no fewer than a million refugees in this country as a result of this violence.

"It is an indictment against the white community of this country that there is no talk about this.

"There are no efforts, in South Africa, like you would find in other countries, by the wealthy, those who are living under better conditions, to raise food, clothing, funds, at least during this Christmas period.

"Such efforts would make these displaced people feel that they are human beings and that somebody cares.

"To give them hope that even during this time when their

lives are dislocated, they must not despair because people who have the means are thinking of them and are sharing what they have with them.

"The failure by whites to rise to the expectation is a serious indictment against the white community in this country."

He said that while the right-wing could disrupt the negotiation process, it would fail to stop a political settlement.

"If they think they are going to undermine the peace process in this country, they are making a serious mistake because they have not got that capacity.

"They must bring their demands to Codesa so that we can discuss them — as South Africans.

"We can search for a peaceful solution.

"We have sympathy for the fear of the white minority in this country. We are prepared to address those fears but we are not prepared for any unilateral actions on the part of any party."

Mandela said, like State security force actions which led to the death of unarmed civilians, the actions of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) military wing — the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — were to be deplored.

However, he said, the Gov-

ernment and apartheid were ultimately to blame.

"We strongly condemn the killing of unarmed and defenceless civilians."

"But we must not lose proper focus, the responsibility for what happened in King William's Town, and Queenstown must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the Government.

"The PAC is a liberation movement — it is entitled to have a liberation army.

"If there were no apartheid, if blacks had the vote, if we were able to live where we like, there would have been no need for liberation movements in this country.

Disturbing

"There would have been no Apla."

He said the fact that Apla seemed beyond political control was disturbing.

"It is distressing, alarming, that Apla is under no control of the PAC.

"It is disturbing that we don't have the entire liberation movement supporting negotiations."

"But I can assure you there is no political force in this country that can stop the peace process. Elections will be held towards the end of next year. We have no doubt about this."

Violence boosts death claims

274 LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Violence was the single biggest cause of death claims received by Sanlam in the year to end-September.

Of the total of R900m paid out, R256,9m (R191,3m) stemmed from violent deaths, chief actuary Chris Swanepoel said yesterday.

About 20 000 death claims were received with their total value of R900m representing an 18% rise over the previous year.

Swanepoel said payments for the 4 669 (3 801) violence-related claims represented about 30% of all Sanlam's death claim payments.

Motor vehicle accidents gave rise to 2 154 (1 884) death claim payments of R139,9m (R109,9m), 27,5% more than 1991. South Africans continued to suffer a high

incidence of heart disease. This, coupled with other circulatory diseases, was the major cause of death claims due to sickness. A total of R246m (R218,9m) was paid out for 6 306 (5 814) claims.

Cancer and other tumours resulted in payments of R113,7m (R88,8m) on 2 504 (2 350) claims, while respiratory diseases such as asthma and bronchitis — often linked to smoking — generated 1 388 claims (1 144) worth R48,7m (R34,9m).

Sanlam paid out more than R18m (R15,8m) for 538 (493) claims related to diseases of the digestive system, while R3,4m (R4,7m) was paid out for 77 (78) deaths due to drowning.

18/12/92
B/DAY

Keep talking, King urges SA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — SA political leaders and businessmen were unaware of the extent of the negative effects of violence and instability on foreign investment, a top UN official said here yesterday.

UN observer mission leader Ms Angela King said yesterday political rivalry, electioneering and the tendency for leaders to abandon forums where there was disagreement were obstacles to negotiations.

Ms King said recent efforts by Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys to explain the poor state of the economy to political parties were going some way to addressing the problem, but South Africa remained unattractive to foreign investors.

"I don't think that with the degrees and levels of violence and instability South Africa would be a good investment option.

"It would be difficult for us as a community to invest in the country or fully lift sanctions. It was feared (earlier this year) that the country was out of control and

Observers welcome talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Commonwealth observers are pleased South Africans accept that the political process in the country has to proceed irrespective of whether violence has subsided.

To expect the resumption of multi-party negotiations to depend on a reduction in violence is unrealistic, however desirable, Mr Austin Amisah of Ghana told a press conference here yesterday.

"A government accepted by all the peoples of South Africa may be in a better position to deal effectively with the violence than a government which is not," he said.

Mr Amisah, the chairman of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa, was reporting on behalf of the 12-member Comsa delegation which has been in the country for the past two months. — Sapa

violence was escalating."

No party or group of parties should try to stall the negotiation process or hold it hostage.

"In KwaZulu and the Witwatersrand there is a tendency for certain parties, if they can't come to agreement, to leave forums rather than sit down.

"Our job is to be of nuisance value. We just have to make sure that everybody keeps talking."

There appeared to be an organised force behind much of South Africa's violence, but there was insufficient evidence to label this a third force, she said.

"It does seem that there is an element of engineering in what happens. The train violence in

the Witwatersrand area, for example, is not the ANC and Inkatha, it is random killings.

"I am convinced that everybody wants peace and that if they talk about armed conflict or the use of force, this is the very last resort! But they don't always have mechanisms, or want to accept mechanisms that lead to a meeting of the minds or a greater understanding," she said.

"We have been pressuring government to put out a proclamation (prohibiting the carrying of weapons). They have to do something very quickly about it, because the guns keep on coming in across the border and they are very cheap."

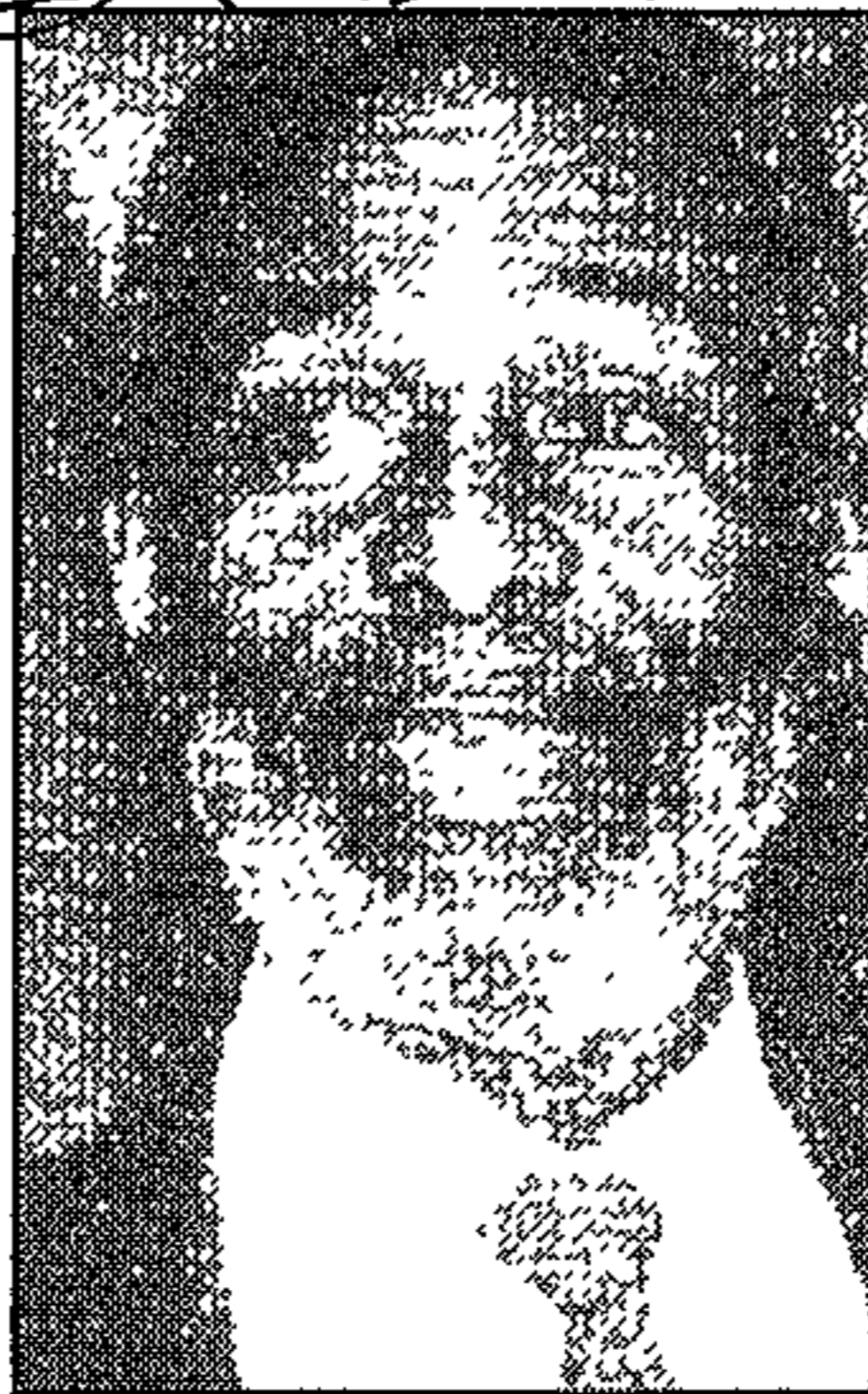
Criminal justice in SA criticised

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) has criticised the country's criminal justice system, expressing surprise at low sentences and low amounts of bail granted for crimes of violence.

Comsa chairman Mr Justice Austin Amisshah, former Justice of Appeal in Ghana and current president of Botswana Court of Appeal, was giving the mission's impressions of its two months of observing political violence at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

He would not express an opinion on causes of political violence, but the levels seemed to have dropped lately and this had partly been ascribed to the presence of international observers.



Mr Justice Amisshah. . . little community confidence in the judicial system.

Mr Justice Amisshah said that an efficient and effective criminal justice system which commanded the confidence of the

people was a powerful instrument for the control of crime.

Comsa had often heard that the criminal justice system in South Africa had broken down or had lost the confidence of the majority of people, especially blacks.

"Comsa has noted with surprise the release on bail, sometimes on small sureties or bonds, of persons charged with the gravest of crimes."

This allowed them to repeat their offences, interfere with witnesses or escape.

"In cases of violence, the message sent out is that the courts are not interested in the protection of human life or limb."

He said Comsa had also noticed that sentences "tended to convey the impression that violent crime, even that ending in the loss of human life, is treated with less severity than the simplest offences against property, such as stealing of goods".

274. STAR 18/12/92

VIOLENCE FM 18/12/92

Sad tallies (274)

The political death toll is likely to be 18% higher than last year, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations, with the running total up to 2 924 by the end of last month. That makes 1992 the second worst year of political violence to date.

However, the concentration of the violence in Natal is brought sharply into focus by another agency, the Human Rights Commission, which points out that 1 279 people have died in political strife in the province this year.

The institute points out that though 1991 showed a 27% drop on the 1990 figure, fatalities in political violence since its outbreak in September 1984 will probably top 15 000 by the end of the year. Nearly 66% of these deaths occurred in the past three years.

Institute executive director John Kane-Berman says it was tragic that neither five bilateral agreements nor two multilateral accords have succeeded in checking the spiralling violence, let alone ending it.

The five bilateral accords include four between government and the ANC (Groote Schuur, Pretoria, D F Malan, and the recent Record of Understanding) and one between the ANC and the IFP, signed in January 1991.

The two multilateral agreements were the Codesa Declaration of Intent and the National Peace Accord.

The institute stresses that its violence figures are preliminary and subject to various limitations, among them the fact that the

FM 18/12/92 (274)

distinction between political violence and other types is not always clear. The figures are probably better indicators of trends than of absolute levels of conflict.

As the Legal Resources Centre's Howard Varney says, the sad irony is that more people are dying now than in the dark days of the State of Emergency

His pessimism at the outlook for next year should perhaps be counterbalanced by the renewed optimism on the negotiations front ■

15/12/92

274

**W
ere on the
ms.
for
P**

LAGARDIEN: We have come through a very difficult year. Can you reflect on the past year in the context of the process over the past three years?

MANDELA: I agree that 1992 was a difficult year. Two central issues faced the country, that of politically motivated violence, ordinary crime like robbery and theft; and the question of the declining economy. Unless those two issues are addressed, any political settlement will remain fragile.

But it would be going too far if one presented the picture as one of gloom only. A great deal of progress was made through negotiations and in particular through bilateral discussions. We are closing the year on a high note.

The achievements of negotiations are there for everybody to see: the unbanning of political organisations; the lifting of the state of emergency which lasted three years; the introduction of the creation of a climate for free political activity in the greater part of the country, with the exception of the bantustans of Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and Ciskei, the release of political prisoners; the return of political exiles; and the amendment or even repeal of some repressive legislation.

And then there was the signing of the Declaration of Intent of Codesa that was crowned by the decisions at the bilateral (meeting) between the ANC and the Government. There was also the agreement to hold elections by the end of 1993, the installation of an interim government of national unity, the decision to resume multiparty talks through Codesa and to respect all the decisions taken by Codesa.

I think that we are closing the year with a great deal of hope for next year. I feel that there has been progress, not that there haven't been any problems. There are problems but I am convinced that peace forces in this country are too strong for them to be diverted in their main goal of the installation of an elected interim government of national unity.

IS peace possible, when concepts such as negotiating a new constitution and multiparty democracy and even the peace process are perhaps abstractions to people who have to concern themselves more with simply staying alive?

THE question of violence, even if it results in the death of one person or injury to one person, is something of great concern to anyone who has the welfare of the people at heart. The question is whether each one of us, as an individual and as the leader of his or her organisation, is doing sufficient to end the violence.

If we are going to stop violence, we will have to stop finger-pointing and look at what we are doing ourselves. If we are able to convey this perception to all opinion-makers, then we will have made progress in addressing the question of violence.

But it is not a simple matter, because violence is not just a clash between two black organisations — as many people try to reduce it to. Judge Goldstone has given between six and seven reasons, I remember correctly, for the cause of violence.

The State security services are deep-

ly involved in this violence, the aim being to prevent a transformation to a democratic system of government and to undermine the ANC in particular. That is the purpose of this violence.

They have failed in both their aims. They have not been able to stop the progress towards a peaceful settlement — they have not crippled the ANC. It still remains the most powerful force in the country today.

Nevertheless, the presence of the international observers and their activities, which are spread around the country, has put tremendous pressure on all political organisations to examine their own records and to avoid doing anything that would compromise them in the presence of these observers.

Today we are able to conduct demonstrations in towns and cities which are right wing. That would never have happened in the absence of international observers. I think, therefore, that we are getting on top of the violence. This, too, is something that gives rise to hope.

But what is worse, the white community in this country is just not concerned about what is happening. According to the National Peace Secretariat there are no

less than a million refugees in this country as a result of this violence. It is an indictment against the white community that there is no talk about this.

There are no efforts in South Africa, like you would find in other countries, by the wealthy, those who are living under better conditions, to raise food, clothing, funds at least (now) during this Christmas period.

Such efforts would make these displaced people feel that they are human beings and that somebody cares. To give them hope that even during this time when their lives are dislocated, they must not despair because people who have the means are thinking of them and are sharing what they have with them.

The failure by whites to rise to the occasion is a serious indictment against the white community in this country.

THE rightwingers, especially people like Eugene TerreBlanche of the AWB and Andries Treurnicht, have made particularly provocative statements. How do you think this impacts on or influences the peace process?

TREURNICHT, Jaap Marais and TerreBlanche claim to represent the interests of the Afrikaners and it is correct that somebody

should champion the cause of a particular section of the community. There is nothing wrong with that.

What we do criticise, however, is the fact that they are spreading fear, concern and feelings of hostility among the Afrikaners, especially against black people.

Treurnicht responded to my speech in Potchefstroom, where I said he should come to Codesa and put forward his demand for self-determination. His reply was that if he accepted my invitation he would be submitting himself to a communist dictatorship.

What is actually happening is that they fear democracy. They are also aware that they are in the minority and that in any joint discussions they will be outvoted democratically. They are using the communist bogey in order

The question is whether each one of us, as an individual and as the leader of his or her organisation, is doing sufficient to end the violence? If we're going to stop violence, we will have to stop finger-pointing and look at what we are doing ourselves.

There are no efforts in South Africa by those living under better conditions, to raise food, clothing, funds at least now during this Christmas period. The failure by whites to rise to the occasion is a serious indictment against the white community.

NELSON Mandela is optimistic about 1993 and is pleased with many of the developments that have taken place this year. ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, Political Correspondent of the Sowetan, spoke to the African National Congress leader.



NELSON MANDELA: "It has been a very difficult year, but there has been progress. We are ending on a high note."

to hide their opposition to any democratic dispensation.

After all, who is Treurnicht to talk about dictatorship? He was a member of a party (the NP) which dictated to the majority.

We repeat the call to Treurnicht and all other rightwingers, that if they think they are going to undermine the peace process in this country they are making a serious mistake, because they have not got that capacity. It is possible for them to do some damage initially and that may lead to the killing of innocent people. But they will never succeed. They must bring their demands to Codesa so that we can discuss them — as South Africans.

We have sympathy for the fear of the white minority in this country. We are prepared to address those fears but we are not prepared for any unilateral actions on the part of any party.

HOW do you think the alleged violent actions of Apla impact on the transition process?

WE strongly condemn the killing of unarmed and defenceless civilians. There can be no justification of that. The fact that the State security ser-

vices, using certain black organisations, have been responsible for the death of no less than 15 000 people since 1984 is no excuse for anybody taking even one innocent life.

But we must not lose proper focus. The responsibility for what happened in King William's Town and Queenstown must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the Government. The PA is a liberation movement. It is entitled to have a liberation army. If there were no apartheid, if blacks had the vote, if we were able to live where we liked, there would have been no need for liberation movements in this country. There would have been no Apla.

But what has happened is that the killing of a few whites has turned the whole Border region into a war zone. Just because a few whites were killed they have also offered high rewards something they have not done with 15 000 blacks have died in this country. So the action of Apla must be seen from that angle.

But I am highly critical of the fact there does not appear to be political control over Apla. The statement that has been made by deputy president

19/12/92

274

(Johnson) Mlambo has caused me great concern. Any liberation army, if it is going to be a disciplined and well-organised army, must be under strict political control — as Umkhonto Sizwe is, for example, in spite of the difficulties we have where certain units have taken the law into their own hands because of infiltration by Government agents.

Nevertheless, the army, MK, is under strict political leadership of the ANC and we will not allow them to conduct operations without the express consent of the ANC. It is distressing, alarming, that Apla is under no control of the PAC.

It's disturbing that the entire liberation movement is not supporting negotiations. But I can assure you there is no political force in this country that can stop the peace process. Elections will be held towards the end of next year, we have no doubt about this.

YOU said earlier that Treurnicht and his people were scared of democracy. Judging by the Government's and the National Party's performance at Codesa, could the same not be said of them too?

I AGREE with you. But we are conducting negotiations in South Africa, not in Utopia. Political leaders, political parties, are affected by their background. They were all the products of an apartheid society in which the minority has dominated the political and economic institutions for centuries — that is the white group — and the NP since 1948. It's not easy, therefore, to move away from that position to a purely democratic dispensation.

So when they speak of democracy, they mean something totally different from the liberation movement. But they have made progress.

And in spite of all the criticism we have against him, De Klerk has made a significant contribution — for example on questions such as corruption and the use of taxpayers' money, certain black political organisations and their surrogates, the killing of innocent freedom fighters, simply because they are demanding their liberation, all of which the NP must take full responsibility for. On these things De Klerk has made a contribution.

The decision and the agreement to have an election towards the end of next year should put an end to all criticism.

It is quite clear — from the discussions we have had and from decisions taken to set up joint committees to go into outstanding matters which were not resolved at the last bilateral meeting, and from the forthcoming ANC-Government meeting on January 20 (1993) — that both sides are quite keen that this time-frame should be kept.

While I agree that they also fear democracy, I think they are resigning themselves to the fact that the advent of democracy is inevitable.

IN its composition, was Codesa not inherently undemocratic? For example, who at the forum, including the ANC and the National Party, has ever been tested in a fully democratic election??

AGAIN, we are not conducting our search for a solution in Utopia; we are seeking solutions in South Africa as it is. The point is that there was a preparatory conference in which all political parties in this country, without exception, were invited. They were also invited to Codesa — without exception.

De Klerk initially suggested to me that only the NP, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC should come together to form a troika to decide on the political programme into which all political parties should fit. I rejected it. I still do. As a result, we had 20 parties at the preparatory meeting.

I did this because I fear that if we left out any political party, however small, we would have the same situation as in Mozambique and Angola.

Apla attacks reduced PWV train killings, PAC claims

274

1912/92

vill
op-
ct-
er-
ay
12
ng
n-
ub
in
n-
n-
xt
p-
fr
o-
n
a
e
l
-
a
f
l-
e
l-
d
-
n
b,
a

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress says a "drastic decline" in deaths in PWV black townships was a direct result of the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

"We have noted a drastic decline in the statistics of violence for political reasons in the PWV area following the Queenstown and King William's Town incidents," PAC West Rand regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya told a Press conference.

Mr Madzunya, a member of the PAC's national executive committee, said "the threat of retaliation for every African who dies has not only led to the decline in violence but has proved that ... agents of the regime are primarily responsible for the violence in the PWV area".

Since the Apla attacks in the two Eastern Cape towns which saw five whites killed, no train attacks have taken place and there were no other large-scale attacks, he added.

"It is common cause in international relations that the threat of military action, by those who have a demonstrable capacity to retaliate, always serves as a preventive measure.

"For this reason Apla activities have led to a decline in the violence and we cannot find proof in the international scarecrow analyses that Apla activities will increase violence," Mr Madzunya said.

The SA Police yesterday described the PAC claims as "ludicrous".

"Only Mr Madzunya can explain how such a parallel can be drawn," the SAP said. "Allegations of a 'third force' have been bandied about with both the ANC and the security forces being accused of involvement. However, after the Eastern Cape attacks — which Apla boasted of having committed — the train attacks have, according to the PAC, ceased. Have the perpetrators not been ordered to cease these attacks so that their masters can gain propaganda mileage therefrom?"

■ In Washington the US government protested to the PAC about its armed wing's terrorist threats even before last month's attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown. But the PAC leadership replied it had no control over the Azanian People's Liberation Army, according to US Assistant Secretary of State Herman J Cohen.

"I can't confirm that they (Apla) are the perpetrators, but if they say they are the perpetrators I believe it," he said. "We condemn that as a blatant act of terrorism." — Sapa.

■ See Page 14.



ANC in PWV to back peace accord

(274)
STAR 19/12/92

ns
he
its
an
he
ost
ion
er-
re
eir
ts,
eir

tes
ion
ten
the
to
of
lity
ns.
se
as
who
me
...
can
nts
who
rtu-
m-

7,5-

-

-

hy
in

r-
is

th

p-
is
th
o-

THE ANC's largest region has given its full blessing to participation in the National Peace Accord by all the region's branches.

After months of deliberations and consultations within the regional executive, the ANC PWV region decided yesterday that while the peace accord had definite flaws, this did not warrant a withdrawal from the structures set up under the accord.

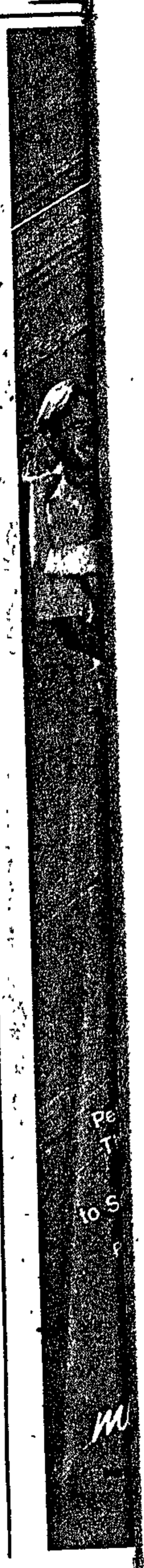
"The region remains convinced that the peace accord has the potential of laying a firm basis for peace in our country provided all signatories strictly adhere to the terms of the document.

Support

"The PWV region of the ANC therefore calls on all its members, branches and sub-regions to give their unqualified support to the National Peace Accord and to actively participate in the formation, building and strengthening of local and regional dispute resolution committees in their respective areas," said a statement.

The PWV region decided earlier this year to review its participation in the peace Accord following the massacre at Boipatong and ongoing train violence. — Sapa.

● Mandela's review of a difficult 1992 and his vision for 1993
— Page 11



Even Jesus did not have a perfect world

BY the Most Reverend DESMOND TUTU, left, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, and 1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate

MANY of us think that Jesus came into an ideal world. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The Holy Land was ruled by what many Jews considered to be an oppressive occupying force, aided and abetted by conniving and unpartronic collaborating Jews, and the despised and hated tax collectors.

Rome's surrogate rulers could be cruel and vindictive, as when a Herod thought nothing of dispatching several infants and children just to perpetuate his vassal rule. As a subject people the Jews had to submit to a census, the precursor of taxation.

They were a rigidly stratified and divided society - a house deeply divided against itself.

There were many who were sick, the lame, the blind, lepers and demon possessed - hardly an ideal set-up.

It was into such a world that Jesus came, born in a stable to parents who

carried little cloths - they could not persuade the innkeeper to give them a room even though Mary was about to give birth.

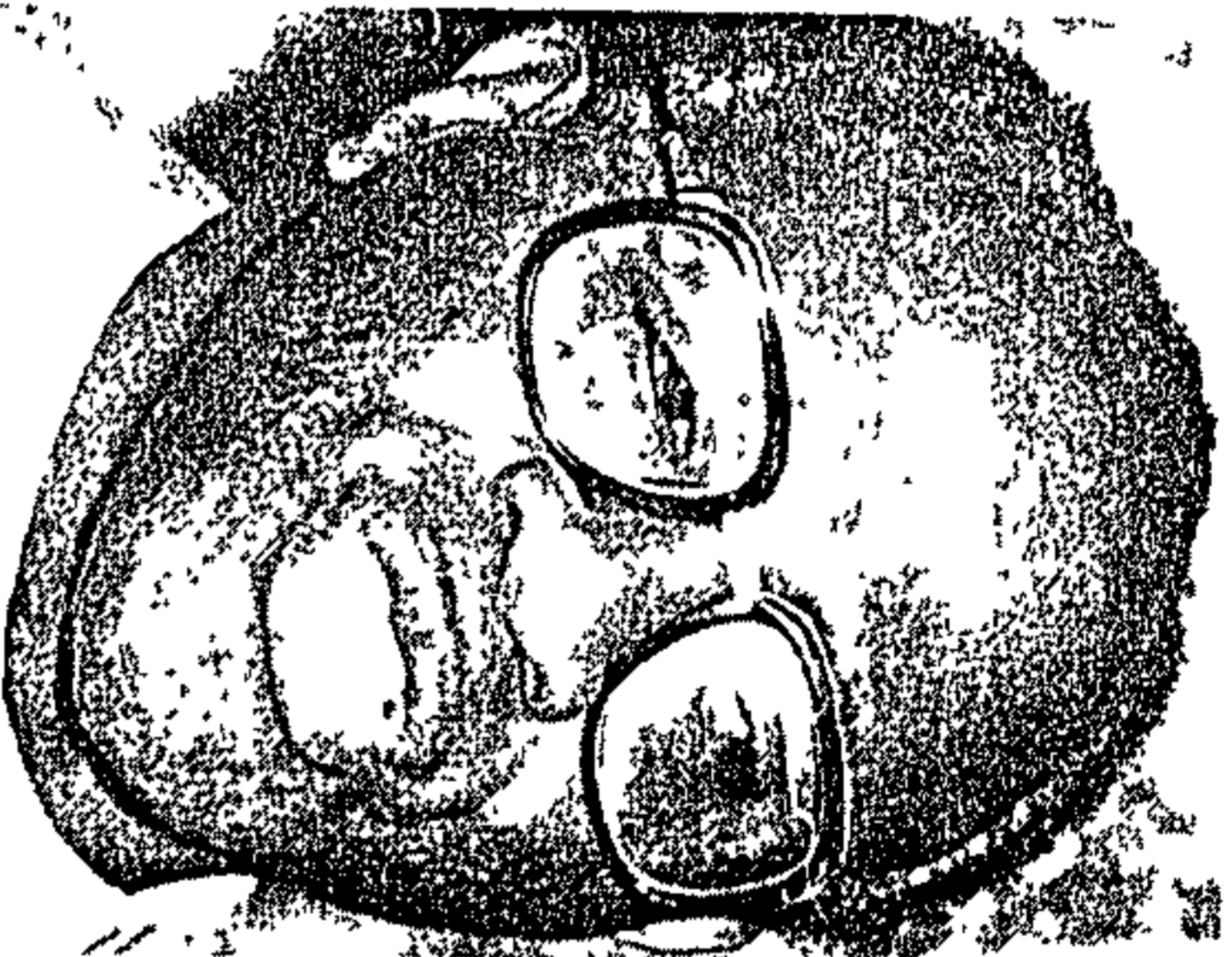
This Jesus came as Emmanuel, God with us, to declare that even in the darkest, most unrepossessing situations, we are not alone. God is with us, to comfort, to strengthen, to assure us of His love and concern.

He is the God who does not give good advice from a distance, but enters our situation to redeem it, as he entered the fiery furnace to save His three faithful servants.

He is with those who face violence and death in the townships, he is with those who live in poverty and degradation in informal settlements or migrant workers' hostels. God is Emmanuel, God with us, God with you.

He came to a new beginning for us and so a new SA of love, peace, justice, reconciliation, of sharing and compassion and caring will happen.

In this certainly Leah and I wish the readers of City Press a joyous and blessed Christmas and a prosperous New Year for democracy and peace.



SA's need for peace is greater than ever

A special Christmas message for City Press readers by Rev Dr Mmutlana-yane Stanley Mogohe, left, Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa and vice-chairman of the National Peace Accord.

WHILE 1992 was a year which began with great hopes for peace, we saw the violence

escalating. Clearly we are still a long way off from achieving that great ideal.

Sadly, the horrendously high fatality rate continues.

The SA Institute of Race Relations said political deaths increased by 18 percent this year.

As we approach the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Peace, our need for peace is more than ever.

I was appalled by the recent attacks committed by Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, on innocent people in the eastern Cape, and by its so-called declaration of war on white South Africans.

The killing of any person, whatever the colour of their skin, is an offence to God. The leadership of the PAC

must publicly condemn Apla's actions.

At the same time, I ardently equally strong condemnation of the call by the CP for its supporters to report for duty to counter Apla's terror campaign. War talk only pushes us closer to the brink of civil war.

Sadly, virtually all of our leaders have at some stage or another been guilty of public slanging matches against one another.

Such posturing is immature and only obstructs the peace process. South Africans of all races are tired of the dilly-dallying of our leaders.

The idea of a Joint Peacekeeping Unit (JPU) may be our best chance of achieving peace. The root cause of violence is fear and a deep insecurity. No armed group, however strong, can remove this fear and insecurity.

Members of the JPU should be drawn from the all the armed groups in SA.

Finally, let us work hard to ensure that Christmas becomes a season for all seasons and that peace and joy can break out for everyone throughout the coming year.

Heavy sentence for SA courts and cops

Commonwealth
probe finds deep
black pessimism

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE 12-man Commonwealth observer team in SA has handed down a serious indictment of our system of criminal justice.

During its two-month mission to monitor violence here, it heard repeatedly that "the system" had broken down and that the majority of black South Africans had no confidence in the society.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg recently, mission chairman and a judge in Ghana, Austin Amisah, said the absence of black confidence in the system had meant few crimes were reported, fewer were detected and only a handful were prosecuted.

He said: "The courts are seen by the public as elitist and ill-equipped to quickly dispose of the volume of criminal cases which come before them. We have noted with surprise the release on bail, sometimes on small sureties or bonds, of persons charged with the gravest of crimes."

"We have also noticed the level of sentence sometimes given after conviction which tends to convey the impression that violent crime, even that ending in the loss of human life, is treated with less severity than the simplest offences, such as the stealing of goods."

Disinterested

In cases of violence the message sent out was that the courts were not interested in the protection of human life or limb, Amisah said.

The police were also criticised by the team for taking sides. Amisah said people had told of how they would not report offences to the police because they were seen to be impartial or were too incompetent or indifferent to do anything.

"The police would rather put the person reporting through the inconvenience of a long, needless police routine, or would at best investigate the complaint inefficiently, giving little chance of success in a prosecution," Amisah said.

He said, however, that his team had a continuous relationship with senior police officers in most parts of the country and they (team members) were invited to give lectures in Commonwealth countries.

The team consists of former police commissioners from Canada, New Zealand, Malaysia, a chief superintendent of Scotland Yard, a former Senator from Bahamas, a lawyer and MP from Zimbabwe, a lawyer and former Indian MP and the director of the Institute of Criminology in Canberra, Australia.

A bloody leap year

By MOSES MAMAILA

BLOOD, blood and more blood. These words perhaps sum up the uncountable massacres which were committed in 1992 - an unusually dramatic leap year.

In one of the worst attacks, a heavily armed gang went on the rampage at the East Rand's Crossroads squatter camp on April 3.

Twenty-one people, believed to be supporters of Inkatha, were slaughtered during the bloody night.

Hardly four days later, six people, including an eight-month-old baby, were mowed down by unknown attackers in Zonkhezizwe, also on the East Rand.

Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza blamed the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A week later, April 13, seven Thembisa residents were shot dead when unknown gunmen sprayed their minibus with bullets.

Faceless executioners also co-ordinated a series of armed attacks in the Transvaal and Natal townships, killing people in taverns and at taxi ranks.

Then came the night of June 17 when about 400 armed hostel dwellers from KwaMadala launched the terror operation in Boipatong which brought the country's negotiations for a new political dispensation to a halt.

A total of 39 people were butchered by the brutal killers who also stabbed a three-year-old toddler to death.

Following the massacre, President FW De Klerk, who visited the troubled Boipatong area, was chased from the township as residents accused him of "shedding crocodile tears".

Then, on September 7, came Bisho, the massacre which many analysts believe could have been avoided. Despite warnings by the Ciskei military regime not to march on Bisho, the ANC and its allies went ahead with the march.

As SACP's Ronnie Kasrils attempted to lead his followers through a gap in the fence to march to Bisho proper, Ciskei security forces opened up on fleeing and terrified protesters with live ammunition.

The five-minute volley claimed

the lives of more than 24 people, leaving 200 others wounded.

The aftermath of the massacre was even more violent.

Houses belonging to Ciskei soldiers and police were destroyed as radical youths demanded free political movement in the homeland.

In another senseless massacre, 22 villagers were brutally killed when AK-47 gunmen pumped bullets into them during a Zulu traditional feast at the remote village of Emphushini.

Five family members were also killed during a hand-grenade attack on a house at Esikhaweni in Northern Natal on December 12.

In another incident, six Zwane family members were murdered when AK-47 wielding gunmen stormed into their house and opened fire. A 2-day-old baby survived the attack.

According to the Human Rights Commission, 16 incidents in which ten or more people were killed have been reported between January and October this year, resulting in 195 deaths and 450 injuries.

More than 3 000 people died in politically related attacks this year alone, the HRC stated.

Doctors shocked by ~~violence~~ violence in country

274

Psychologists threatened by own clients:

By Mokgadi Pela Sowetan 21/12/92

TWO visiting British clinical psychologists have expressed shock at the amount of violence in families and the threats faced by their South African counterparts in mediating in such disputes.

Drs Elsa Jones and Renos Papadopoulos made this remark at the end of a five-day workshop organised by the Family Institute in Mayfair, Johannesburg, on Friday.

"How can we still expect therapists to be of help when they are scared of their clients?" Jones asked.

She, however, paid tribute to South African therapists for continuing to counsel families despite difficult circumstances.

Jones said due to the multiple levels of violence in South Africa, the therapist was unsure how to counsel his client.

She said violence came from individuals, families, society and government.

Unionists blame state for violence

Violence worse since 1990 - shop stewards

■ 6 229 people killed after unbanning of organisations:

By Ike Motsapi

(274)

VIOLENCE has always been part of life under apartheid but got worse since the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations during February 1990.

This is the view shared by shop stewards of the Congress of South African Trade Unions in an article headlined *Murdering Freedom*.

Writing in Cosatu's monthly magazine *The Shopsteward*, Sakhela Buhlungu said until the state was seen to be doing something concrete about violence "negotiations are on pause".

Sowetan 2/12/92
The Human Rights Commission's study on violence says 6 229 people died between July 1990 and June 1992.

Violence was allegedly state supported.

"The aim seems to be to weaken the democratic organisation and negotiate from the power of strength," Buhlungu wrote.

Themba Mbokazi, a Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union (Ppwawu) shop steward in Maritzburg, is quoted as saying: "The violence was created deliberately. It will not end as long as the people who started it do not stop."

Govt steps up pressure over border raids

GOVERNMENT handed a formal protest note to Transkei and stepped up diplomatic pressure on Lesotho yesterday as right-wingers threatened to take the law into their own hands and strike at Apla bases in the two countries.

The CP has vowed to take unilateral action against the alleged bases unless government implements strong measures against the PAC's armed wing within a week.

The weekend slaying of a 14-year-old girl in Ficksburg, near the Lesotho border, has also prompted threats of arbitrary revenge attacks on blacks by right-wing extremists in the area.

While the CP has welcomed the deployment of policemen on the 200 farms along the SA border with Lesotho, it has urged that hot pursuit operations be authorised into the country. "Mere statements of co-operation with the Lesotho police are not enough," the CP said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the "fullest co-operation" was being received from Lesotho, where the girl's killers fled.

Another source said the attack was probably launched from within SA, and not from bases in Lesotho. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has mentioned Transkei and Zimbabwe as possible sites for Apla bases.

Foreign Affairs said the diplomatic protest to Transkei demanded strong action against gunmen who attacked SA vehicles on a section of the Queenstown-Dordrecht road which passes through Transkei.

Tonight, Ficksburg farmers, police,

RAY HARTLEY
and DIRK HARTFORD

army and AWB officials plan to hold a meeting to discuss the spate of attacks against residents in the area Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — who is also the Free State leader of the NP — are expected to attend the meeting.

At the same time, Sapa reports the Lesotho government has called a special meeting to discuss the deteriorating security situation along the border.

Two more deaths occurred on a Free State farm yesterday, but police suspected the motive for the attack was robbery. Koos Ward, 70, and his 34-year-old daughter, were killed by an intruder on their farm near the Rhenissen yesterday.

Foreign Affairs and police spokesmen have expressed fear that right-wing action might upset delicate operations, in co-operation with other governments, to stop the killings. "While channels between the governments of SA, Transkei and Lesotho remain open, we believe any unilateral action by groups will be unfortunate," the Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

Government wished to decide on a joint strategy with Transkei to counter the attacks, but would first evaluate the homeland's response to the protest note, he said.

Police spokesman Col Louis Botha said heightened security, including additional Internal Stability Unit bases, permanent and mobile roadblocks, farm patrols and spot checks on vehicles, were being implemented. He said it was clear the perpetrators of incidents in the Border region were

□ To Page 2

Border raids

coming from Transkei and returning there afterwards, "frustrating" police who could operate only in SA

Individuals were being advised at border roadblocks not to travel through Transkei, and Transkei police had begun escorting vehicles in some areas

Police would testify about the size and nature of Apla forces before a Goldstone commission hearing today and early in January, he said, adding that Apla was "not a very large grouping" which confined its attacks to within a couple of kilometres of the Transkei border

The latest attacks showed that slow-moving vehicles on isolated roads were being targeted.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said right-wing organisations were co-ordinating efforts to defend SA's borders with Lesotho and Transkei. An undis-

□ From Page 1

closed number of right-wing commandos were moving into the border areas, he said

Sapa reports that the Boere Weerstandsbeweging has warned its supporters to prepare for civil war. The organisation said it had deployed a platoon of its military wing on the SA border with Transkei.

Van Tonder said the time had come for people to defend themselves. Urging the police and SADF to intervene before this happened, he insisted there were Apla bases in both Lesotho and Transkei, and that plans were being orchestrated there to get farmers off their land.

Sapa reports that Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said the union had confidential information that attacks on Free State and Cape farms could spread to the Transvaal at the weekend. He called on government to use the SADF to restore law and order.

BIDMM 22/12/92

274



Kriel declares 23 unrest areas

Irate farmers boo Ministers over security

274

ANGRY Free State farmers and right-wingers booed and heckled Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday at a meeting in Ficksburg to discuss the deteriorating security situation. Kriel said government had taken secur-

RAY HARTLEY

ity measures, including the declaration of 23 places along the Lesotho and Transkei borders as unrest areas.

He also announced that three people had been arrested for the murder of a Theunissen farmer and his daughter, Sapa reports.

Reacting to Kriel's announcement, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said President F W de Klerk would have to act with equal vigour against armed right-wing militia if he wished to be seen as sincerely trying to end violence in the area.

"De Klerk is showing us that in SA he will allow the armed wings of white political organisations, while calling for the disbanding of others like Umkhonto we Sizwe," Holomisa said.

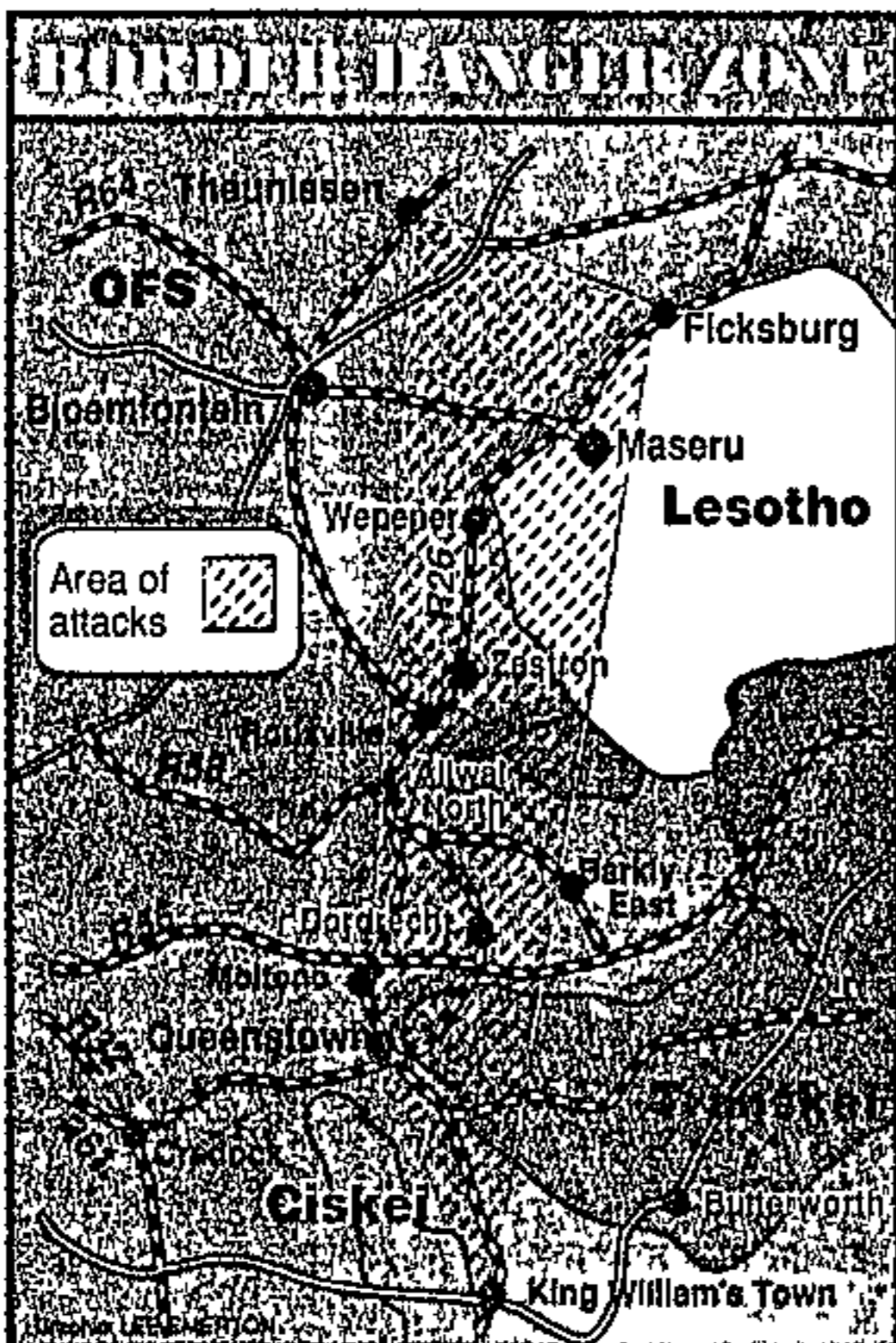
Security measures announced by Kriel included:

- The deployment of police on farms;
- Stepped up roadblocks in border areas; and
- Increased security force patrolling of affected areas.

An army spokesman said troops would be deployed alongside policemen to secure isolated farms along the borders.

Speakers from the Free State Agricultural Union security committee, which convened the meeting, called for the appli-

To Page 2



Farmers ^{BLOM 23/12/92} ²⁷⁴ From Page 1

ication of the death penalty and said security force members should conduct cross-border raids against Apla bases

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche earlier called on government to distribute automatic weapons to farmers in affected areas. He also wanted government to provide electric fencing and two-way radios. The Afrikaner Volksunie called for a state of emergency to be imposed.

Holomisa denied Apla had bases inside Transkei and said the whole matter was "becoming a laughing exercise".

A diplomatic protest note delivered by SA officials on Monday had been "mild", and was answered with assurances that Transkei police would co-operate fully with their SA counterparts, he added.

He said Transkeian and SA police were working around the clock to apprehend the perpetrators of recent attacks allegedly

launched from Transkei soil. No arrests had been made.

Holomisa said the lack of progress in investigations raised the possibility that the attacks were being orchestrated or exaggerated by "elements within the security forces and Cabinet Ministers playing on the fears of whites to disillusion them with the present government".

It was "common cause" that the SA Cabinet was divided between hard-liners, such as Kriel and Water Affairs Minister Magnus Malan, and negotiators such as Foreign Minister Pik Botha, he said.

The Lesotho government yesterday gave an assurance that it would not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks against its neighbours, saying it reserved the right to act against lawlessness on its SA border.

Comment: Page 4

OK forced to stop selling toy AK-47s

COMPLAINTS from the public have forced the OK Bazaars to stop selling toy replicas of AK-47 assault rifles.

OK marketing director Arthur Solonon said yesterday the sensitivity surrounding the sale of this "controversial toy" had prompted the chain store to remove all stock from the shelves immediately, rather than discontinuing supply once stock was sold.

The store said the toys, imported from the Far East, had sold well.

The SA Consumer Council did not criticise the sale of the replicas, with spokes-

man Paul Roos saying the council felt the replicas presented a political, not a consumer issue.

National peace committee chairman John Hall, speaking in his personal capacity, said he was "horrified" by the selling of the replicas. "It is criminally irresponsible . . . in a violence-wracked society to sell these replicas which only serve to promote the destruction of human lives and further deaden the minds of many who are already semi-anaesthetised to the horror of death."

STEPHEN COPLAN

B/D/M 23/12/92

274

Justice for SA peace

Sowetan 24/12/92
■ Azapo gives a Christmas message: ~~AAA~~

274

By Mokgadi Pela

A Z A P O president Professor Itumeleng Mosala has called on black people to continue struggling for justice in order to achieve a lasting peace.



Itumeleng Mosala

Mosala said in his Christmas message that peace resulted from justice and not vice versa.

"Only justice will end violence. Only justice will transform our townships from human dumping grounds into thriving, social communes. Codesa collapsed because the white minority regime seeks to bring about peace without justice," Mosala added.

He said processes like Codesa and power-sharing between "self-appointed" parties could not eradicate white supremacy.

Mosala accused the Government of having duped South Africans into believing it was committed to peace. "In keeping with all dictatorships throughout history, the white minority regime has healed the wound of our people lightly by shouting peace while engineering violence against them," Mosala said.

Police patrol border farms

RAY HARTLEY

POLICE moved quickly to secure farms and towns on the Transkei and Lesotho borders yesterday, after the declaration of 23 unrest areas in the region by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Additional police had been moved in and new Internal Stability Unit bases were being established yesterday, police spokesman Capt Lisbe Vermeulen said.

Security operations would continue on Christmas day and through the rest of the festive season. Police said they had not ruled out attacks on isolated farms and towns on Christmas day.

Tensions in the area remained high yesterday after two stormy farmers' meetings on Tuesday at which Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee were heckled and booed. Farmers and right-wingers demanded greater security measures and cross-border raids against Apla gunmen, the alleged perpetrators of attacks on whites in the border areas.

The white Mineworkers' Union came out in support of the farmers' demands, with a spokesman saying violence against defenceless whites on farms and in towns

would not be tolerated. (274)

Pretoria police spokesman Capt Piet Brandt said police would "treat fire with fire" and act with equal vigour against armed right-wingers and Apla gangs, if they broke the law. He added, however, that the AWB and other right-wing groups had not "taken the lives of innocent people", as Apla allegedly had.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has accused the police of threatening to take drastic action against black guerrilla movements, while allowing white right-wingers to move about carrying heavy arms openly.

Holomisa yesterday called for an "indaba" early next year to address the deployment of AWB members along Transkei's borders with SA.

Ficksburg schoolgirl Leonie Pretorius, who was shot dead last week, was buried at an emotional service in the town yesterday, Sapa reports.

Free State ANC spokesman Dirk du Toit

□ To Page 2

B100M 24/12/92

Patrols

B100M 24/12/92

said yesterday Apla's attacks were contributing to the culture of violence that was tearing SA apart. He said the police and SADF no longer had the manpower to prevent violence and suggested that Umkhonto we Sizwe assist under the discipline of a government of national unity.

The CP said its Ladybrand MP, Charl Hertzog, would meet the Lesotho police commissioner in Maseru today to discuss the recent violence.

"We will reiterate our standpoint that any terrorist base must be neutralised

(within seven days).

The CP welcomed assurances by the Lesotho government that it would not permit Apla to operate from its soil, but it wanted details on how Lesotho would neutralise a terrorist threat.

It would also seek assurances that Umkhonto was not allowed to operate from Lesotho. "The CP is not taken in by the ANC 'threats' against Apla," the party said. It saw both organisations as responsible for the current wave of terror against white South Africans.

From Page 1



Azapo suspicious of UN intentions

Sowetan

24/12/92

##

274

235

By Isaac Moledi

THE Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday it would resist any attempt by the international community to force it into accepting any concept of power-sharing.

The organisation also said it wanted to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party and discuss the differences which have led to a "raging war" between the two organisations in Bekkersdal on the West

■ Organisation wants to meet IFP over Bekkersdal violence:

Rand.

Azapo deputy president Mr Pandeleni Nefolovhodwe said at a Press conference his organisation had noted with regret the role of the United Nations peace-keeping mission in the country.

He said it was questionable whether the UN was in the country to keep statistics, to monitor violence or to placate organisations which had signed the Peace Accord.

Azapo had met representatives of the UN and the Organisation of African Unity to lodge complaints about the violence at Bekkersdal.

Publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said although the organisation was engaged in a "war" with the IFP at Bekkersdal, their option was to meet and discuss their differences. Since the hostilities began in October last year, 21 Azapo supporters had been killed.

THE KILLERS

IN 1992 he became South Africa's grim totem: the ubiquitous AK-47 killer delivering sudden and often inexplicable death.

His hand was seen in the slaughter on trains, in random assassinations, bank robberies, household break-ins, drive-by shootings, taxi wars and street mayhem.

In less deadly moments he could be seen firing graveside salutes to fallen comrades at "political" funerals or blazing randomly into the air during moments of festivity.

He is a protean man and his roots are disparate. He comes from the rural clans which fiercely avenge a kinsman's death; from the shanty towns where trigger happy is another name for survival; from Angolan and Ugandan camps where ideologies, like old comrades, died. Only the self-

The ⁽²¹⁴⁾ year of ^(27/12/92) the gun

— cold, brutal and remorseless — is left. Who knows from where his weapon comes. It could be the rusted surplus of African wars, disinterred guerrilla caches or greasy new stock sold by renegades in government forces.

Together he and his weapon contributed to the murder of 18 000 South Africans this year. He killed three thousand in political violence alone. It was his year, the year of the gun.



Hopes high for crucial summit between Mandela and Buthelezi

ANC and Inkatha delegations scheduled to meet tomorrow are hoping to set a date for the important summit between their leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sources in both parties said they were "very confident" about how preparations were proceeding, with an ANC negotiator saying the summit "would definitely happen" and it was just a matter of time.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose was hopeful a date could be set tomorrow, but cautioned that the problems were not superficial. He said only two meetings were scheduled, but the delegations could decide to hold further talks to prepare the

ground. A summit between the two leaders could move multiparty negotiations ahead more quickly.

The ANC source said it was "vital that the summit of delegations headed by the respective leaders succeed".

"We have to ensure success. If we do not prepare a strong foundation for the summit, there will be problems and we do not believe the country wants to see it fail at this stage," he said.

He said the negotiations were extremely tough with both sides looking for a way through the two major problem areas — Mandela's demand that Buthelezi accept

BILLY PADDOCK

the record of understanding between himself and President F W de Klerk concluded in September, and Inkatha's adoption of the "go-it-alone" federal option.

Mdlalose said the first meeting last month was "very encouraging" and progress was made with "a great deal of goodwill".

Neither the ANC nor Inkatha was prepared to divulge details of the talks.

Relations between the parties, especially in Natal, have been bad for most of the year with both leaders blaming each other for the escalating violence.

One of the events most damaging to an already tense relationship was Mandela's address to the UN where he labelled Inkatha a puppet of Pretoria.

Buthelezi insisted that the peace committee censure the ANC leader for provocation and intensifying the violence. He refused to attend crucial peace accord meetings until Mandela apologised.

Shuttle diplomacy by peace accord chairman John Hall, led to former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda being brought in to mediate. But the issue remained unresolved with Kaunda saying there were good arguments on both sides.

Mandela complained a few months ago that he had phoned Buthelezi on at least 12 occasions, but the latter had refused to take his calls and the "ball was now in his court".

Buthelezi has consistently objected to ANC/government "collusion" and bilateral decisions.

But the ANC source said if there was no hope for the summit coming off then he would not be involved in the preparatory negotiations.

"There would be no purpose of negotiating for something that is not going to take place," he said.

Educate the masses on need for tolerance, says Goldstone

Judge urges peace drive

Political Staff

STAR
28/12/92

274

Peace-loving South Africans need to embark on a mass education drive for tolerance, Mr Justice Goldstone said today in the Goldstone Commission's third report.

The judge said political organisations had failed to do this successfully, and the thrust could now well come from non-political bodies.

"It would be difficult for the political leaders to ignore such an initiative. Public funding therefor should be sought and, so too, the support of the international community."

The judge was highly critical of the IFP and the ANC.

"It remains clear that a primary trigger of violence and intimidation remains the rivalry between, and the fight for territory and the control thereof by, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC)."

He said the situation in Natal/KwaZulu had "if anything, deteriorated".

Contributory factors to violence continued to be socio-economic issues, suspicion and negative perceptions of the security forces, and the availability of sophisticated weapons.

The commission believed the violence in Natal/KwaZulu could only be curbed if there was agreement by the parties concerned on:

- Free political activity in all areas.
- The role of tribal chiefs.
- The police investigation of political deaths and injuries.
- The withdrawal of G3 rifles given to tribal authorities in KwaZulu.
- The cessation of political attacks in breach of the National Peace Accord.
- The cessation of attacks on all existing authorities.
- Affiliation to a political party and public rights or privileges.

Unable

According to the report, complaints were made by the ANC and the IFP that there were "no-go" areas in which one party or the other was unable to carry on political activity.

"If elections or referenda are to be held in South Africa, or, as suggested by the IFP, in Natal/KwaZulu, it is obviously a precondition that the parties contesting such an election or participating in such a referendum must be free to carry on political activity," said the report.

Such activity must include the holding of meetings and peaceful demonstrations. A public commitment by the KwaZulu government, the KwaZulu police (KZP), the

IFP and the ANC to allow such free political activity was therefore essential.

The report said there should be an undertaking by all parties to give due recognition to the role of tribal chiefs (amakhosi) and to pay due respect to them. Their role should be defined.

Complaints were also received about the inability of or failure by the SAP and the KZP to arrest and successfully charge the perpetrators of serious political crimes. On the other hand, the SAP and the KZP complained about the lack of community co-operation when they sought to investigate such crimes.

"The commission believes that international police observers could be of substantial assistance to both the SAP and the KZP. Their presence and involvement, for example, in selected police stations, would go a long way towards lessening the fears of many that they would not receive fair and serious attention to complaints.

"Without the full co-operation of the communities in which they operate, the police cannot be expected to perform adequately or successfully," said the report.

"In this area, too, an ade-

● To Page 3

Judge urges peace drive

STAR
28/12/92

274

● From Page 1
quate, well-known and trusted witness protection programme would encourage witnesses to report information to the police."

Concern was also expressed at the frequency and ease with which bail was granted to persons arrested on charges relating to serious cases of public violence and intimidation.
"This phenomenon heightens fears of further violence and

acts as a form of intimidation that prevents witnesses from furnishing information to the police."

The commission suggested that consideration be given to withholding permission to address public meetings to those parties which clearly breached the National Peace Accord.

And, while the present negotiations for a future constitution proceeded, it called on all political parties to desist from making inflammatory political attacks on the present authorities.

"For the same reason, there should be a suspension of any further transfers of land or police stations to the KwaZulu government."

The judge said the commission was impressed by a plea from Priscilla McKay, of Pine-town Child Welfare, for the education of the youth on political tolerance.
"National organisations, such as Child Welfare might consider embarking upon a mass education drive for tolerance and actively engage the political leaders of South Africa, at all levels, in such a programme," he said.
Since the commission's second interim report on April 29, at least 10 committee reports have been submitted.
The committee will also hear evidence in preliminary inquiries to be held at Port Shepstone, Empanjeni and the Ngutu area.

NEWS Peace Accord sees light at end of the tunnel ● Policeman to leave force

NPA plea for peace *Sowetan 29/12/92* in SA next year

By Lulama Luti

(274)

IS peace in South Africa possible - is it achievable?

There is no doubt that as the year ends, most South Africans are asking themselves this question.

They await anxiously to see whether or not the violence that ravaged our country in 1992 will persist into the new year.

As this anxiety continues, the committee of the National Peace Accord has stepped in to warn that there is light at the end of the tunnel.

In advertisements that have been running in the national media since the beginning of the Christmas season, the NPA has been urging South Africans to use this time of

■ 1993 may usher in a peaceful era for SA:

Goodwill to usher in a peaceful era.

The message carried in newspaper adverts that have been distributed countrywide, and inserts on radio and television reads in part:

Sleep peacefully

"Imagine if South Africa could sleep this peacefully every night.

"Imagine a South Africa with no violence - a people at peace with one another.

"Let's use this season of Goodwill to make a start - to work for peace in our land."

● See pages 6 and 7.



Stick-a-pick choice: From left Sowetan's Ephraim Lukoto, Moffat Mangole, Sello Rabothata Standard Bank's Buyi Radebe, Gillian Maree and Rabbi Moripe choose the winner.

C

Judge Goldstone's plea for peace in South Africa

Sowetan 29/12/92

By Sowetan Correspondent.

274
■ EDUCATION DRIVE: Plan to teach youth of

need for political tolerance and peaceful leadership.

PEACE-LOVING South Africans need to embark on a mass education drive for tolerance, Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday in the Commission of Inquiry's third report

Judge Goldstone said political organisations had failed to do so successfully and the thrust could well now come from non-political bodies.

"It would be difficult for the political leaders to ignore such an initiative. Public funding therefore should be sought and, so too, the support of the international community."

The judge said the commission was impressed by a plea from Priscilla McKay on behalf of the Pinetown Child Welfare for the education of the youth on political tolerance during the recent preliminary hearing on violence in Natal/KwaZulu.

"This may well be the time for the mass of peace-loving and peace-yearning South Africans to come together and to demand 'leadership for peace'."

"It remains clear that a primary trigger of violence and intimidation remains the rivalry between, and the fight for territory and the control thereof by, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC)."

Contributory factors in the violence continued to be socio-economic, suspicion and negative perceptions of the security forces and the availability of sophisticated weapons and explosive devices.

In view of the submission made in Durban, the commission believed the violence in Natal/KwaZulu could only be curbed if there was agreement by the parties concerned on the following issues:

- Free political activity in all areas,
- The role of tribal chiefs (amakhosi),
- The investigation by the police of political deaths and injuries;
- The withdrawal of G3 rifles given to tribal authorities in KwaZulu;
- The cessation of political attacks in breach of the National Peace Accord;
- The cessation of attacks on all existing authorities; and
- Affiliation to a political party and public rights or privileges.

Complaints were made by the ANC and the IFP that there were "no-go" areas in which the one party or the other was unable to carry on political activity.

"If elections or referenda are to be held in South Africa, or as suggested by the IFP in Natal/KwaZulu, it is obviously a precondition that the parties contesting such an election or participating in such a referendum must be free to carry on political activity," said the report.

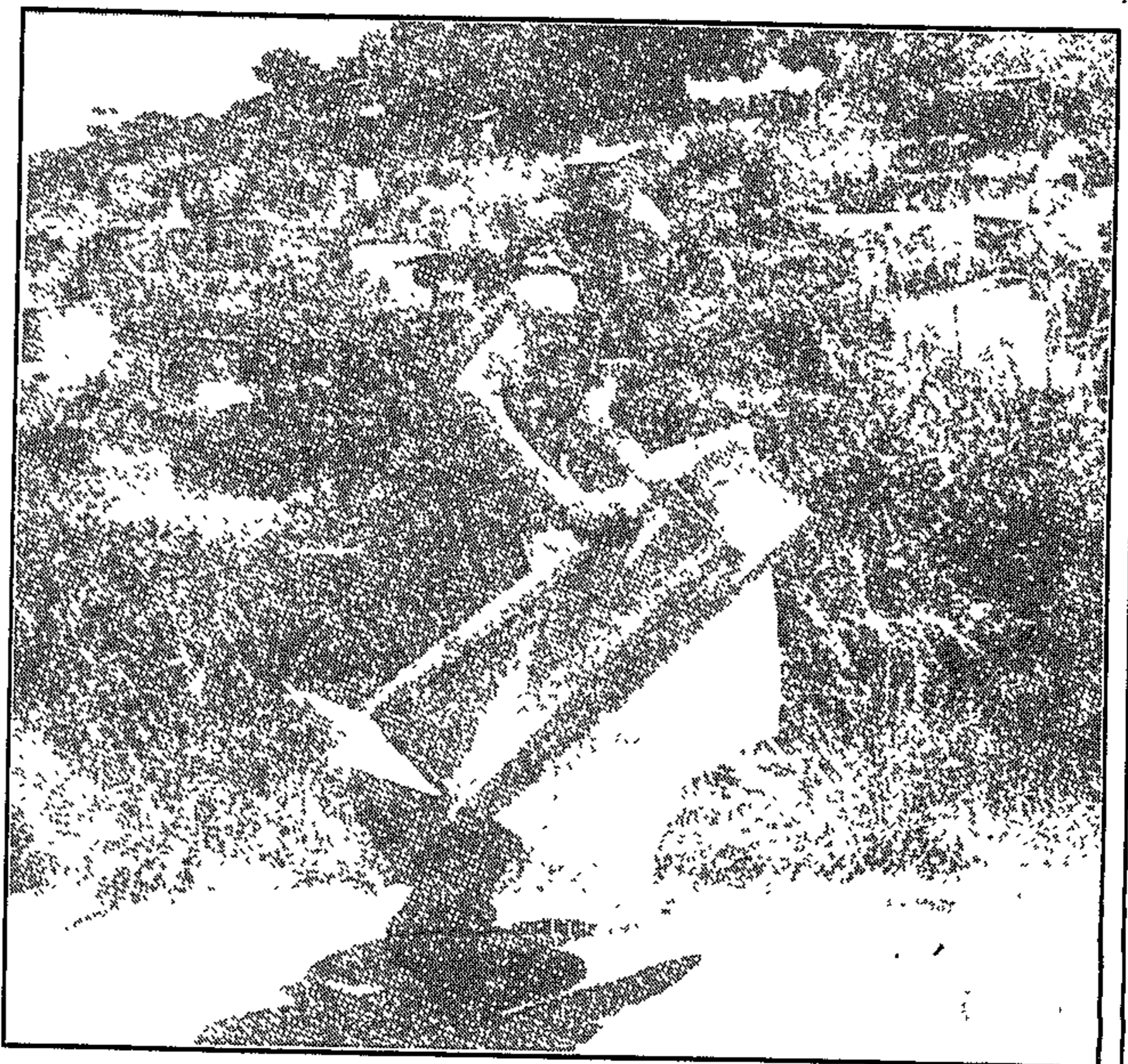
Such activity must include the holding of meetings and peaceful demonstrations. A public commitment by the KwaZulu government, the KwaZulu Police, the IFP and the ANC to allow such free political activity was therefore essential.

The report said there should be an undertaking by all parties to give due recognition to the role of tribal chiefs (amakhosi) and to pay due respect to them.

Complaints were also received about the inability of or failure by the SAP and the KZP to arrest and successfully charge the perpetrators of serious political crimes. On the other hand the SAP and the KZP complained about the lack of community co-operation when they seek to investigate such crimes.

"The commission believes that international police observers could be of substantial assistance to both the SAP and the KZP. Their presence, and involvement, for example, in selected police stations, would go a long way towards lessening the fears of many that they would not receive fair and serious attention and adequate response to complaints.

"Without the full co-operation of the communities in which they operate the police cannot be expected to perform adequately or successfully,"



No place to hide - a squatter flees violence in Natal.

said the report

"In this area, too, an adequate, well-known and trusted witness protection programme would encourage witnesses to report information to the police."

Concern was also expressed at the frequency and ease with which bail was granted to persons arrested on charges relating to serious cases of public violence and intimidation.

"This phenomenon heightens fears of further violence and acts as a form of intimidation that prevents witnesses from furnishing information to the police. This, in turn, reflects badly upon the ability of the police to successfully bring to justice the perpetrators of violence."

"More attention should be given by the appropriate authorities to the effect of the release of

such persons in already traumatised and fear-ridden communities."

The commission called for the withdrawal of G3 rifles given to tribal authorities in KwaZulu. It also suggested that consideration be given to withholding permission to address public meetings to those parties which clearly breached the National Peace Accord.

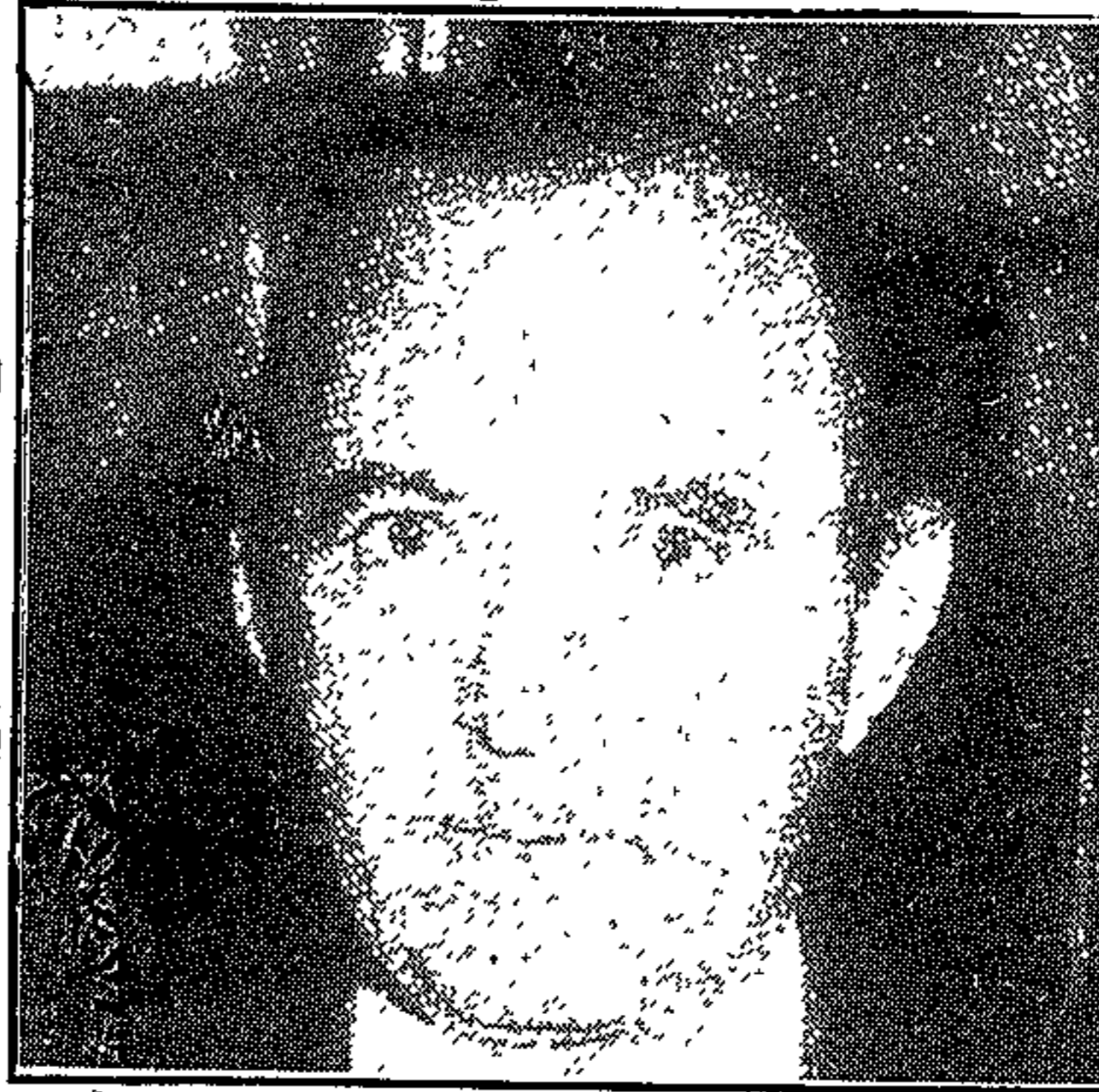
It called on all political parties to desist from making inflammatory and confrontational political attacks on authorities.

"For the same reason there should be a suspension of any further transfers of land or police stations to the KwaZulu government."

The committee will hear evidence and submissions in preliminary inquiries to be held at Port Shepstone, Empangeni, Nqutu.

29/12/92

274



Justice Gubbins - plea for tolerance.

“This may well be the time for
peace-loving and peace-yearning
South Africans to come together and
to demand leadership for peace”

Holomisa challenges FW

(274)

(254)

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH — Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday called on President F W de Klerk to "show us the bases from which our people are being killed in the townships" and to disclose the source of weapons circulating in the country.

Holomisa's statement to the Labour Party's annual congress came as a war of words between SA and Transkei continued unabated.

Yesterday, government spokesman Dave Steward warned that the SA security forces would continue their "relentless efforts to track down, apprehend and punish those responsible for terrorist atrocities, wherever they may be found". He said the security forces would, if necessary, apply the doctrine of hot pursuit and "will consequently follow the perpetrators of any terrorist acts across international borders". Government, he said was "deeply con-

cerned" about news reports relating to possible assistance which the military government of Transkei might have given to the PAC's armed wing Apla.

In his speech to the Labour Party, Holomisa also called on SA to "formalise" all existing armed bases inside SA during constitutional talks, saying this would allow conventional training and accountability.

He called on De Klerk to present his evidence of Apla activities in Transkei to a commission of inquiry to be appointed by his government in the new year.

Holomisa also launched a stinging attack on Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel; accusing him of "belligerent posturing and sabre-rattling". Kriel, he said, was "completely out of touch with the spirit of change sweeping SA."

□ To Page 2

29/12/92
B10AM

Holomisa

B10AM 29/12/92

(108) (254) (274)

From Page 1

"One wonders whether SA in this hour of its historical march needs the likes of Hennis Kriel and other similar minded cronies in public office. The Minister has no reputation of trying to heal wounds; instead he is always sowing discord, suspicion, distrust and hatred."

Holomisa said Kriel's threat to launch raids into Transkei, and his decision to close the border, appeared to be "a ploy to destabilise the entire area, with the view to driving white Nat supporters into the fold of the ultra-conservative right wing".

Steward said Foreign Minister Pik Botha had made it clear last week that if, as reported, Holomisa had signed an accord with Apla, it could have "serious implications and grave consequences".

Steward said if intelligence confirmed the existence of terrorist bases in Transkei, government would take whatever diplomatic and other action might be necessary for their elimination.

Government was urgently investigating the reliability and authenticity of all reports relating to Apla, he said.

Holomisa told Sapa yesterday his gov-

ernment had been issuing pistols to the military wings of the ANC and PAC, to protect their leaders in the homeland, since 1990. He said the issuing of pistols to Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres would continue and was solely aimed at the protection of ANC and PAC leaders on visits to the homeland.

Holomisa said strict control was exercised over the weapons — pistols were signed for and had to be returned at the culmination of each visit.

Part of the reason for the issuing of pistols was that Transkei authorities wanted to avoid Apla and Umkhonto cadres bringing their own "big guns" into Transkei, Holomisa added.

The PAC yesterday "categorically" denied that Apla had been militarily active in Transkei. In a statement to Sapa, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander warned of action if Transkei was attacked. "Any attack on Transkei will be an attack on unarmed civilians... Should such an attack occur we will not fold our arms. We are not afraid of attack. We are ready and waiting."



Gag bellicose leaders, says Goldstone

BIDM 29/12/92
274

THE Goldstone commission has recommended that political leaders who attack opposition parties in ways that breach the peace accord should be banned from addressing public meetings for a set period.

In its third interim report, released yesterday, the commission said all confrontational and inflammatory political attacks on the authorities should stop while constitutional negotiations were in progress.

The ANC, which would not respond in detail until the recommendations had been studied by its national working committee, agreed with the principle that leaders not publicly attack one another. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus added that he was not sure Judge Richard Goldstone's idea, though, was the right way to keep leaders in line.

Inkatha spokesmen were not available for comment.

The commission, seemingly frustrated at the lack of progress in reducing tensions in Natal since the second interim report in April, suggested harsh measures.

It said there had to be a legally enforceable penalty for breach of the peace accord by political leaders. "Leaders of both the ANC and the IFP continue to attack each other and each other's parties in terms that clearly constitute breaches of the national peace accord. The absence of an appropriate sanction for such breaches has often been raised."

Therefore consideration should be given

BILLY PADDOCK

to getting agreement that permission to address public meetings be withheld for a time from those making such attacks.

The report also noted: "While the present negotiations proceed with regard to the nature of a future constitution for SA, all political parties should desist from making inflammatory and confrontational political attacks on authorities that are at present constituted."

An agreement to do so would help defuse tensions and reduce the potential for violence in many areas of Natal/KwaZulu.

Goldstone was critical of Inkatha and the ANC, calling their rivalry "the primary trigger" of violence and intimidation.

Citing the second interim report, he said: "Both organisations have been overhasty

● See Pages 2 and 4

in accusing the other of being the cause of such conduct. Each has been tardy, especially at the level of top leadership, in taking adequate and effective steps to stop the violence by imposing discipline and accountability among its membership."

He said there had been no improvement in this field. "Indeed, in Natal/KwaZulu the position has, if anything, deteriorated."

Contributory factors to the violence remained socio-economic issues, suspicion and negative attitudes towards the security forces, and the availability of sophisti-

□ To Page 2

Goldstone

ated weapons to tribal authorities.

The judge held that violence could be curbed if political parties agreed on such issues as:

- Free political activity in all areas;
- Clarification and definition of the role of tribal chiefs;
- Improved performance in police investigations and conviction of those responsible for political deaths and injuries;
- The withdrawal of G-3 rifles from tribal authorities; and
- Freedom of affiliation to political parties and public rights or privileges.

The report stated that free political activity was essential to convey policies and win support. It was essential that a public commitment to this was forthcoming from KwaZulu's police and government, Inkatha and the ANC. Due respect and recognition should also be accorded tribal chiefs but their role had to be clearly defined.

The judge recommended that international police observers be stationed at se-

lected police stations to lessen community fears regarding a fair hearing.

"Without the full co-operation of the community, the police cannot be expected to perform adequately or successfully," Goldstone said. An adequate witness protection programme should also be set up.

He expressed concern at the ease and frequency with which bail was granted in cases of public violence and intimidation.

The commission was impressed by evidence from a Pinetown Child Welfare worker and her plea for educating youth in political tolerance. The judge said this might well be the time for "the mass of peace-loving and peace-yearning" South Africans to come together and to demand "leadership for peace". Political organisations had failed to do this successfully and the thrust could now well come from non-political bodies.

Political leaders would find this difficult to ignore. Public funding should be made available to support such an initiative, and support should be sought internationally.

□ From Page 1

Gag plan for fiery politicians

ET 29/12/92 (274)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Goldstone Commission has recommended that political leaders who attack opposition parties in ways that breach the peace accord should be banned from addressing public meetings for a set period.

The commission also wanted all confrontational and inflammatory political attacks on the authorities to stop while constitutional negotiations were in progress, it said in the commission's third interim report.

Yesterday the ANC said it did not want to respond in detail to the recommendations, as they had to be studied by the national working committee.

However, it agreed with the principle that leaders should not publicly attack each other and their parties, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said, adding that he was not sure Mr Justice Goldstone's idea was the right way to go about sanctioning leaders.

The commission, seemingly frustrated at the lack of progress in reducing tensions in Natal

Peace mediator for Mooi River

Own Correspondent

THE SA Police were being disingenuous in trying to argue that their actions had no bearing on violence in Natal and that they should not be scrutinised, the final Goldstone Commission report into violence in the Mooi River, Natal, area stated.

An outside mediator would be appointed to facilitate the peace process in the violence-racked Mooi River/Bruntville region, it said.

The committee said both ANC and Inkatha had agreed to meet proposed mediator Mr Nico Coetzer, who had

been recommended by the Association of Law Societies.

Following extensive criticism of the efficiency of police investigations into violence which plagued the township in December 1991, a commission committee said between January 21 and July 21, 1992, 22 murders, 15 incidents of arson, seven handgrenade explosions and at least 20 gun attacks were recorded in the Mooi River township.

The report, released yesterday, was compiled by a committee established by the Goldstone Commission to investigate the unremitting violence in the township since January 1992.

since the second interim report in April, suggested harsh measures.

It said there had to be a legally enforceable penalty for breach of the peace accord by political leaders.

"Leaders of both the ANC and the IFP continue to attack each other and each other's parties in terms that clearly constitute breaches of the national peace accord. The absence of an appropriate sanction for such breaches has often been raised," said the third interim report.

Therefore consideration should be given to getting agreement that permission be withheld for leaders who were leveling attacks to address public meetings for a given time "as a legally enforceable penalty for clear breaches of this kind".

The commission also recommended that attacks on all existing authorities cease.

An agreement to do so would materially assist in defusing tensions and reducing the potential for violence in many areas of Natal/KwaZulu.

Peace plan gets cool reception

STAT
29/12/92.

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

274

The Goldstone Commission's recommendation that non-political bodies should take over where political leaders have failed in a mass education drive for tolerance received a lukewarm reception from the National Peace Committee and the ANC yesterday.

Mr Justice Goldstone said public funding and international support should be sought for a public, non-political campaign to educate the masses on tolerance.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said: "Ad hoc-ing is something we have had too much of in this country. To achieve the (tolerance education) objective, one would need structure."

But Hall said he held the judge in the highest regard and, while he had not yet seen the entire report, he would support the recommendations reported in the media.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would react to the report once it had been discussed at a meeting of the national working committee next month, but the ANC already did its utmost to promote peace among its members.

"But we believe all South Africans should play a role in bringing about peace," he said.

Niehaus rejected the judge's criticism that rivalry between the ANC and IFP was the primary trigger of violence between the two organisations.

"It is wrong to simply share the guilt between the ANC and IFP. In many cases, the IFP has used violence to promote its own political expansionist aims," he said.

PAC spokesman Waters "Bishop" Toboti said although the role of the ANC and IFP in violence was secondary to that of the security forces, "the ANC remains the common denominator in all township violence".

The IFP could not be reached for comment on the report at the time of going to press.

In his third report, Mr Justice Goldstone said political organisations had failed to educate the masses on the need for tolerance and the thrust could now well come from non-political bodies.

Contributory factors to violence continued to be socio-economic issues, suspicion and negative perceptions of the security forces, and the availability of sophisticated weapons.

An adequate, trusted witness protection programme would encourage witnesses to report information to the police.

Concern was also expressed at the frequency and ease with which bail was granted to people arrested on charges relating to serious cases of public violence and intimidation.

The commission suggested that consideration be given to withholding permission to address public meetings from those parties that breached the National Peace Accord.

Since the commission's second interim report in April, at least 10 committee reports have been sent to the President.

Lukewarm ANC reception for Goldstone SA plan

274

FRG 29/12/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Goldstone Commission's recommendation that non-political bodies should take over where political leaders had failed in a mass education drive for tolerance received a lukewarm reception from the National Peace Committee and the ANC.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said public funding and the support of the international community should be sought for a public, non-political campaign to

educate the masses on tolerance.

National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall said: "Ad hoc-ing is something we have had too much of in this country. To achieve the tolerance education objective one would need structure."

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said his organisation would react to the report once it had been discussed at a meeting of the National Working Committee next month, but the ANC was already doing its utmost to promote peace among members.

The judge who has striven for peace is not finished yet

STAR 29/12/92

(274)

THINK of the personalities who have influenced politics most in South Africa this year and you'll undoubtedly settle on President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

But high on the list must be a man who has never been a politician and has never stood for an election. Mr Justice Goldstone has become a household name with the best of the politicians, his position synonymous with judicial integrity in the face of political adversity.

Catapulted

This quality had been the hallmark of his legal career, but his credibility as a judge of notable moral conscience catapulted him to the status of national figurehead at the end of 1991, when he became head of a team probing the key obstacle to national reconciliation: violence.

As chairman of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, the judge has since arguably become the most important judge in South Africa's history.

During this year, he frequently transcended the political battlefield to expose ugly truths wherever they lay, encouraging South Africans on all sides of the political spectrum to recognise the fruits — and responsibilities — of fair play.

Before the well publicised October 1990 inquiry into the Sebokeng shootings of 11 protesters in March the same year, few outside the legal fraternity knew much about him.

He had been quietly performing his tasks as a judge in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, a job he still does.

Some will remember his precedent-setting judgments as a judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court in the 1980s. One of his most celebrated was the 1981 Gladys Govender ruling, which effectively put an end to Group Areas prosecutions. Others will remember him

In a year of violence and moral turpitude in South Africa, one man has emerged as a pioneer of integrity — Mr Justice Richard Goldstone. More than that, however, the prominent judge has become one of the country's major political figures. HELEN GRANGE reviews the events that made him one of the men of the year.

for his first commission of inquiry in early 1990, the one-man probe into the death in custody of Clayton Sithole, reportedly a boyfriend of Zinzi Mandela, who was found to have hanged himself in his cell.

But *everybody* will remember him for his astonishing role this year. Mr Justice Goldstone boldly plunged his new commission's tentacles into a variety of controversies and political hotbeds, coming up with revealing revelations, the latest of which is still rippling through the Government's security establishment.

The commission inquired into several incidences of violence, including the Bisho and Boipatong massacres, the bloodshed

in Tokoza and Alexandra, violence between hostel dwellers and ANC residents in Mool River, train violence and taxi feuds in the Cape and on the Reef.

Allegations were tested, including the Weekly Mail claim that police were using safe houses to launch attacks on the Reef, and their allegation that 200 KwaZulu men were trained by the SADF in the Caprivi.

Controversies were probed, including the role of hostels in violence and ways to prevent mass action from turning violent.

Interim reports were made by Mr Justice Goldstone on the findings of some of the inquiries, and each time, he came

up against a barrage of criticism from one or other disaffected political camp.

Many of the Goldstone Commission's findings pointed to ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party rivalry, and in the case of taxi wars intolerance between competing taxi associations. A number of allegations were found to be fallacious.

But the latest, most daring Goldstone Commission investigation has heavily indicted the SA Defence Force's Military Intelligence unit, fuelling suggestions that a state sponsored "third force" may be more than fiction.

This was the result of the commissioner's raid on an MI base in Pretoria last month, and

its subsequent discovery from documents seized that former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard was being employed to discredit the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

Although it has been impossible for Mr Justice Goldstone to be an integral part of the Commission's every inquiry and investigation, his hand-picked teams are closely guarded by him, and his guidance is crucial.

He has demonstrated a courageous but cautious style, which was most apparent when he launched the five special investigative units in September.

Numerous discussions and interviews preceded his decision on who was to be co-opted, and once the teams were operational, he gave them strict orders to keep a low media profile in order not to jeopardise their highly sensitive work.

The Goldstone Commission's expansion this year to its current size is perhaps reflective of its increasing importance in bringing to book the detractors

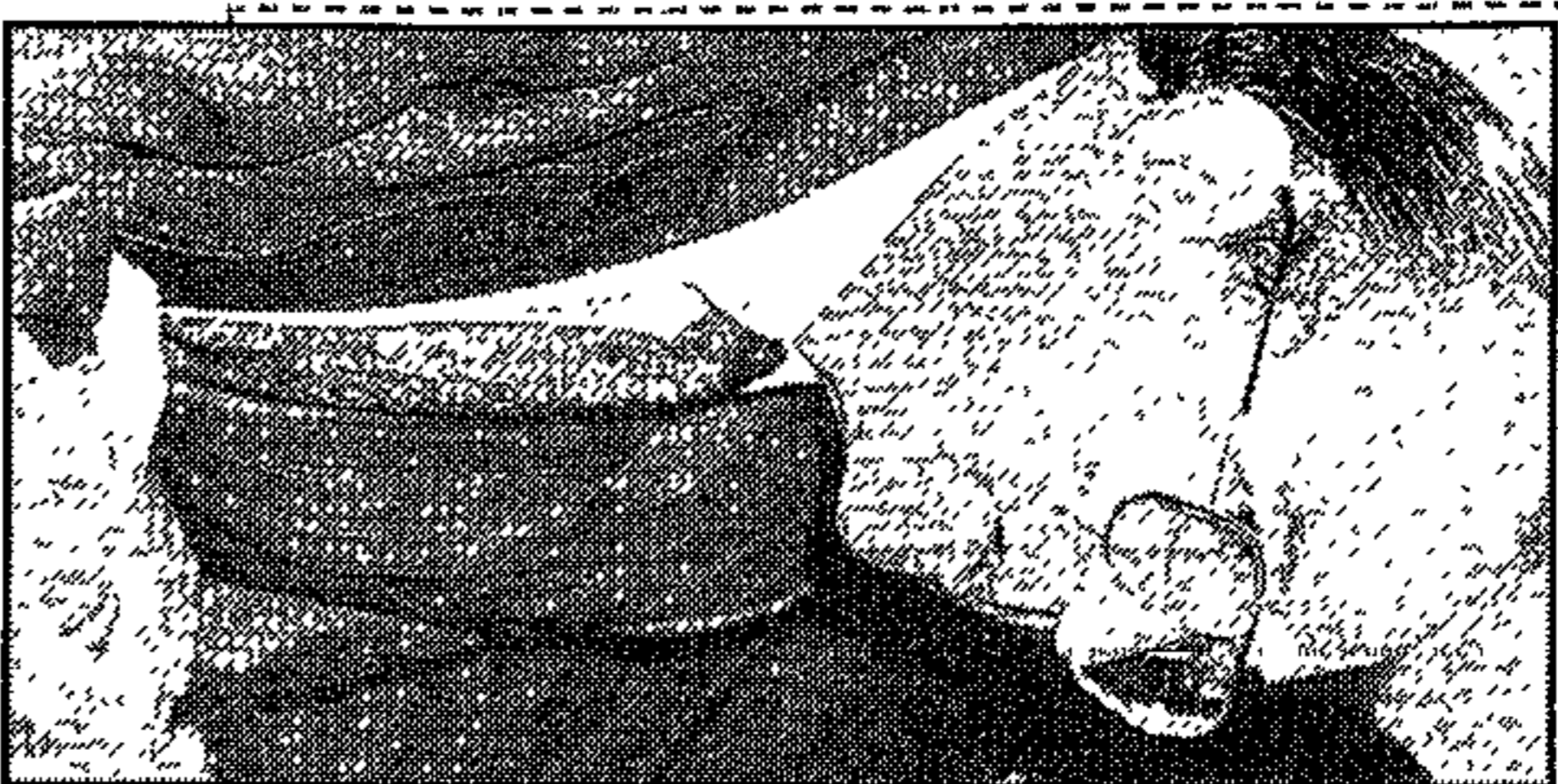
and corruptors of peace and stability. To this end, Mr Justice Goldstone has seen out the year with a stinging announcement — that he will probe the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) as well as certain activities of both the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He also announced this month that his Cape Town team will be inquiring into the illegal importation and distribution of automatic weapons.

Unearthing

Both these issues are burning ones in the minds of reform-minded South Africans, and there could be no better material for the job of unearthing the truth than Mr Justice Goldstone.

From being a Supreme Court judge with a bent for human rights, Mr Justice Goldstone has forged for himself a reputation this year as South Africa's moral guardian. □



Mr Justice Goldstone . . . has exposed ugly truths.

STAR 29/12/92
**ANC, IFP
optimistic
about talks**

The ANC and IFP were cautiously optimistic yesterday that today's meeting between the two parties would set a date and agenda for a summit between their respective leaders, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC was aiming for tangible conclusions on a Mandela-Buthelezi summit to secure peace between the two parties. (274)

The ANC did not want the talks to be purely "ceremonial". There would be no point in continuing a series of preparatory summit talks if they did not produce concrete results.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he expected the preparatory meeting to clear whatever obstacles remained in the way of the summit.

He cautioned, however, that the obstacles were not superficial.

Mdlalose is to lead the IFP delegation and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma the ANC team.

Neither the ANC nor the IFP would divulge the agenda for today's talks or the venue, but it is believed they will meet at a hotel in Durban. — Political Staff.

Call to donors ^{114/274}

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday called on foreign donors to stop funding organisations implicated in political violence in South Africa until a culture of tolerance existed among their members.

Reacting to the Goldstone Commission's report which said rivalry between the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party was the main cause of violence in the Mooi River/Bruntville area in Natal, Azapo said the donors should "put their money where their mouths are". *Sowetan 30/12/92*

"If these donors are so worried about the violence as they claim to be, they should discontinue their funding until they (the organisations) have inculcated a culture of tolerance within their members."

OPINION *Azapo will actively join other organisations to help end the violence*

Compelling reasons to end the violence

■ 'INHUMAN

ACTS' All life, es-

pecially black life, is

sacred, says Dr

Gomolemo

Mokae, publicity

Secretary of Azapo:

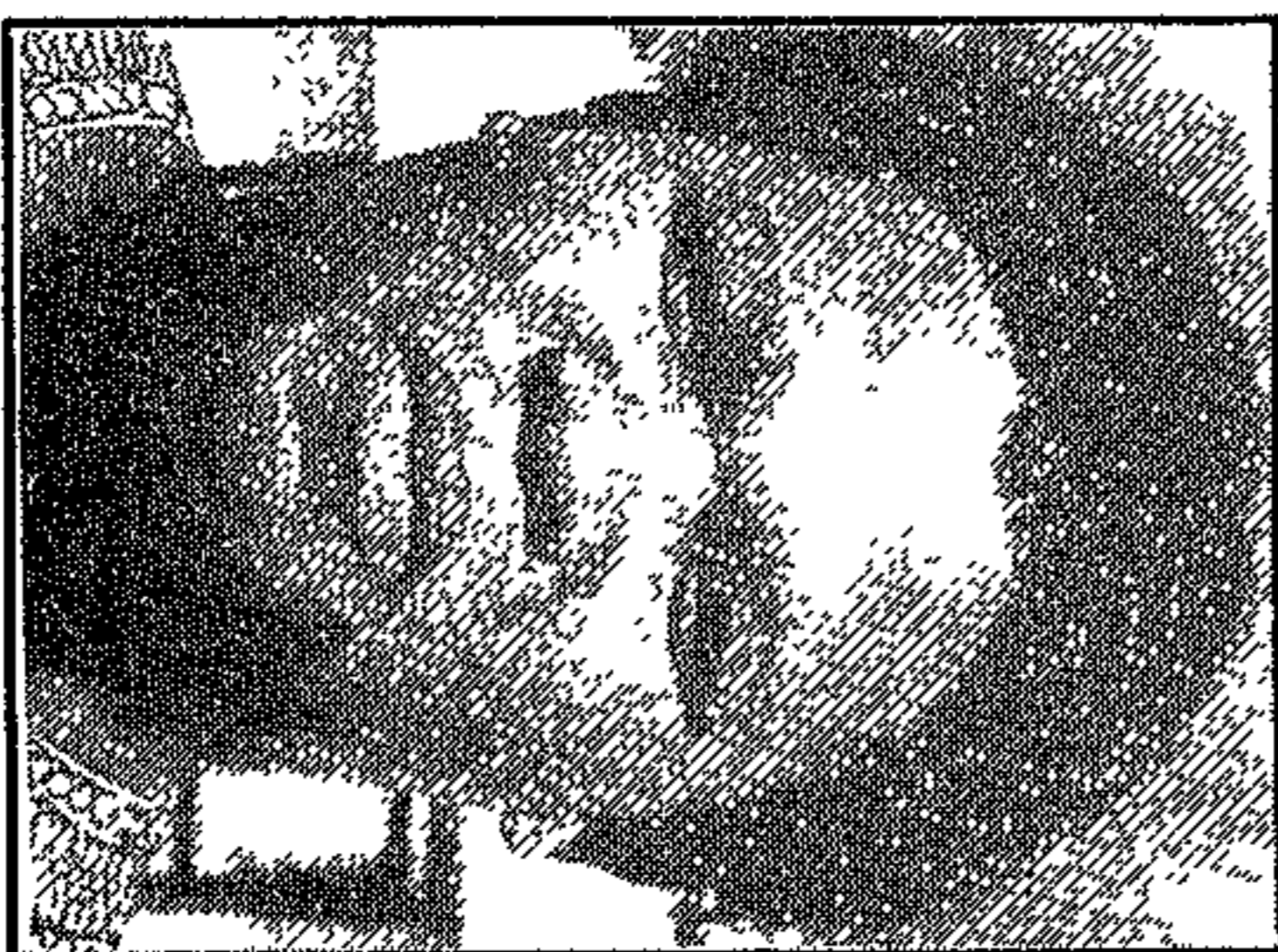
Sowetan 30/12/92

T HERE ARE, in Azapo's view, numerous compelling reasons to put the ending of violence high on our agenda for 1993.

These reasons are, among others, moral, economic, political, social and psychological.

Moral: A human being is, supposedly, the highest form of life in the universe, distinguishable from other species by virtue of having a soul.

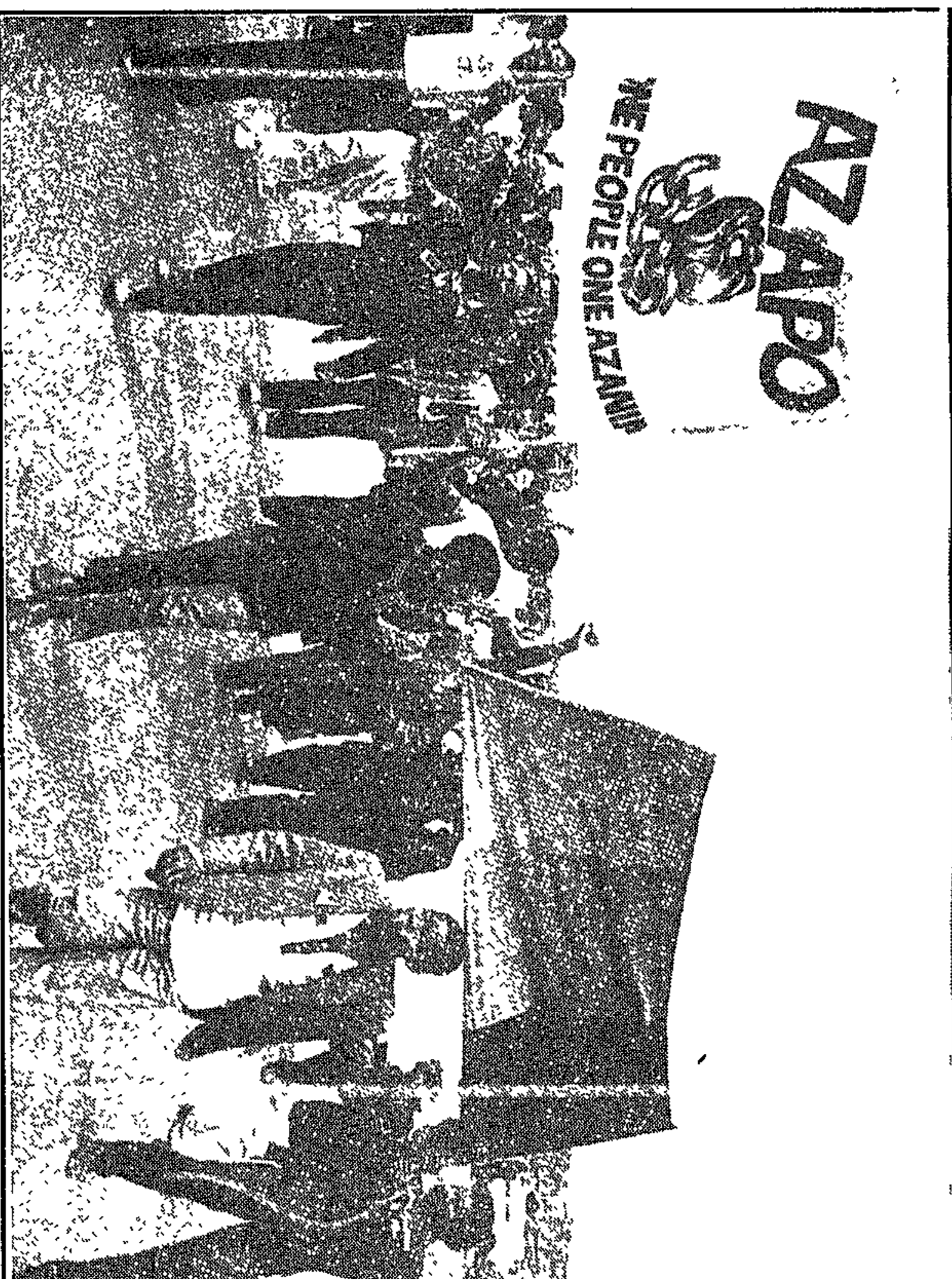
A soul is "the spirit or immaterial part of the mind that is the seat of the intellect and the source of the moral faculties."



(M)

(274)

What kind of society is it which can afford to turn its children into judges and executioners of their

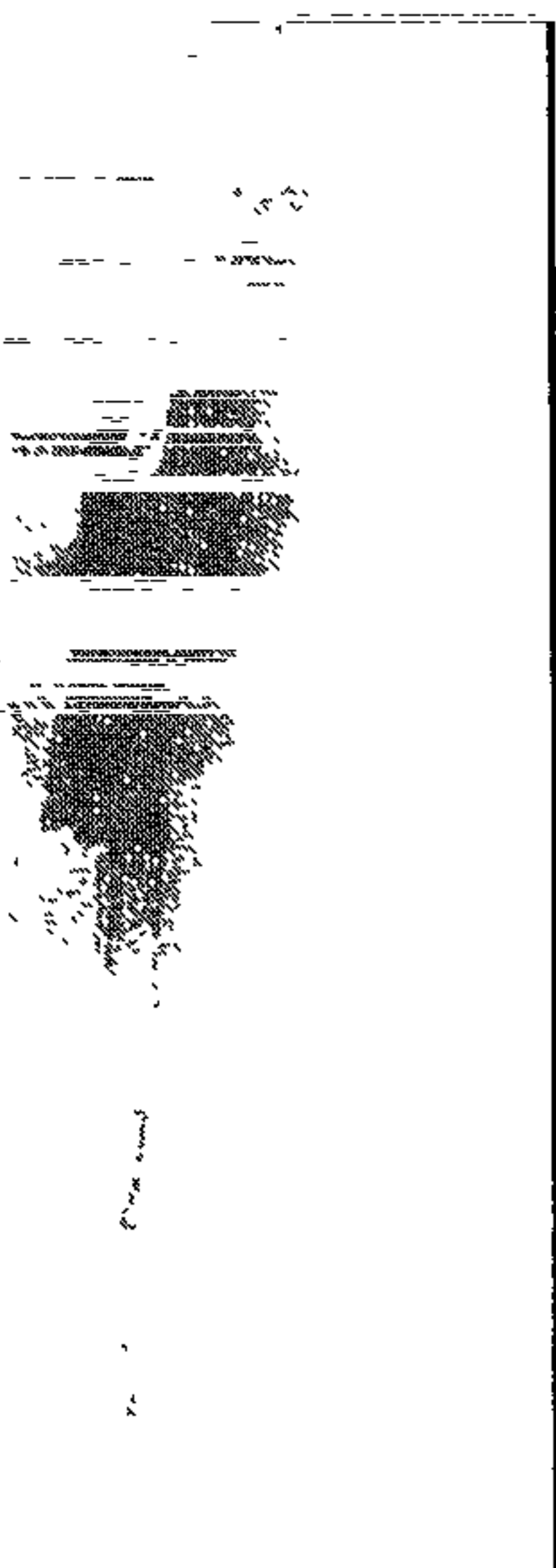


Unity in action in 1978, Azapo and ANC activists march with their banners at the funeral of Reverend Mashwabatha Mayathula in Soweto. This is the unity that Mokae argues should be recaptured to restore peace in black areas ravaged by violence

would have it, to some of us, white life far supercedes that of black life!

Black Consciousness was developed as an anti-thesis to this white racism; to interalia, teach blacks that they are no less men than white people.

How easy is it to convince our children of this, when black leaders exhibit such impotence in the



O. m. n. the seat of human personality, intellect, will and emotions."

Thanks to his soul, man holds - or should hold - all lives sacred, particularly those of fellow human beings.

As a higher being, he may take lives of lower beings for consumptive purposes.

Bloodcurdling

However, taking of human life, for whatever reason, is an incongruous act for a human being. It is all the more inhuman when it is through blood-curdling methods like "necklaces", for, even lower forms of life are deserving of humane methods of ending their lives.

Therefore, if we are to give this country a more human face, we have to frustrate the violence eating it away like a cancer.

Economic: No investor worth his dollar, pound or mark can readily invest in a violence-ridden country

This, however, is not the most vital issue. Though we acknowledge the importance of foreign investment, we place a higher premium on self-reliance

Therefore, the most worrying feature of this violence, is the countless lives of black breadwinners lost through the violence. And, if many of the remaining breadwinners are too busy fighting one another to fend for their brood, can the economy be any better?

Political: The boring "climate of free political activity" cannot, obviously, prevail when violence still engulfs this country. Nor can free elections be held.

Intimidation

Any political settlement which can come into being out of a climate of thuggery, intimidation and fear will, naturally be unstable.

For black people, coming from over three centuries of insecurity and oppression, it is all the more important that a new settlement should spell peace. Otherwise, it would not yet be hurrah, let alone Uhuru!

Social: Much has been written about

the destruction of black peoples' social ethic, *botho/uhuntu*.

A violence which pits brother against brother, son against father simply because of political differences, clearly his at the fabric of the society they belong to.

When one's political cause becomes so important that, in order to get at perceived rivals, usually sacred ceremonies like night vigils and funerals are desecrated, then that society is really in trouble.

It is in even more trouble when its future mothers and fathers, its youth, is turned into ogres who resort to the most vile methods to implement political programmes.

What kind of society is it which can afford to turn its children into judges and executioners of their parents?

Psychological: Russian physiologist, Pavlov, has been immortalised in the psychological phenomenon of "Pavlovian reflex"

In a nutshell, Pavlov had synchronised his giving of food to a dog with the ringing of a bell. Each time, when the dog saw food and the bell rang, it salivated

After he had conducted this ritual for a while, he stopped feeding the dog and only rung the bell. And the dog, thanks to psychological conditioning, continued to salivate, even though there was no food.

Pavlovian reflex

Most South Africans, black and white, have developed a bizarre form of Pavlovian reflex numbness.

A few years ago, when someone was hacked to death, shot with an AK-47, or necklaced, they used to be shocked. Nowadays, the severity of the violence has desensitised them to the horrors.

And it took the killing of a few whites in the Eastern Cape for their senses to return! This says a mouthful about this country's sick values and the psychological make-up of some of us. As architects of apartheid and herrenvolkism

let another w. y. how easy is it

to argue against the township saying, "Sethare sa Mosotho ke Lekgowa" (A black person's remedy is a white person) when it takes a primarily white peace secretary to get black leaders together?

Ashamed

Sometimes, seeing the kind of things black people are ready to do to one another, while proferring a million reasons why the same things are not done against whites, almost makes one ashamed of being black.

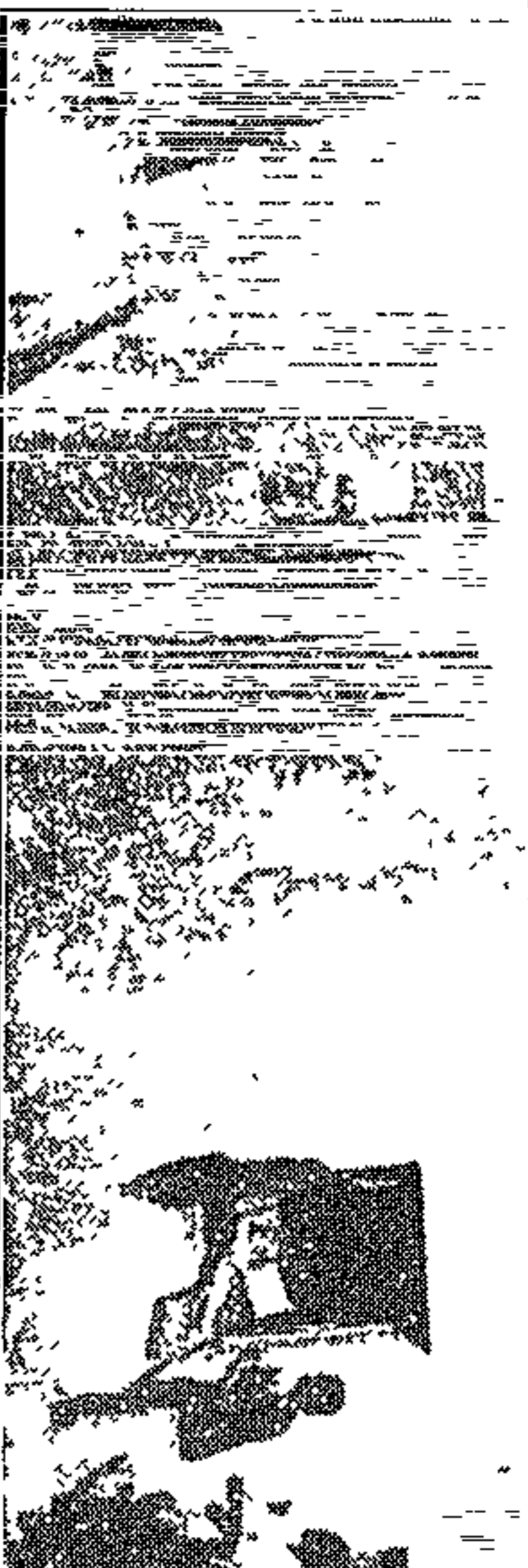
Some of the organisations who were quick to label others terrorists for allegedly killing whites, are the very ones who, in the mid-80s, condoned use of the necklace against blacks.

Therefore, in Azapo's view, in 1993, it is not only going to be incumbent upon black organisations to stop violence, hence saving black lives. We would have to give our people not only reason and opportunity to live: but reason to live with heads held high. Azapo has braced itself to rise to this occasion. As before, we are going to argue that all life, especially black life, is sacred. We are going to campaign "township to township, village to village" against the violence. And we are going to extend our hand of comradeship to other black organisations to curb this violence.

It would be sad, indeed, if this hand was to be, yet again, spurned.

"What kind of society is it which can afford to turn its children into judges and executioners of their parents?"

"Azapo has braced itself to argue that all life, especially black life, is sacred. We are going to campaign 'township to township, village to village' against the violence"



The reality of today, fire guts the house of a family in the Vaal triangle. Can black leaders rise to the challenges of today and stop the carnage?

The GIFT SHOPPER
521 VOORTREKKER STREET, BRAKPAN. TEL. 744-3746

TRADERS HAWKERS SPECIAL DISCOUNTS

SPARKLERS 6'S VERY GOOD PRICE

TOM THUMBS 300'S SPECIAL PRICE

NEW YEAR'S EVE Open until 11.30pm.

LARGE VARIETY OF FIREWORKS VARIOUS PACKS TO CHOOSE FROM

ASSORTED BOXES

COLOURFUL FOUNTAINS	COLOURFUL SPARKLERS	REPEATING ROCKETS	POP-POPS
From 29 ^c	2 packets for 99 ^c	5 99 ^c Each	3 Boxes for 1 99

R7,99 - R39,99 - R49,99 - R99,99 - R150 - R200

'Biased Goldstone report contains lapses'

30/12/92
G1Dm1
Inkatha

DURBAN — Inkatha said yesterday the Goldstone commission's third interim report was partial and included several serious lapses.

Although recognising the practical merit in some of the report's recommendations, Inkatha said the commission had not reported "as objectively as it should".

There was merit in the suggestions that adequate notice be given to existing authorities of public meetings, breaches of the peace accord be penalised, the release of suspects on bail be reviewed, the role of tribal chiefs be defined and recognised and parties refrain from inflammatory attacks on present authorities, Inkatha said.

However, the commission did not refer to the "fullscale assault" on Inkatha's rural constituency as a major cause of violence, and also ignored Inkatha requests to investigate the "eight massacres of Inkatha members and supporters that have occurred since August".

In Maritzburg, Inkatha's Natal Midlands leadership said Inkatha objected to some of the commission's findings relating to the Mootriver-Brunntville area.

They said they had never agreed to be disarmed simply if the ANC agreed to abide by the national peace accord. Inkatha spokesman Velaphi Ndlovu said the regional leadership had also never agreed

to the fencing of the Brunntville Hostel.

GAVIN DU VENAGE reports that national peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday a joint public meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthezi was needed to bring about peace.

Reacting to the commission's report, Hall said that at the end of the day, all roads led to political leaders. He said that leaders' involvement in driving the peace accord home to grassroots peace committees would eliminate violence and intimidation as political weapons.

Goldstone's recommendations, which called for a drive to promote political tolerance, were also contained in the provisions of the national peace accord, Hall said. It was, however, the responsibility of leaders to discipline their members who did not obey the accord.

□ The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday called on foreign benefactors of organisations implicated in political violence to discontinue funds until a culture of tolerance existed among their members.

Reacting to the commission's report which said rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha was the main cause of violence in the Mootriver area of Natal, Azapo said the donors should "put their money where their mouths are". — Sapa.

ANC, PAC slated on business ties

30/12/92
R10Dm4
ADRIAN HADLAND

THE ANC and PAC have declined to utilise or encourage black business in SA, Centre for African Studies economist Eugene Nyati claims.

Writing in the Portfolio of Black Business in SA 1993, Nyati said the relationship between the ANC, PAC, trade unions and black businessmen remained disjointed and fractured.

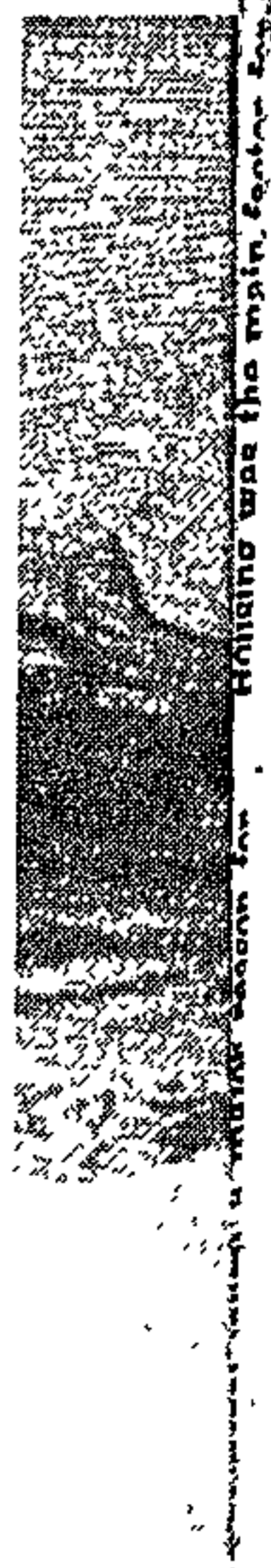
"Despite their declared commitment to black empowerment, black liberation movements still prefer to do business with white institutions even when they could get comparable service from black business," he said.

The ANC had "never made any serious effort" to have many of its requirements catered for by black-owned businesses, Nyati said.

The management of pension and other black trade union funds had been handled mainly by white firms.

"The millions of rands (from the funds) would appear to be logical resources to help actualise the much talked about empowerment of the oppressed," Nyati said. 30/12/92.

"If black political and business leaders cannot co-operate with each other before liberation, it is arguable whether things will be any different after a majority government takes power," he added.



Inkatha national chairman Frank Malalose, left, and ANC international relations head Thabo Mbeki at yesterday's peace talks in Durban.

UN officials probe rampage by returned exiles in Durban

UN OFFICIALS returned to Geneva this week after investigating an incident at the National Co-ordinating Committee for Returned Exiles of offices in Durban earlier this month when staff were held hostage for several hours by angry returned exiles.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Jonas Foli said the two officials left Johannesburg on Sunday, and would be delivering their findings to the UNHCR head office in Geneva.

Foli said the "little crisis" occurred when 25 exiles took staff hostage when they were told there was no money to pay their grants. The situation was defused after the ANC intervened.

Reports said the refugees went on the rampage, assaulting staff and destroying pictures. Jewellery was also reportedly taken from a number of staff members.

Sapa reports Durban police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo saying police were called to the offices, but were not investigating because no

KATHRYN STRACHAN

charges had been laid.

In response to questions on why the exiles had not received their grants, the committee's chairman Moss Chikane said: "We have just run out of cash." He said the committee had received a budget of R53m from the UNHCR for the year, but the budget had not covered the needs of the organisation.

"Many people are still coming in on their own steam and hoping to get grants when they arrive, but there was a shortfall," he said. Chikane said his organisation hoped the discussions with the UN officials would result in increased funding.

Chikane added that the organisation was being scaled down as it believed government would assume greater responsibility for accommodating exiles in the new year. It was also cutting back on staff to leave more funds available for assisting returnees, he said.

SAPDF
30/12/92

UN bolsters its SA team

CT 30/12/92 274 335

UNITED NATIONS. — The United Nations will bolster its presence in South Africa by sending another 10 observers here, bringing the total to 60, the UN Secretary-General said in a report released yesterday.

Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali said he decided to send the additional observers because of "continued uncertainty over the country's future can only lead to further violence, instability and economic decline".

"Given the delicate situation now prevailing in South Africa, characterised by unacceptable and, in some locales, rising levels of violence, I intend to modestly reinforce the UN presence," he said.

Despite the rising violence, he said there was room for "guarded optimism about the prospect for progress towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa".

However, "the goal of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa must remain one of the highest priority".

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has responded to a UN report enumerating criticisms of the government, suggesting that Dr Boutros-Ghali was not fully aware of all aspects surrounding problem areas in South Africa. — Sapa

274
UN will
send more
STAR 30/12/92
observers

NEW YORK — The United Nations will bolster its presence in South Africa by sending another 10 observers, bringing the total to 50, the UN secretary-general said in a report released yesterday.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali said he decided to send more observers because "continued uncertainty over the country's future can only lead to further violence, instability and economic decline".

"Given the delicate situation now prevailing in South Africa, characterised by unacceptable and, in some locales, rising levels of violence, I intend to modestly reinforce the UN presence," Boutros-Ghali said.

Despite the rising violence there was room for "guarded optimism about the prospect for progress towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa".

The secretary-general urged the South African Government to expedite implementation of agreements on releasing political prisoners and banning the carrying of dangerous weapons.

He also urged authorities to address concerns of women's organisations. — Sapa-AFP.

Pik lauds

UN chief's

stand on

violence

STAR 30/12/92
Political Staff

United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali did not seem to be fully aware of the complications that made the issues of hostels, dangerous weapons and notorious SADF Battalions 31, 32 and Koevoet difficult to resolve overnight, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Reacting to Boutros-Ghali's report to the UN Security Council last week, Botha said the Government was prepared to elucidate these matters with UN representatives.

Botha said he was pleased to note the recognition given by the UN secretary-general to the work of the Goldstone Commission. He urged foreign governments to note Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's comment in his third interim report that he would welcome assistance from the international community and the UN in securing the cooperation of governments which hosted training camps and bases of armed movements operating in South Africa.

Boutros-Ghali's call on all political leaders to actively discourage violence and to take part in meetings of signatories of the National Peace Accord was important, Botha said.

He said the Government had undertaken to carry out its share of this responsibility and was doing everything it could to curb violence.

He welcomed the guarded optimism in Boutros-Ghali's report, but noted the UN secretary-general's concern about violence and intimidation against women.

The Government shared Boutros-Ghali's aspirations concerning democratic parity for women in South Africa, and had signalled its intentions in this regard when President de Klerk announced in August that the Government had decided to sign three major international conventions relating to women and women's rights.

What the people want in '93

■ POLITICAL TOLER-

ANCE An end to violence and jobs are high on the list of hoped-for windfalls next year:

By **Lulama Luti**

PEACE, AN END to violence, respect for one another, employment opportunities and most importantly, political tolerance.

This is what South Africans from all walks of life would like to see in 1993

During a snap survey conducted by *Sowetan* this week, many people were optimistic that 1993 would be a peaceful year

Miss Daphney Khoza, a personnel officer, of Hillbrow in Johannesburg said: "To be honest with you, I think we'll see less violence. Whether through political differ-

ences or just ordinary crime
"I also think there will be an improvement in the rate of unemployment."
A hard-hitting Mr Richard Manana, a banker from Dobsonville, Soweto, said: "For 1993, President FW de Klerk must go. It is because of him and his Government that the country is in such a terrible state

"Secondly, I would like to see all our children go back to school for the whole year. The country's economy won't shape up without educated people."

Mrs Veronica Matthys from Ennerdale, near Vereeniging said: "Let's go for peace in 1993. All this fighting should stop. And let's create more job prospects for the unemployed."
"I'm sure if there are jobs, there would

definitely be less violence."
A taxi owner from Bosmont in Johannesburg, Mr Maurice Omar, said "We want 1993 to be peaceful. We should work together towards peace in the country."
"We should forget about fighting. We should strive to alleviate the suffering many people are going through at the moment."

Wish for peace

Constable AM Maphoto from Alexandra near Sandton said the only thing that he wished for was peace.

"If you have peace nothing will go wrong. I want to help all people, black or white, it doesn't matter what colour they are. It's my job to do that."

A street sweeper employed temporarily by the Johannesburg City Council, Mrs Eunice Mehlo from the Transkei, said she wished for a permanent job in the new year.
"I've got five kids back home and they are all at school. My husband is sick and I would like to see him get better. I would also like to see an end to violence."

A chef at the Bryanston Country Club, Johannesburg, Mr Patson Gumede, said he did not know what would happen in 1993.

"But, I would certainly like to see freedom and people living in harmony."

His sentiments were echoed by nursing sister at the Johannesburg Hospital, Miss Nomsa Nojoko, who added that

she was looking forward to a brighter and better 1993.

"I think we are headed for a peaceful year in which there will be freedom."

Mr George Maseko of Standerton said he hoped for peace and goodwill among people in the new year.

"I think through prayer we will find peace. And we should also stop being jealous of one another."

Miss Brenda Adams from Klipspruit West, Johannesburg, said she wished South Africans could learn to love one another and learn to respect each other again.

She said she hoped for an improvement in general living conditions throughout the country.



Nomsa Nojoko



Eunice Mehlo



Richard Manana



Maurice Omar



AM Maphoto

Sowetan

31/12/92

(274)

by Florence Cherry, was also SIBS if investigation. Sapa.

SA saturated with foreign observers ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ Idasa

THE profusion of international observers in SA had reached the point where observers attending a march or rally nearly outnumbered the participants, Idasa said in its Democracy in Action publication.

By the end of November this year, the UN had 50 full-time observers in SA, the Commonwealth Secretariat had 22 and the EC had 15, the Idasa report said.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said this week the UN would be sending a further 10 observers to SA, bringing its total to 60.

Boutros-Ghali said he had decided to send additional observers because "continued uncertainty over SA's future can only lead to further vio-

ADRIAN HADLAND

lence, instability and economic decline" ^(BLOM 31/12/92)

The Idasa report said the OAU had also sent a task force, while the SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference were hosting up to five international church observers in SA.

"The obvious question is whether their presence will have any affect at all on the violence. From some recent experiences it seems that their role will be limited," the report said.

"While it is clear that there is a role to play in observing rallies and voting polls, local non-government

organisations which are dealing with the violence believe that the monitors will have to do more than send reports back home."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha reacted strongly this week to a report on SA submitted by two UN envoys to the UN Security Council.

The envoys, Virendra Dayal and Tom Vraalsen, were critical of government on a number of counts including the existence of covert operations, lack of security at hostels and deficiencies in the police's ability to investigate serious crimes.

Botha said Boutros-Ghali was "not yet fully aware of all the relative aspects which make these problems difficult to resolve overnight".

CHAMPAGNE BALLOON FLIGHTS

Regular early morning flights from the Hertford Hotel, Lanseria. All flights concluded in style with Champagne and a full English Breakfast

To book call Tim on:
(011) 701-3186
BRITISH SCHOOL
OF
BALLOONING
(A.F.R.I.C.A.)

People's courts 'still widespread' ⁽²⁷⁴⁾

PEOPLE'S courts and traditional forms of justice continue to operate widely in SA, says Idasa in its recent issue of Democracy in Action. ^(BLOM 31/12/92)

Ronel Scheffer said "popular justice mechanisms in SA" included traditional courts, alternative dispute resolution centres and "the plethora of structures known as people's or community courts".

There was considerable pressure for some of these to become a permanent feature of SA's judicial system, Scheffer said.

"This revolves not so much around the ideal of bringing justice and dispute resolution closer to the people but rather how this could, and should, be realised practically."

ADRIAN HADLAND

Nicro's Lucas Malekane said people's courts were functioning daily in Cape Town's Khayelitsha township with the knowledge of the police and strong community support.

Malekane said matters before the courts ranged from petty theft and family disputes to murder cases.

Traditional leaders' organisation Contralesa president Patekile Holomisa reported widespread use of traditional courts in SA.

Scheffer said Idasa would be holding a national conference on people's courts and traditional forms of justice next year.

People's courts 'still widespread'

(274)

ADRIAN HADLAND

PEOPLE's courts and traditional forms of justice continue to operate widely in SA, says Idasa in its recent issue of Democracy in Action.

Ronel Scheffer said "popular justice mechanisms in SA" included traditional courts, alternative dispute resolution centres and "the plethora of structures known as people's or community courts".

There was considerable pressure for some of these to become a permanent feature of SA's judicial system, Scheffer said.

"This revolves not so much around the ideal of bringing justice and dispute resolution closer to the people but rather how this could, and should, be realised practically."

Nicro's Lucas Malekane said people's courts were functioning daily in Cape Town's Khayelitsha township with the knowledge of the police and strong community support.

Malekane said matters before the courts ranged from petty theft and family disputes to murder cases.

Traditional leaders' organisation Con-tralesa president Patekile Holomisa reported widespread use of traditional courts in SA.

Scheffer said Idasa would be holding a national conference on people's courts and traditional forms of justice next year.

This country risks being seen as just another African casualty in the making, writes Hugh Robertson

Disillusioned World Losing Interest in South Africa

SOUTH Africans have been

preoccupied, understandably, by 1992's dispiriting harvest of massacres, terrorism, political crisis, and corruption. But much of the rest of the world appears to have lost interest in the country's turbulent journey towards change.

This week, for instance, the Associated Press news agency released the results of its annual survey of what editors of America's 160 largest newspapers regarded as the year's top 10 news events. Not a single event in South Africa made the list, and neither did the country feature in the 10 next most important news events.

A further 105 editors of the largest newspapers in 37 countries outside the US were asked for their opinion, and what was described somewhat generally as "South Africa's rocky road to ending apartheid" was scored eighth

on the list of 10, getting one vote more than the riots in Los Angeles.

There has been other evidence that what we regarded as events of huge import in 1992 passed unnoticed outside the country. When the UN Security Council debated the Boipatong massacre, the event — including the speech of ANC president Nelson Mandela — was not even covered by New York's usually widening newspapers.

The ANC's much-vaunted investment conference in New York was ignored, the revelations of military involvement in political violence and President de Klerk's dismissal of senior officers was reported, though modestly and without comment.

The Ciskei massacre disappeared from newspapers within 48 hours, and Americans have yet to learn about revelations of finan-

cial corruption and mismanagement in the SA Government.

A fortnight ago, I was invited to participate in a widely viewed phone-in television programme on world events and was billed, repeatedly, as a South African correspondent.

But to my amazement, and that of the producers, not a single question on South Africa was put to me during the full 90 minutes I was on the box with national exposure.

The deluge of letters and phone calls that came my way from every corner of the US privately in the days following the show produced only two on South Africa, both from compatriots.

Have we become an obsessively inward-looking nation, preoccupied by our own problems to the extent that our perspective is warped? Hardly, since massacres,

terrorism, political crisis and corruption in high places are issues of the highest importance in any country.

More likely, however, is the disturbing conclusion that the world has grown weary of the seemingly endless ramifications of South Africa's political catharsis.

Instead of being the one country that stands out from Africa's confusion and bloodshed, we risk being seen to fade into the general background of disaster, just another African casualty in the making on a continent whose corruption, repression, failed social engineering and propensity for violence, famine and disorder have thoroughly disillusioned the world.

That may be an overwrought interpretation of the world's uninterest. Our problem may be that the new world order has produced more pressing challenges

For Americans, little is as important as the evolution of economic freedom and democracy in the former Soviet empire, including the prospect of US military involvement in what was Yugoslavia.

Beyond that, they are embroiled in seething disagreement over the implications of the North America Free Trade Agreement, a signed but yet to be ratified agreement with Canada and Mexico that would be the first step towards a huge new trading bloc. And beyond that is the touchy relationship with Japan and China, and other countries of the Pacific rim and, of course, the provocative antics of Saddam Hussein.

Africa, which has absorbed so much financial aid and material assistance, with so little to show for it, emerges as a tiny blip on the screen of American attention.

Certainly, the blip can be enlarged, as has been the case with Somalia (although even that is now drifting off the front pages), but if South Africa is to regain its distinction of being the only country in sub-Saharan Africa with a real prospect of succeeding as a political and economic entity, 1993 will have to produce consistent and persuasive evidence of the fact.

It will have to be a time when the political tantrums, the irrational outbursts, the obsolete views and the violent rhetoric of 1992 are abandoned in favour of a nobler and more altruistic concern for South Africa's long-term prospects in the new world order, a time to recognise that whatever the reasons for the world's declining interest in the country might be, only South Africans themselves have the antidote. □